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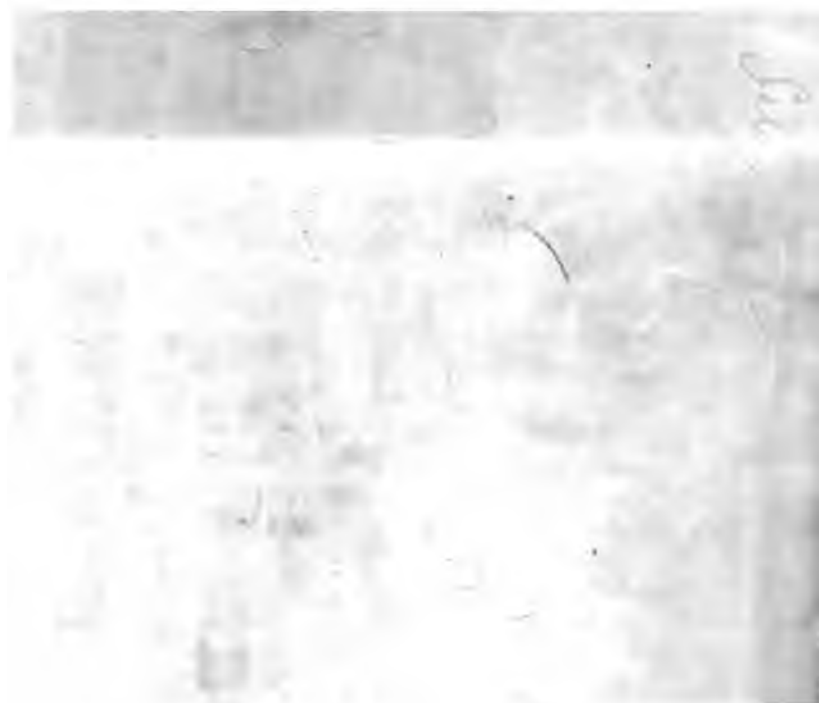
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VIEW OF THE ATTIC PLAINS, WITH A GLIMPSE OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS. -- Frontispiece



ANCIENT HISTORY

FOR

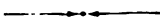
COLLEGES AND HIGH SCHOOLS.

BY

WILLIAM F. ALLEN

AND

P. V. N. MYERS.



PART I.

THE EASTERN NATIONS AND GREECE.

BY

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PREFACE TO PART FIRST.

THE following pages are a revision and expansion of the corresponding part of my *Outlines of Ancient History*, which was published as a library book in 1882, by Messrs. Harper & Brothers. It is through the generous action of these publishers that I have had the advantage of making this earlier work the basis of the present text-book.

The chapters relating to the Eastern nations have been rewritten in the light of the most recent revelations of the monuments of Egypt and Babylonia. The connecting links between the history of the East and that of the West have been carefully traced, and the influence of Oriental civilization upon the later development of the Western peoples fully indicated. It is shown that, before the East gave a religion to the West, it imparted to the younger peoples of Europe many primary elements of art and general culture. This lends a sort of epic unity to a series of events and historic developments too apt to be regarded as fragmentary and unrelated, and invests the history of the old civilizations of the Orient with fresh interest and instruction.

In tracing the growth of Greek civilization, while the value of the germs of culture which the Greeks received from the older nations of the East is strongly insisted upon, still it is admitted that the determining factor in the wonderful Greek development was the peculiar genius of the Greek race itself.

The references throughout the book are given, not alone with the view of directing the pupil to the sources of information, but also of making acknowledgment of indebtedness. In addition to these references to the authorities I have used, I wish here to make special mention of my indebtedness to the works of George Rawlinson, Sayce, Wilkinson, Brugsch, Grote, Curtius, and Dr. William Smith.

The maps and illustrations with which my publishers have so liberally enriched the book, have been drawn from the most authentic sources. The maps are reproductions of the admirable charts accompanying Professor Freeman's *Historical Geography of Europe*; while the cuts, which have been chosen solely with reference to their historical and illustrative value, are, in the main, selections from Prang's *Illustrations of the History of Art*, and Oscar Jäger's *Weltgeschichte*.

For many valuable criticisms and suggestions, I wish to express my hearty thanks to Professor William F. Allen, of the University of Wisconsin, and D. H. Montgomery, Esq., of Boston.

COLLEGE HILL, OHIO,
Feb. 4, 1888.

P. V. N. M.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	iii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	vii
LIST OF MAPS.....	ix
TABLES AND CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARIES....	ix
INTRODUCTORY: THE RACES AND THEIR MIGRATIONS	i

PART I.

THE EASTERN NATIONS AND GREECE.

SECTION I.—THE EASTERN NATIONS.

CHAPTER

I. Political History of Ancient Egypt.....	15
II. Religion, Monuments, Arts, and Sciences of the Ancient Egyptians.....	34
III. The Chaldæan Monarchy ...	57
IV. Arts and General Culture of the Chaldæans.....	64
V. The Assyrian Monarchy	76
VI. Institutions, Architecture, and Literature of the Assyrians	84
VII. The Babylonian Monarchy.....	96
VIII. The Hebrew Nation.....	107
IX. The Phœnicians.....	120
X. Lydia	128
XI. The Persian Empire	133
XII. Institutions, Religion, and Architecture of the Ancient Persians..	144

SECTION II. — GREECE	
CHAPTER	PAGE
I. The Land and the People.....	152
II. The Legendary or Heroic Age	162
III. Religion of the Greeks	174
IV. Age of Constitutional Changes and of Colonization: Growth of Sparta and of Athens	186
V. The Græco-Persian Wars	210
VI. Period of Athenian Supremacy	225
VII. The Peloponnesian War: the Spartan and the Theban Supremacy	242
VIII. Period of Macedonian Supremacy: Empire of Alexander.....	258
IX. States formed from the Empire of Alexander	273
X. Greek Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting.....	283
XI. Greek Literature.....	305
XII. Greek Philosophy and Science.....	327
XIII. Social Life of the Greeks.....	346
INDEX AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY	359

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
1. View of the Attic Plains, with a Glimpse of the Acropolis of Athens.	
	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
2. Portrait-statue of Rameses II.	26
3. Rameses II. returning in Triumph from Syria	27
4. Judgment of the Dead.....	41
5. The Great Hall of Columns at Karnak	45
6. Façade of Rock Temple at Ipsambul.....	46
7. Colossi at Thebes	47
8. Seti I.....	54
9. Profile of Rameses II.	55
10. Ancient Babylonian Canals	58
11. Babylonian Brick	64
12. Chaldæan Tablets	68
13. Chaldæan Tablet with Parts of the Deluge Legend	73
14. Siege of a City, showing Use of Battering-ram (from Nimrud)	82
15. Assyrians slaying their Prisoners.....	86
16. Lion Hunt (from Nineveh)	87
17. Assyrian Royal Palace at Nineveh.....	90
18. Sculptures from a Gateway at Khorsabad	91
19. Birs-Nimrud.....	102
20. Alphabets.....	125
21. Tomb of Cyrus the Great.....	134
22. Captive Insurgents brought before Darius.....	138
23. The Ruins of Persepolis.....	149
24. The King in Combat with a Monster (from Persepolis).....	150
25. Greek Warriors preparing for Battle	210

	PAGE
26. Themistocles	214
27. Pericles	235
28. Alcibiades	247
29. Head of Alexander the Great	262
30. Pelasgian Masonry	284
31. Doric Capital	285
32. Ionic Capital	285
33. Corinthian Capital	286
34. Athenian Youth in Procession (from the frieze of the Parthenon) .	289
35. The Acropolis at Athens (restored)	290
36. The Parthenon (present condition)	291
37. The Theatre of Dionysus at Athens	292
38. Choragic Monument of Lysicrates	293
39. Pitching the Discus or Quoit (Discobolus)	295
40. Athena Parthenos	296
41. Head of the Olympian Zeus by Phidias	297
42. Interior of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia	299
43. The Laocoön Group	301
44. Homer	307
45. Bacchic Procession	311
46. Æschylus	314
47. Sophocles	316
48. Herodotus	318
49. Thucydides	320
50. Demosthenes	323
51. Socrates	333
52. Plato	334
53. Aristotle	336
54. A Greek School (after a vase-painting)	347
55. Greek Tragic Figure	351

LIST OF COLORED MAPS.

	PAGE
1. Ancient Egypt.....	16
2. Region of the Tigris and Euphrates.....	60
3. Kingdoms of Lydia, Media, and Babylonia, c. B.C. 590.....	128
4. Greece and her Colonies.....	190
5. Greece in the Fifth Century B.C.....	242
6. Dominions and Dependencies of Alexander, c. B.C. 323.....	264
7. Kingdom of the Successors of Alexander, c. B.C. 350.....	274
8. Sketch-map of Athens and the Long Walls.....	236

TABLES AND CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARIES.

	PAGE
1. Races of Mankind, with Chief Families and Peoples.....	13
2. Chronological Summary of Egyptian History.....	33
3. Table of Chaldean, Assyrian, and Babylonian Dynasties and Kings.....	106
4. Table of Hebrew Kings.....	119
5. Table of Kings of Media and Persia.....	143
6. Chronological Summary of Grecian History to the Death of Alexander the Great.....	272
7. Table of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies.....	282



ANCIENT HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE RACES AND THEIR EARLY MIGRATIONS.

Definition of History.—History is a narrative of the life of humanity. The recital properly begins at that point in the progress of mankind where clans and tribes are found gathered in the larger political units called States, or Nations.

If the narrative deal chiefly with outer, public events, such as the doings of kings and the fortunes of dynasties, wars between nations, and the feuds and contentions within a state of rival political parties, then the record constitutes *Political History*; if, however, the recital concern itself mainly with the real, inner life of nations, with the progress of art, science, literature, religion, and general culture, with the growth of ideas and institutions, then it becomes a *History of Civilization*. But it is only the narrative that weaves the several threads of these special histories into a single and continuous story, that constitutes History in the unrestricted meaning of the term. The present work aims to be a history in this general sense.

Divisions of History.—History is usually divided into three periods, — Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern. Ancient History begins with the earliest nations of which we can gain any certain knowledge, and extends to the fall of the Roman Empire

in the West, A.D. 476. Mediæval History embraces the period, about one thousand years in length, lying between the fall of Rome and the discovery of the New World by Columbus, A.D. 1492. Modern History commences with the close of the Mediæval period and extends to the present time.

Some prefer to date the beginning of the Modern period from the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, A.D. 1453 ; while still others speak of it in a general way as commencing about the close of the 15th century, at which time there were many inventions and discoveries, and a great stir in the intellectual world.

Antiquity of Man. — We do not know when man first came into possession of the earth. His antiquity, like the age of the planet he inhabits, is shrouded in obscurity. But as the science of geology has taught us that the earth is very old, much older than we once thought, so different sciences are telling us that man has been upon the earth a much longer time than we have been used to supposing. Yet we can set no definite date to his first appearance. We only know that, in ages vastly remote, when both the climate and outline of Europe were very different from what they are at present, man lived on that continent with animals now extinct ; and that, about 3000 B.C., when the historic curtain first rises, vast migratory movements, manifestly begun long before that date, are going on among the families and tribes of the different races of mankind ; while in some favored regions, as in the valley of the Nile, there are nations and civilizations already venerable with age, and possessing arts, governments, and institutions that bear evidence of slow growth through very long periods of prehistoric times.

The investigation and study of this vast background of human life, that lies so dim and mysterious in the remote past, is left to such sciences as Ethnology, Comparative Philology, and Prehistoric Archæology.

The Races of Mankind. — Distinctions in form, color, and physiognomy divide the human species into three great types, or races, known as the Black (Ethiopian, or Negro), the Yellow

(Turanian, or Mongolian), and the White (Caucasian).¹ These races subdivide themselves into numerous families and peoples.²

As to which of these great races is the oldest, or the original type, we have no positive knowledge ; however, many testimonies — ethnological, linguistic, and historical — concur in leading us to assume that they all stand in the relation of children to an original mother-type that is lost.

We must not suppose each of these three types to be sharply marked off from the others : they shade into one another by insensible gradations. Thus, passing from the temperate regions of Northern Africa to the tropical countries of the interior of that continent, we find the different tribes encountered exhibiting a "chromatic scale" that embraces all the shades of color, from the slightly bronzed Caucasian to the jet-black negro. Yet we know that those race characteristics to which we have referred, though capable of being greatly modified by climate and the varying conditions of life, are very persistent. There has been no perceptible change in the great types during historic times. The paintings upon the oldest Egyptian monuments show us that at the dawn of history, about five or six thousand years ago, the principal races were as distinctly marked as now, each bearing its racial badge of color and physiognomy. As early as the times of Jeremiah, the permanency of physical characteristics had passed into the proverb, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin?"

On account of this persistent character of form, complexion, and physiognomy, these physical distinctions form a better basis of classification than language ; for migrations and conquests often

¹ The Malays and American Indians, formerly classified as distinct races, are now generally regarded simply as branches of the Yellow race. See table at end of chapter.

² Tribes and nations are political, not ethnological, units. Often a nation is a mixture of several different peoples or even races ; as, for example, the French nation, in which are found Celtic, Roman, and Teutonic elements ; and the nation of the United States, in which are commingled peoples representing all three of the primary types.

result in a people's giving up their own and adopting a foreign tongue, while at the same time retaining all their physical peculiarities. To efface these requires a great lapse of time. Thus the Jews have in general adopted the languages of the different peoples among whom they have found a home ; but the Hebrew physiognomy is as marked to-day as it was three thousand years ago.

Still, the study of languages is often a very great help in determining the relationships of different peoples ; and in some cases a linguistic classification, that is, one based on affinities of speech, is more satisfactory and accurate than one based on physical features. Thus we should hardly have suspected from their physical features that the Hindus are related to us, but a comparative study of their language and ours proves that we are akin.

Traditions, too, may sometimes cast light upon a people's origin or relationships ; but the legends of a people have to be scrutinized very carefully before they can be received in evidence on such a point.

Of all the races, the White, or Caucasian, exhibits by far the most perfect type, physically, intellectually, and morally. It is the race with which we shall be almost exclusively concerned, as the other two races, if we except some few nations of the Turanian stock, have not played any great part in the drama of history. Possessing richer mental and spiritual endowments than the other races, and animated, in most of its branches, with a wonderful energy, the migrations and conquests of its different peoples, and the achievements of its various families in the fields of science, art, literature, philosophy, and religion, fill most of the pages of the historian, and render instructive the story he has to tell.

In paragraphs which follow we will say something of each of the three great branches into which the White race divides itself ; but first a word respecting the Turanian peoples.

The Turanian Peoples. — The term Turanian is very loosely applied to many and widely separated families and peoples. It is

made to include the Chinese, and other more or less closely allied peoples of Eastern Asia ; the Malays, and the people of many of the Pacific Islands ; the nomadic tribes of Central and Northern Asia and of Eastern Russia ; the Ottoman Turks, the Hungarians, the Finns, the Lapps, and the Basques, in Europe ; and the Esquimaux and American Indians.

In the remotest times the peoples of this race had spread themselves over almost all Asia, Europe, and North and South America. They were seemingly the first intruders upon these virgin continents, save in some quarters, as in India, where they seem to have encountered a still earlier negro population. Whence they came, or at how early a period they took possession of the continents, we cannot say ; we are only certain that when, long before our era, the Semites and Aryans left their primitive homes, perhaps in Central Asia, and went out in search of new abodes, wherever they went, in India, in Persia, in Mesopotamia, in Asia Minor, in Europe, and, later, in this New World, they found peoples of this race already in possession of the soil.

In these countries, these aboriginal inhabitants were, in the main, either exterminated or absorbed by the new-comers. In Europe, however, two small areas of this primitive population escaped the common fate — the Basques, sheltered among the Pyrenees, and the Finns and Lapps, in the far North. (Some consider the Etrurians in Italy as another remnant of the same race.) These little patches of primitive population have been likened to islands rising above the waters of a destructive inundation. The Hungarians and Turks are Turanian peoples that have thrust themselves into Europe during historic times.

The polished stone implements found in the caves and river-gravels of Western Europe, the shell-mounds, or kitchen-middens,¹ upon the shores of the Baltic, the Swiss lake-habitations, and the

¹ "These mounds are some five or ten feet high, and in length as much, sometimes, as a thousand feet, by one or two hundred in breadth. The mounds consist for the most part of myriads of cast-away shells of oysters, nussels, cockles, and other shell-fish." — KEARY.

barrows, or grave-mounds, found in all parts of Europe, are supposed to be relics of a prehistoric Turanian people.

In North America, also, a remnant of the aboriginal Turanian population is still to be found in the Indian tribes west of the Mississippi; while in South and Central America and in Mexico the native Turanian peoples, mixed with the white colonists (Spaniards and Portuguese), form a considerable part of the present population.

Although some of the Turanian peoples, as, for instance, the Chinese and the Magyars, have made considerable advance in civilization, still as a rule the peoples of this race have made but little progress in the arts and in general culture,—perhaps simply through lack of favoring circumstances. Even their languages have remained undeveloped. These seem immature, or stunted in their growth. They have no declensions or conjugations, like those of the languages of the Caucasian peoples, but are made up of monosyllables, or of these merely “stuck together,” as it were, and hence are called *agglutinative* languages.

The Three Families of the White Race.—As has been already remarked, the White, or Caucasian, race embraces the historic nations. This type divides itself into three families,—the Hamitic, the Semitic, and the Aryan, or Indo-European (formerly called the Japhetic). These peoples have been the standard-bearers of the advancing culture and civilization of the world.

The Hamites.—The ancient Egyptians were the chief people of the Hamitic branch of the White race. They seem to have come from Asia, but we are without any positive knowledge respecting their original seat and their prehistoric migrations. In the gray dawn of history we discover them already settled in the valley of the Nile, and there erecting great monuments so faultless in construction as to render it certain that those who planned them had had a very long previous training in the art of building.

We shall see hereafter, as we advance in our historical studies, to how great a degree the Semitic and especially the Aryan nations were indebted to the Egyptians for the primary elements of their learning and culture.

The Semitic Peoples.—The Semitic family includes among its chief peoples the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, the Hebrews, the Phœnicians, and the Arabians.

Some testimonies point to the hill country (Armenia) bordering the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates on the north, as the original abode of this family. Yet it would not be safe to say that that region was its primitive seat. We only know that by the dawn of history its various clans and tribes, whencesoever they may have come, had distributed themselves over the greater part of South-western Asia.

In the lower part of the Tigris-Euphrates valley they mingled with the Turanian Accadians already in possession of the soil, and formed the mixed people known as the Chaldæans, or Old Babylonians. In the upper portion of the Tigris valley, they established the great Assyrian empire, the princes of which for centuries held proud sway over most of the peoples between the hills of Persia and the Mediterranean.

At the foot of the Lebanon mountains, on the Mediterranean shore, another branch of the Semitic family developed early into a great maritime people, known as the Phœnicians, who carried the elements of Egyptian and Babylonian culture to the young Aryan nations of Europe.

Of the early movements of the ancestors of the Hebrews, we have some knowledge from their sacred writings. About eighteen or twenty centuries before our era, religious reasons, probably, led a Semitic clan, called the Abrahamic, to separate themselves from kindred tribes then dwelling near the head of the Persian Gulf, and to go out in search of new abodes. Their patriarch Abraham, who was inspired with a grand faith in the God Jehovah, whom he served, led the little company across the Mesopotamian plains, and up into the country afterwards known as Palestine. Famine and other circumstances drove his descendants forward into Egypt. After a long sojourn in that country, during which they had increased greatly in numbers, they returned to Palestine, drove out or exterminated the Canaanitish (chiefly Semitic) inhabitants of

the land, and grew into the great Hebrew nation, which was destined to exert a moulding influence upon the religion and civilization of the world.

It was not until the beginning of the Mediæval period that the Arabian tribes assumed any important part in the transactions of history. Then, under the name of Saracens, and as teachers of a new faith, called from its founder Mohammedanism, they issued from the deserts of the Arabian peninsula, and swiftly spread their authority and religion over large regions of the three continents of the eastern hemisphere.

We must not fail here to note that the three great historic religions of the world, — the Hebrew, the Christian, and the Mohammedan, — the three religions that alone (if we except that of Zoroaster) teach a belief in one God, arose among peoples belonging to the Semitic race. If races have missions, then we may say that the mission of this race has been to teach religion.

The Aryan Family. — The Aryan, or Indo-European, though probably the youngest, is the most widely scattered family of the White race. It includes among its members the ancient Hindus, Medes, and Persians, the classic Greeks and Romans, and the modern descendants of all these nations; also the Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavonic peoples of Europe, and their colonists that have peopled the New World, and taken possession of other parts of the earth.

Migrations of the Aryans. — The original seat of the Aryan peoples was, it is conjectured,¹ the highlands of Central Asia, east of the Caspian Sea and north of the Hindu Kush Mountains. This upland country, now for the most part arid and uninviting, seems to have been in remote times a delightful region, that drew forth unbounded praise from the early Aryan poets. Gradual changes in the climate, which rendered the country inhospitable, pressure of population, and religious disputes and wars caused the Aryan household, at a period that cannot be placed later than 3000 B.C., to begin to break up and scatter, and the different clans to set out in search of new dwelling-places.

¹ Some scholars seek the primitive home in Europe.

One branch of the family, called the Indo-Iranic, the ancestors of the Hindus and the Persians, turning from the primitive home, moved southward, and, for a long time after separation from the other members of the household, lived together as one family, united in a single faith and worship. But differences in religious belief arising, caused, so some suppose, by the teachings of the great prophet Zoroaster, the company was divided into two bands, which parted abruptly the one from the other. One of these, holding on their way to the south, climbed the snowy passes of the Hindu Kush, which lay in their path, and descending upon the plains beyond, drove out or subjugated the non-Aryan tribes they found occupying the land, and became the ancestors of the Hindus. The other company turned to the southwest, and spreading themselves over the table-lands of Iran, became the progenitors of the Medes and Persians.

About the time of these migrations to the south and southwest, other clans set their faces towards Europe. The journey of these families was long and eventful. The stream of migration that set in this direction was divided into two branches. One division, skirting probably the southern shore of the Euxine, and entering Europe by the way of the Hellespont, pushed themselves into the peninsulas of Greece and Italy, and founded the Greek and Italian states.

The second division seems to have passed to the north of the Black Sea, and crossing the rivers that lay in their path, to have poured in successive waves into Central Europe. The vanguard of these tribes are known as the Celts. After them came the Teutonic tribes, who crowded the former out on the westernmost edge of Europe—up into the corners of France and out upon the British Isles. These hard-pressed Celts are represented to-day by the Welsh, the Irish, and the Highland Scots. Behind the Teutonic peoples were the Slavonic folk, who pushed the former hard against the Celts, and, when they could urge them no farther to the west, finally settled down and became the ancestors of the Russians, Bohemians, Poles, Servians, and other kindred nations.

Although these migratory movements of the various clans and tribes of this wonderful Aryan family commenced in the early morning of history, some five thousand years ago, still we must not think of them as something past and unrelated to the present. These movements, begun in those remote times, are still going on. The overflow of the population of Europe into the different regions of the New World is simply a continuance of the outpourings of the primitive Aryan household into the surrounding countries.

Everywhere the other races and families have given way before the advance of the Aryan peoples, or have been absorbed by them. Having possessed themselves of the riches of the Hamitic and Semitic civilizations, — having made their own the wisdom of the Egyptians, the arts of the Assyrians, the religion of the Hebrews, — they have assumed the position of leaders and teachers among the families of mankind, and are rapidly spreading their arts and sciences and culture over the earth.

Early Culture of the Aryans.— One of the most fascinating studies of recent growth is that which reveals to us the customs and beliefs of the early Aryan peoples while their ancestors were yet living together as a single household, perhaps in Asia. Upon comparing the myths, legends, ballads, and nursery tales of the different Aryan peoples, we discover the curious fact that, under various disguises, they are the same. Jack the Giant-killer with his "seven-league boots" is identical with the Greek Hermes with his winged sandals. William Tell with his unerring aim is the Greek archer-god Apollo with his "twanging bow." And many of our nursery tales are found to be identical even with those with which the Hindu children are amused. But the discovery should not surprise us. We and the Hindus are kinsmen, children of the same home ; so now, when after a long separation we meet, the tales we tell are the same, for they are the stories that were told around the common hearth-fire of our Aryan forefathers.

And when we compare certain words in different Aryan languages, we often find them alike in form and meaning. Thus take our word *father*. This word occurs with but little change of

form in several of the Aryan tongues: Sanscrit, *pitrī*; Persian, *padar*; Greek, *πατήρ* (*patēr*); Latin, *pater*; German, *vater*. Such words as this, preserved in modified forms in the strata of language, are to the philologist what fossils, buried in the strata of the earth, are to the geologist. They tell the past story of man. Thus the different Aryan forms of the word for *father* bear testimony to the fact that the remote ancestors of the now widely separated Aryan peoples once lived together and spoke a common tongue.

Our knowledge of the prehistoric culture of the Aryans, gained by the sciences of comparative philology and mythology, may be summed up as follows: They personified and worshipped the various forces and parts of the physical universe, such as the Sun, the Dawn, Fire, the Winds, the Clouds. The all-embracing sky they worshipped as the Heaven-Father (*Dyaus-Pitar*), who bore the same relation to the other deities as the later Greek Zeus bore to the other Grecian gods.

They were herdsmen and at least occasional farmers. "Their wealth was reckoned in cows, and cows were the circulating medium, with sheep and pigs for small change." They introduced the sheep, as well as the horse, into Europe. (The Turanian people whom they displaced had neither of these domestic animals.) They kept bees and got intoxicated upon a beverage made from the honey. "Their wheat was cut with the sickle, threshed and winnowed, and carried to mill in wagons fitted with wheels and axletrees. . . . Sewing and spinning were feminine occupations, and garments were woven out of sheep's wool. The art of tanning was also practised, and leather shoes were worn." (Fiske.)

They were fair builders, and navigated the rivers and inland seas of their region with canoes or skiffs. They rode in wagons, but did not ride horseback. They were versed in the art of war, and had made beginnings in astronomy and mathematics.

In social life they had advanced to that stage where the family is the unit of society. The father was the priest and absolute

lord of his house. The children were given names expressive of love and endearment. The families were united to form village-communities, ruled by a chief, or patriarch, who was assisted by a council of elders.

Importance of Aryan Studies.— This picture of life in the early Aryan home, the elements of which are gathered in so novel a way, is of the very greatest historical value and interest. In these customs and beliefs of the early Aryans, we discover the germs of many of the institutions of the classical Greeks and Romans, and of the nations of modern Europe. Thus, in the council of elders around the village patriarch, political historians trace the beginnings of the senates of Greece and Rome and the national parliaments of later times.

Just as the teachings of the parental roof mould the life and character of the children that go out from under its discipline, so, have the influences of that early Aryan home shaped the habits, institutions, and character of those peoples and families that, as its children, went out to establish new homes in their "appointed habitations."

RACES OF MANKIND, WITH CHIEF FAMILIES AND PEOPLES.

BLACK RACE (Ethiopian, or Negro).	{	Tribes of Central and Southern Africa, the Papuans and the Australians. (This group includes two great divisions, the Negroid and Australoid.)	
YELLOW RACE (Turanian, or Mongolian).	{	(1) The Chinese, Burmese, Japanese, and other kindred peoples of Eastern Asia; (2) the Malays of Southeastern Asia, and the inhabitants of many of the Pacific islands; (3) the nomads (Tartars, Mongols, etc.) of Northern and Central Asia and of Eastern Russia; (4) the Turks, the Magyars, or Hungarians, the Finns and Lapps, and the Basques, in Europe; (5) the Esquimaux and the American Indians. Languages of these peoples are monosyllabic or agglutinative. (Note that the Malays and American Indians were formerly classified as distinct races.)	
WHITE RACE (Caucasian).	{	Hamitic Family	{ Egyptians, Libyans, Cushites.
		Semitic Family	{ Chaldeans (partly Turanian), Assyrians, Babylonians, Canaanites (chiefly), Phœnicians, Hebrews, Arabs.
	{	Aryan, or Indo-Eu- ropean, Family	Indo-Iranic Branch . . . { Hindus, Medes, Persians.
			Græco-Italic Branch . . . { Greeks, Romans.
			Celtic Branch . . . { Gauls, Britons, Scots (Irish), Picts.
			Teutonic Branch . . . { High Germans, Low Germans, Scandinavians.
			Slavonic Branch . . . { Russians, Poles, etc.

The peoples of modern Germany are the descendants of various Germanic tribes. The Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes represent the Scandinavian branch of the Teutonic family. The Irish, the Welsh, the Scotch Highlanders, and the Bretons of Brittany (anciently Armorica), in France, are the present representatives of the ancient Celts. The French, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians have sprung, in the main, from a blending of the Celts, the ancient Romans, and the Germanic tribes that thrust themselves within the limits of the Roman Empire in the West. The English are the descendants of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes (Teutonic tribes), slightly modified by interminglings with the Danes and Normans (see *Medieval and Modern History*, pp. 169-178).



PART I.

THE EASTERN NATIONS AND GREECE.

SECTION I. — THE EASTERN NATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

(From unknown antiquity to 527 B.C.)

Egypt and the Nile. — Herodotus, who often used happy phrases, called Egypt “the gift of the Nile.” Before historic times, what is now the Great Sahara was covered by the waters of the Atlantic. Geologic changes at last lifted the rocky sea-floor — covered, for the most part, with a heavy mantle of sand — and it became the Libyan desert. The Nile then flowed through a long, narrow, hill-bordered valley to the Mediterranean, which in those early times formed a deep bay where now is Lower Egypt. At each annual rise of the river, caused by the tropical summer rains among the Abyssinian mountains, a thin layer of sediment was deposited over the narrow strip of submerged land along either bank of the stream.¹ Not until from forty to seventy feet of sediment had been laid down upon the limestone floor of the valley did it become the seat of that wonderful civilization whose monuments have come down to us; although from fragments of pottery found in the very lowest strata of the river sediment, we

¹ The valley has a varying breadth of from two to eleven miles. The rate of the fluvial deposit is from three to five inches in a century. The country at Thebes, as shown by the accumulations about the monuments, has been raised seven feet during the last seventeen hundred years.

believe the valley to have been occupied by man many ages before that time.

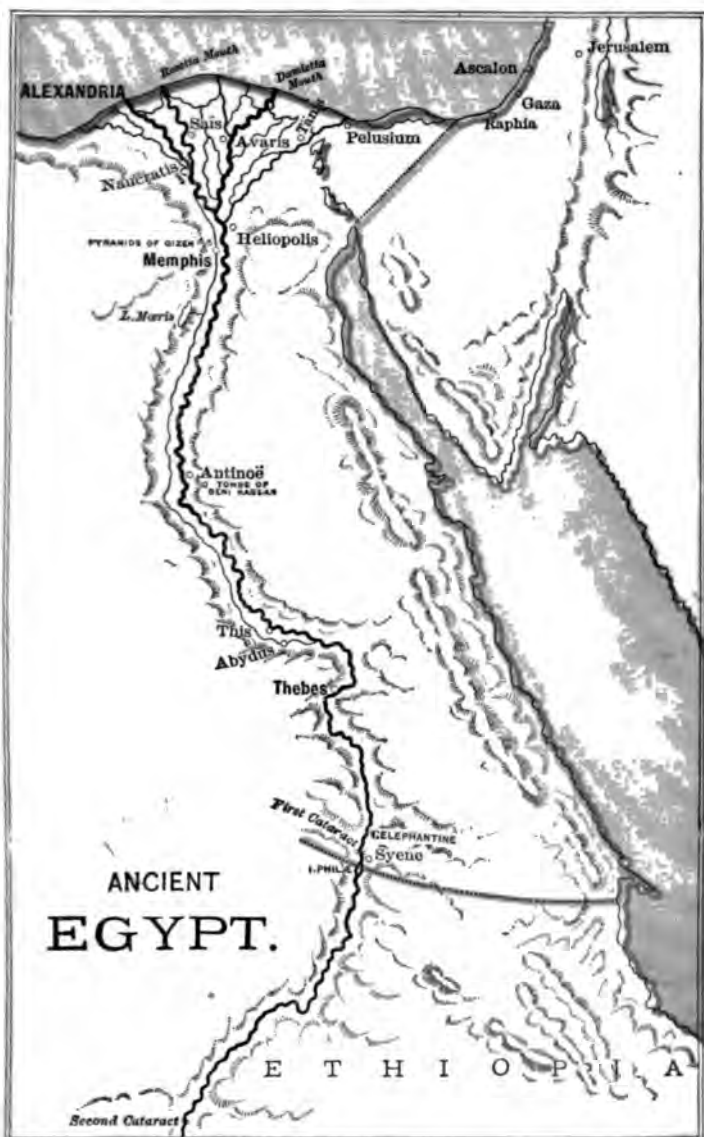
Besides covering with a deep soil the bottom of its narrow valley, the Nile has also built up at its mouth a great delta, through which it now seeks the sea by several different channels. This delta country was known to the ancients as Lower Egypt; while the valley proper, reaching from the head of the delta to the First Cataract, a distance of six hundred miles, was called Upper Egypt.

Inundation of the Nile.—Through the same means by which Egypt was originally created is the land each year still renewed and fertilized. The Nile begins to rise in its lower parts late in June, and by the end of September, when the inundation has attained its greatest height, the country presents the appearance of an inland sea, with the villages of the natives, which are built upon artificial hills or protected by dikes, rising like little islands above the water. The ordinary rise at the first cataract is about forty feet, and at Cairo from twenty-four to twenty-five feet.¹

By the end of November the river has returned to its bed, and the fields, over which has been spread a film of rich earth, present the appearance of black mud-flats. Usually the plow is run lightly over the soft surface, but in some cases the grain is sown upon the undisturbed deposit, and simply trampled in by flocks of sheep and goats driven over it. In a few weeks the entire land, so recently a flooded plain, is overspread with a sea of verdure, which forms a striking contrast with the desert sands and barren hills that rim the valley.

Climate.—In Lower Egypt, near the sea, the rainfall in the winter is abundant; but the climate of Upper Egypt is all but rainless, only a few slight showers falling throughout the year. This dryness of the Egyptian air is what has preserved through so many thousands of years, in such wonderful freshness of color and

¹ In ancient times the distribution of the water was aided by an extensive system of dikes, canals, and reservoirs. Through neglect, many of the old canals are now choked with sand and the reservoirs broken, so that not more than two-thirds of the land formerly under cultivation is to-day tilled.





10

with such sharpness of outline, the numerous paintings and sculptures of the palaces and tombs of the Pharaohs.

The southern line of Egypt only just touches the tropics ; still the climate, influenced by the wide and hot deserts that hem the valley, is semi-tropical in character. The fruits of the tropics and the cereals of the temperate zone grow luxuriantly. Thus favored in climate as well as in the matter of irrigation, Egypt became in early times the granary of the East. To it less favored countries, when stricken by famine—a calamity so common in the East in regions dependent upon the rainfall—looked for food, as did the families of Israel during drought and failure of crops in Palestine.

Cataracts of the Nile.—About seven hundred miles from the Mediterranean a low ledge of rocks, stretching across the Nile, forms the first obstruction to navigation in passing up the river. The rapids found at this point are termed the First Cataract. Six other cataracts occur in the next seven hundred miles of the river's course. The sacred islands of Elephantine and Philæ lie, the former just below, and the latter just above, the First Cataract. One hundred miles below Elephantine, the limestone hills recede from the river in such a way as to form an amphitheatral plain about twelve miles across. This region is called the Thebaid, and is now filled with the ruins of "hundred-gated Thebes."

South of the First Cataract lay Ethiopia, a land of very shadowy boundaries. The northern part of the region was debatable ground between the Ethiopians and the Egyptians ; yet during the best days of the Pharaohs they extended their authority permanently far beyond the first rapids, as is attested by the ruins that line the banks of the Upper Nile—the designation given the river above the First Cataract.

Dynasties and Chronology.—The kings, or Pharaohs, that reigned in Egypt from the earliest times till the conquest of the country by Alexander (B.C. 332), are grouped into thirty-one dynasties. Thirty of these we find in the lists of Manetho, an Egyptian priest who lived in the third century B.C., and who wrote a history of Egypt, compiled from the manuscripts kept in the

archives of the Egyptian temples. Unfortunately, all of this chronicle is lost, save mere fragments preserved in the works of later writers. In connection with each dynasty, Manetho gives the length of the reign of the family, and usually the names of the kings comprising it.¹

We cannot assign a positive date to the beginning of the First Dynasty; for Egyptologists are at a loss to know whether to consider the dynasties of Manetho's list as all successive or in part contemporaneous. Thus, it is held by some scholars that several of these families were reigning at the same time in This, Elephantine, Thebes, Memphis, Tanis, and Saïs—the different capitals of Upper and Lower Egypt; while others think that they all reigned at different epochs, and that the sum of the lengths of the several dynasties gives us the true date of the beginning of the era of Menes. Furthermore, Manetho made no account of the overlapping of reigns; for it was the custom for a Pharaoh, in the latter years of his reign, to share the government with the son who was to succeed him, and then this son, in his inscriptions, reckoned his reign from the time of his first participation in the government. Accordingly, Mariette and Lenormant place the beginning of the First Dynasty at 5004 B.C., and others still earlier,² while Poole and Wilkinson put it at about 2700 B.C. The constantly growing evidence of the monuments is in favor of the higher figures.³

As in journeying up the Nile the traveller passes without delay

¹ In addition to Manetho's list, we have that of the so-called Turin Papyrus. This document, however, besides being badly mutilated, gives no names after the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the date of its compilation. The lists furnished by the monumental inscriptions are very incomplete, and possess little or no chronological value.

² A comparison of authorities will be interesting. Böckh gives as the date of Menes 5702; Unger, 5613; Brugsch, 4455; Lauth, 4157; Lepsius, 3852; Bunsen, 3623—later 3059; Poole, 2717; Wilkinson, 2691.

³ "The scholars who have attempted to compress the dates given by Manetho have never yet been able to produce one single monument to prove that two dynasties named in his lists as successive were contemporary. On the

the long monotonous reaches of the river, and stops only when his attention is arrested by a group of famous pyramids or the ruins of some celebrated temple, so shall we pass without notice the long uneventful periods in these thirty-one dynasties, and stop only when we reach some great name, some important conquest, or some significant event. These shall be our landmarks along this great dynastic stream, which flows through more than half the historic centuries of the world.

Menes, Founder of the Old Empire. — Menes is the first kingly personage, shadowy and indistinct in form, that we discover in the first dawn of Egyptian history. This king holds the same relation to the beginnings of political life and organized society in the valley of the Nile that Sargon I. sustains to these same matters in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates (see p. 60). Tradition makes him the founder of Memphis, near the head of the Delta, the site of which capital he secured against the inundations of the Nile by vast dikes and various engineering works. To him is ascribed the achievement of first consolidating the numerous petty principalities of Lower Egypt into a single state, known as the Old Empire, which existed with varying fortunes for at least a thousand years.

The Pyramid Kings (about 2700 B.C.). — The kings of the Fourth Dynasty, who reigned at Memphis, are called the Pyramid-builders.¹ "With them the real history of Egypt begins." Tradition and the monuments here unite their testimony. Suphis (Khufu) I., the Cheops of the Greeks, was the first great builder. To him we can now positively ascribe the building of the Great Pyramid, the largest of the Gizeh group; for his name has been found upon some of the stones, — painted on them by his workmen before the blocks were taken from the quarries.

contrary, there are abundant proofs, collected by very many Egyptologists, to convince us that all the royal races enumerated by the Sebennytic priest occupied the throne in succession." — MARIETTE.

¹ Not that they were the only Pyramid-builders, but because they erected the largest of the pyramids (see p. 42).

Others of this famous group of pyramids were raised by Khafra and Menkara, successors of Cheops. To some king of this family is also ascribed, by some authorities, the sculpture of the Sphinx at the foot of the Great Pyramid. The most astonishing feature of the monuments of these early Pharaohs is the remarkable perfection of the sciences and arts exhibited in their construction.

These mountains of stone heaped together by the Pyramid kings are proof that they were cruel oppressors of their people, and burdened them with useless labor upon these monuments of their ambition. Tradition tells how the very memory of these monarchs was hated by the people. Herodotus says that the Egyptians did not like even to speak the names of the builders of the two largest pyramids. The statues of Khafra, the builder of the second pyramid of the Gizeh group, have been discovered, broken into small pieces, at the bottom of a well near the Sphinx, into which, as is conjectured by some, the enraged people had thrown them during a political revolution, soon after his death.

The Twelfth Dynasty (about 2300 B.C.).—After the Sixth Dynasty,¹ Egypt seems to have become divided into a number of small kingdoms, of which we know practically nothing, save the names of some of the kings. For several centuries the land is lost from view. When finally the valley emerges from the obscurity of this period, the old capital Memphis has receded into the background, and the city of Thebes has taken its place as the seat of the royal power.

¹ The really great name of this family is that of the conqueror Pepi, but tradition and romance have lifted into greatest prominence the name of Queen Nitocris, who is represented as being the last of the house. Nitocris is the heroine of Egyptian legend, and the original of the Cinderella of fairy romance. But, notwithstanding the myths that have gathered about her name, it is believed that we may regard her as a real historical personage, and think of her as the only female sovereign who ever sat as a sole ruler upon the throne of the ancient Pharaohs.

The period of the Twelfth Dynasty, a line of Theban kings, is one of the brightest in Egyptian history. Many monuments scattered throughout the country perpetuate the fame of the Amenemhats and Usurtasens of this illustrious house. Egyptian civilization is regarded by many as having during this period reached the highest perfection to which it ever attained.

Under Usurtasen III., a ruler of marked military capacity, all the valley of the Nile between the First and the Second Cataract, for the possession of which the Egyptian princes had long contended with negro and Cushite (Ethiopian) tribes, was made a part of the empire of the Pharaohs.

The name of Amenemhat III. has been rendered especially well-known through being connected with supposed great engineering works—the celebrated reservoir known to the classic writers as Lake Mœris—in the present district of the Fayoom;¹ and with the famous and mysterious Labyrinth, which Herodotus thought to surpass even the Pyramids. The historian's account

¹ This region, which is essentially an oasis, embraces a remarkable depression, about four hundred square miles in extent, in the desert to the west of the Nile, about fifty miles above the apex of the Delta. Some portions of these Egyptian Netherlands are depressed more than one hundred feet below the level of the Nile. It has been believed, chiefly on the authority of Herodotus (see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Book II. chap. 149), that Amenemhat III., acting upon the hint given by nature, here constructed an enormous reservoir, covering about ninety square miles, for the reception of the surplus waters of the inundation, which were drawn off into the basin through an opening, partially artificial, in the ridge separating the depression from the river plain. By means of a system of canals and flood-gates, the waters, it is said, were distributed as needed over the depressed lands, as well as over a considerable district along the western edge of the Nile valley.

But "recent explorations," writes M. Maspero, "have proved that the dikes by which this pretended reservoir was bounded are modern works, erected probably within the last two hundred years. I no longer believe that Lake Mœris ever existed. If Herodotus did actually visit the Fayoom, it was probably in summer, at the time of the high Nile, when the whole district presents the appearance of an inland sea. What he took for the shores of this lake were the embankments which divided it into basins and acted as highways between the various towns."—*Egyptian Archaeology*, p. 36.

of the former work has been discredited by some Egyptologists, and his description of the latter, which was probably only a palace, was doubtless overwrought.

Particularly interesting monuments dating from this Twelfth Dynasty are the rock-sepulchres of Beni-Hassan. They were constructed by a family of hereditary provincial governors, or great feudal lords, who flourished under the earlier kings of the house. The elaborate sculptures and paintings upon the walls of these rock-chambers form a most instructive picture of the life and manners of the times.

The Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings (from about 2100 to 1650 B.C.).—Soon after the bright period of the Twelfth Dynasty, Egypt suffered a great eclipse. Under the kings of the Fourteenth Dynasty, the royal power declined, and the country was divided apparently into several petty principalities, and thus prevented from using its undivided strength to repel invasion.

Such united effort was needed ; for just at this time the nomadic tribes of Syria, being hard-pushed, perhaps by the growing empires of the Tigris-Euphrates valley, crossed the eastern frontiers of Egypt, took possession of the inviting pasture-lands of the Delta, and established there the Empire of the Shepherd Kings. These rulers gradually extended their authority up the Nile, and the Theban kings were forced to seek refuge in Ethiopia—a country, as we have already learned, lying across the Upper Nile.

These Asiatic intruders, “Tartars of the South,” as they have been called, were violent and barbarous, and destroyed or mutilated the monuments of the conquered Egyptians. But gradually they were transformed by the civilization with which they were in contact, and in time they adopted the manners, customs, and culture of the Egyptians. Then they seem to have set themselves to the work of restoring the monuments they had mutilated, and of erecting new structures.

It was probably during the supremacy of the Hyksos that the families of Israel found a refuge in Lower Egypt. They received a kind reception from the Shepherd Kings, not only because they

were of the same pastoral habits, but also probably because of near kinship in race.

At last these intruders, after they had ruled in the valley four hundred years (some say two hundred), were expelled by the Theban kings, and driven back into Asia. This occurred about 1650 B.C. The episode of the Shepherd Kings in Egypt derives great importance from the fact that these Asiatic conquerors were one of the mediums through which Egyptian civilization was transmitted to the Phoenicians, who, through their wide commercial relations, spread the same among all the early nations of the Mediterranean area. Thus Egypt became indirectly the instructor of Greece and Rome.

And further, the Hyksos' conquest was an advantage to Egypt itself. The conquerors possessed political capacity, and they did for Egypt just what the Norman conquerors did for England—gave it a strong, centralized government. They made Egypt a great monarchy, and laid the basis of the power and glory of the mighty Pharaohs of the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Dynasty.

✓ **Amosis, Founder of the New Empire** (about 1650 B.C.).—The revolt which drove the Hyksos from the country was led by Amosis, or Ahmes, a descendant of the Theban kings. He delivered the entire valley between the cataracts and the sea from the invaders, and restored the temples and monuments that had suffered from the rudeness of the conquerors. He was the first king of what is known as the Eighteenth Dynasty, probably the greatest race of kings, it has been said, that ever reigned upon the earth.

The most eventful period of Egyptian history, covered by what is called the New Empire, now opens. Architecture and learning seem to have recovered at a bound from their long depression under the domination of the Shepherd Kings. To free his empire from the danger of another invasion from Asia, Amosis determined to subdue the Syrian and Mesopotamian tribes. This foreign policy, followed out by his successors, shaped many of the events of their reigns.

Thothmes III. (about 1600 B.C.).—Thothmes has been called

"the Alexander of Egyptian history." He was at least a great warrior, and during his reign the frontiers of the empire reached their greatest expansion. His authority extended from the oases of the Libyan desert to the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates. He built a strong fortress upon the latter river at Carchemish, added both Nineveh and Babylon to his kingdom, and exacted tribute and hostages from the various Mesopotamian princes. Tablets cut in the rocks, and various monuments commemorative of his conquests, are scattered from Algeria, in Northern Africa, to the Armenian Mountains, in Asia, and are found far up the Nile, in Abyssinia.

Thothmes was also a magnificent builder. His architectural works in the valley of the Nile were almost numberless. There was scarcely a city in Egypt that he did not decorate with temple or palace or obelisk. He built also a great part of the Temple of Karnak, at Thebes, the remains of which form the most majestic ruin in the world. All his monuments are literally covered with sculptures and inscriptions—records of his numerous expeditions and great works. His obelisks stand to-day in Constantinople and Rome and London and New York.

Amunoph (Amenophis) III.—This name stands next after that of Thothmes III. as one of the great sovereigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Although, like his rival, a famous warrior, still it is the remains of his splendid buildings, scattered over the sites of the ancient capitals of Egypt, that have given him so prominent a place in Egyptian history. He added to the Temple of Karnak, and erected portions of the superb Palace of Luxor, joining it to the former edifice by a grand avenue lined with a thousand colossal sphinxes. To him, too, is ascribed the erection at Thebes of the celebrated colossus known as the Vocal Memnon.

The Nineteenth Dynasty (about 1400–1280 B.C.).—The Pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty rivalled those of the Eighteenth in their fame as conquerors and builders. It is their deeds and works, in connection with those of the preceding dynasty, that have given Egypt such a name and place in history.

The dynasty was founded by Rameses I., whose fame, as Brugsch says, "consists chiefly in the place he holds in the historical series, as the father of a very celebrated son, and the grandfather of one who was covered with glory and sung of as a hero to the latest ages." The son and grandson here referred to were Seti I. and Rameses II. To each of these great names a separate paragraph must be given.

Seti I. (about 1398 B.C.).—One of the most important of Seti's wars was that against the Hittites (*Khita*, in the inscriptions) and their allies. The Hittites were a powerful, non-Semitic people, whose capital was Carchemish on the Euphrates, and whose strength and influence were now so great as to be a threat to Egypt. Marching against these formidable enemies, Seti overcame their army with great slaughter, and returned to Egypt with his chariot garnished with the heads of several of their chiefs. In other campaigns he carried terror to new foes on the west and the south of Egypt.

But Seti's deeds as a warrior are eclipsed by his achievements as a builder. He constructed the main part of what is perhaps the most impressive edifice ever raised by man—the world-renowned "Hall of Columns" in the Temple of Karnak, at Thebes. He also cut for himself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, at the same place, the most beautiful and elaborate of all the rock-sepulchres of the Pharaohs. In addition to these works and numerous other architectural constructions, he began a canal to unite the Red Sea and the Nile—an undertaking which was completed by his son, who, while yet a mere child, was, according to a custom of the Pharaohs already mentioned (see p. 18), associated with his father in the government.

Rameses II. (about 1370 B.C.).—Rameses II., surnamed the Great, was the Sesostris of the Greeks. His is the most prominent name of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Ancient writers, in fact, accorded him the first place among all the Egyptian sovereigns, and told mythical and most exaggerated stories of his conquests and achievements. His long reign, embracing sixty-seven years,



PORTRAIT-STATUE OF RAMESES II.

was, indeed, well occupied with military expeditions and the superintendence of great architectural works.

The chief of his wars were those against the Hittites, of whom we have just spoken in connection with Seti I. In his second campaign against this foe was fought the great battle of Kadesh, on the Orontes, in Northern Syria. In this fight, Rameses, separated from his army and surrounded, as declares the Egyptian Iliad which celebrates the exploit, by twenty-five hundred chariots of the enemy, performed superhuman deeds, and through his own personal prowess achieved a great victory.



RAMESES II. RETURNING IN TRIUMPH FROM SYRIA, with his army and captives, and with the heads of his enemies. (From the monuments of Karnak.)

Time and again is Rameses found with his host of war-chariots in the country of the Hittites, but he evidently fails to break their power; for we find him at last concluding with them a celebrated treaty, in which the chief of the Hittites is called "The Great King of the Khita," and is formally recognized as in every respect the equal of the king of Egypt. Later, Rameses marries a daughter of the Hittite king. All this means that the Pharaohs had met their peers in the princes of the Hittites, and that they could no longer hope to become masters of Western Asia. Indeed, the empire of the Pharaohs had already passed its culmination, and all Rameses' efforts were directed to upholding the fortunes of a declining state.

It was probably the fear of an invasion by the tribes of Syria that led him to reduce to a position of grinding servitude the Semitic peoples that under former dynasties had been permitted to settle in Lower Egypt; for this Nineteenth Dynasty, to which Rameses II. belongs, was the new king (dynasty) that arose "which knew not Joseph" (Ex. i. 8), and oppressed the children of Israel. Especially was it under this monarch that their "lives were made bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field." Papyri recently interpreted tell us that the Hebrews were the builders of the treasure-cities of "Pithom and Raamses," as recorded in Exodus.

Besides enslaving these Semitic tribes that migratory movements had brought into the Delta region, Rameses pressed to the work on his various edifices great multitudes of captives taken in his numerous wars, as well as negroes obtained by "man-hunting expeditions" into Central Africa. The native Egyptian peasants were also vexed by heartless taskmasters, taxes, extortions, and cruel punishments. As Dr. Smith observes, "The epithet 'Great' is, as usual in history, but the tribute rendered by the weak judgment of men to arrogant despotism and barbaric pomp. . . . We may venture to call him the Louis XIV. of the Egyptian monarchy; and 'after him came the deluge.'" It was during the reign of his son Menephtha that the Exodus took place (about 1300 B.C.).

Psammetichus I. (666-612).—We pass without comment a long period of several centuries, marked, indeed, by great vicissitudes in the fortunes of the Egyptian monarchs, yet characterized throughout by a sure and rapid decline in the power and splendor of their empire.

During the latter part of this period Egypt was tributary to Assyria or Ethiopia. But the Ethiopian authority was thrown off, and soon after, about 666 B.C., when the Babylonians in concert with other peoples arose in revolt against the Assyrian king, Egypt, taking advantage of the opportunity, detached herself from the empire, and a native prince, Psammetichus (Psammetik) by name, with the aid of Ionian and Carian mercenaries

from Asia Minor, expelled the Assyrian garrisons, and succeeded in consolidating the twenty satrapies, or provinces, into which the Assyrian conquerors had divided the country, into a single well-ordered and powerful kingdom. Psammetichus thus became the founder of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

The reign of this monarch marks a new era in Egyptian history. He effected an entire and radical change in the policy of the government. Hitherto Egypt had secluded herself from the world behind barriers of jealousy, race, and pride. But Psammetichus, being himself, it seems, of non-Egyptian origin, and owing his throne chiefly to the swords of Greek soldiers, was led to reverse the policy of the past, and to throw the valley open to the commerce and influences of the world. His capital, Saïs, on the Canopic branch of the Nile, forty miles from the Mediterranean, was filled with Greek citizens; and Greek mercenaries were employed in his armies. Diodorus says: "He loved Greece so much that he caused his children to be taught its language. He was the first of the Egyptian kings who opened to other nations emporia for their merchandise, and gave security to voyagers; for his predecessors had rendered Egypt inaccessible to foreigners by putting some to death, and condemning others to slavery."

This change of policy, occurring at just the period when the rising states of Greece and Rome were shaping their institutions, was a most significant event. Egypt became the University of the Mediterranean nations. From this time forward Greek philosophers, as Pythagoras and Plato, are represented as becoming pupils of the Egyptian priests; and without question the learning and philosophy of the ancient Egyptians exerted a profound influence upon the quick, susceptible mind of the Hellenic race, that was, in its turn, to become the teacher of the world.¹

¹ Quite recently the ruins of the ancient Greek city of Naucratis, which was the centre of the Greek population in the Delta, have been discovered, and quite thoroughly excavated. The importance of the discovery, in the evidence it affords of the influence of Egyptian upon Greek art and culture, can hardly be overrated. It supplies another connecting link between the history of the

The liberal policy of Psammetichus, while resulting in great advantage to foreign nations, brought a heavy misfortune upon his own. Displeased with the position assigned Greek mercenaries in the army, the native Egyptian soldiers revolted, and two hundred thousand of the troops, embracing the larger part of the warrior class of society, which ranked next in importance to the sacerdotal order, seceded in a body, and emigrated to Ethiopia, whence no inducement that Psammetichus offered could persuade them to return.

Necho II. (612-596 B.C.). — The son of Psammetichus, Necho II., the Pharaoh-Necho of the Bible, followed the liberal policy marked out by his father. To facilitate commerce, and to unite his great war-fleets on the Nile and the Red Sea, he attempted to re-open the old canal dug by Seti I. and his son, which had become unnavigable. Necho proposed to make it wide and deep enough to float his great triremes. After the loss of one hundred and twenty thousand workmen in the prosecution of the undertaking, Necho was constrained to abandon it; Herodotus says, on account of an unfavorable oracle.

Necho then fitted out an exploring expedition for the circumnavigation of Africa, in hopes of finding a possible passage for his fleets from the Red Sea to the Nile by a water channel already opened by nature, and to which the priests and oracles could interpose no objections. The expedition, we have reason to believe, actually accomplished the feat of sailing around the continent; for Herodotus, in his account of the enterprise, says that the voyagers upon their return reported that, when they were rounding the cape, the sun was on their right hand (to the north).

East and that of the West. Ernest Gardner, in his report of his work, says: "The influence of Egypt flowed through Naucratis to Greece, and the long-perfected models of Egyptian skill roused the emulation, if not always the imitation, of the young and quickly rising art of Greece." Naucratis was at its height of prosperity in the 6th century B.C., although it certainly existed as early as the beginning of the 7th century. King Amasis (see p. 31) broke up all the other Greek settlements in the Delta, and confined the Greek traders to Naucratis.

This feature of the report, which led Herodotus to disbelieve it, is to us the very strongest evidence possible that the voyage was really performed. It is said, that the expedition was absent three years; and that, their provisions failing, the sailors landed each summer, sowed fields of grain, and, after waiting for the same to ripen, harvested the crop, and then resumed their voyage.

The Last of the Pharaohs.—Before the close of his reign, Necho had come into collision with Nabopolassar, king of Babylon. The armies of that monarch, led by his son Nebuchadnezzar, wrested from the Egyptian king the strong fortress of Carchemish, that watched the Euphrates.¹ In this event was written the fate of the empire of the Nile. The Pharaohs were forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Babylonian kings.

Under Amasis (571–527 B.C.), however, Egypt, although part of the time a vassal state to Babylon, enjoyed a period of unusual prosperity. Diodorus says that at this time Egypt held eighteen thousand cities; Herodotus makes the number twenty thousand. Villages and mere clusters of buildings were doubtless included in this enumeration. Yet, although the country had a large population, we must bear in mind that her military strength had been seriously weakened by the secession of the warrior class in the reign of Psammetichus. She could no longer offer formidable resistance to Asiatic conquerors.

In 527 B.C., the Persian king Cambyses invaded the valley, defeated and put to death the successor of Amasis—his son, Psammetichus III.—and established the Persian authority throughout the country. The Egyptians, however, were restive under this foreign yoke, and, after a little more than a century, succeeded in throwing it off; but the country was again subjugated by the Persian king, Artaxerxes III. (about 340 B.C.), and from that time on to our own day no native prince has ever sat upon the throne of the Pharaohs. Long before the Persian conquest, the Prophet Ezekiel, foretelling the destruction of Egypt,

¹ Necho had captured Carchemish only a few years before this, probably in 608 B.C.

had declared, "There shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt."¹

Upon the extension of the power of the Macedonians over the East (333 B.C.), Egypt willingly exchanged masters ; and for three centuries the valley was the seat of the renowned Græco-Egyptian Empire of the Ptolemies, which lasted until the Romans annexed the region to their all-absorbing empire (30 B.C.).

"The mission of Egypt among the nations was fulfilled ; it had lit the torch of civilization in ages inconceivably remote, and had passed it on to other peoples of the West."

Reflecting upon the causes which paved the way for Egypt's decline and fall, the Egyptologist Brugsch observes : "Strong as is the impression of pity made by the sight of this miserable end to the mighty empire of the Pharaohs, yet the temples and edifices built to last hundreds of thousands of years could offer no resistance to the perishableness of all things earthly ; for it was not in their everlasting stones that the Pharaohs should have established their imperishable monuments. The harassed and exhausted people, persecuted with war and oppression, a plaything for the caprice and ambition of their princes, easily broke their faith when they no longer received their reward in the fidelity and affection of their rulers. Degraded into the mere means to a selfish end, it was the same to them whom they served, whether Assyrian, Persian, or Greek. No foreign prince could prove worse to them than Pharaoh and his court."

¹ Ez. xxx. 13.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE AND SUMMARY OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

		B.C.
Old Empire (embracing first sixteen dynasties).	Menes, legendary founder of the empire . . .	(?)
	Great Pyramids built by kings of Fourth Dynasty, about	2700
	Twelfth Dynasty	" 2300
	Hyksos (Asiatic invaders) overthrow the Old Empire	" 2100
Middle Empire: rule of the Shepherd Kings (Seventeenth Dynasty).	Shepherd Kings become masters of Egypt . .	" 2100
	Monuments of early kings destroyed or mutilated.	
	Dark Ages of Egyptian history. During the latter part of this period the Children of Israel settle in the land. Period closes with expulsion of Hyksos by Amosis, a Theban prince .	" 1650
	Amosis establishes New Empire	" 1650
	* * * * *	
	Thothmes III., warrior and builder, reigns . .	" 1600
	* * * * *	
	Amunoph III., great builder	" 1550
	* * * * *	
	Rameses I. establishes Nineteenth Dynasty . .	" 1400
New Empire (embracing 18th-26th dynasties).	Seti I.	" 1398
	Rameses II. the Great	" 1370
	Menephthah (son of Rameses II.), Pharaoh of the Exodus	" 1320
	* * * * *	
	Sheshonk (Shishak)	" 993-972
	Psammetichus I. (according to Brugsch) . .	666-612
	Necho (Pharaoh-Necho)	612-596
	Psammetichus II.	596-590
	Apries (Pharaoh-Hophra)	590-571
	Amasis	571-527
	Psammetichus III. (reigned six months) . .	527
	Egypt a dependency of Persian Empire . . .	527-404
	Under native princes (28th-30th dynasties) .	404-340?
Later History. .	Persian authority restored (31st Dynasty) . .	340?-332
	Alexander conquers Egypt	332
	Ptolemies rule in Egypt	323-30
	Conquest of country by Romans	30

CHAPTER II.

RELIGION, MONUMENTS, ARTS, AND SCIENCES OF THE
ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

Classes of Society.— Egyptian society was divided into three great classes, or orders, — priests, soldiers, and common people ; the last embracing shepherds, husbandmen, and artisans. These divisions are more properly designated as classes than castes ; for the characteristic features of the latter, as existing among the Hindus, are that the members “ must abstain from certain forbidden occupations, contract no alliance beyond the limits of the caste, and must continue to practise the profession of their fathers ” ; whereas among the Egyptians there were no such restrictions laid upon the two principal classes. The priest might become a soldier, and the soldier a priest, or the same person might be both at once.

The Priesthood.— The sacerdotal order formed a perfect hierarchy, consisting of a high priest, of prophets, scribes, keepers of the sacred robes and animals, sacred sculptors, masons and embalmers, and a host of attendants and functionaries to care for the temples, and perform the complicated ceremonies of the national worship. They enjoyed freedom from taxation, and met the expenses of the temple services by the income of the sacred lands, which embraced one-third of the soil of the country.

The priests were extremely scrupulous in the care of their persons. They bathed twice by day and as often by night, and shaved the entire body every third day. Their inner clothing was linen, woollen garments being thought unclean ; their diet was plain and even abstemious, in order that, as Plutarch says, “ their bodies might sit light as possible about their souls.”

The Warrior Class. — Next to the priesthood in rank and honor stood the military order. Like the priests, the soldiers formed a landed class. They held one-third of the soil of Egypt. To each soldier was given a tract of about eight acres, exempt from all taxes. They were carefully trained in their profession, and there was no more effective soldiery in ancient times than that which marched beneath the standards of the Pharaohs.

The military force of the nation numbered, in the best days of the empire, about five hundred thousand men, increased by allies and mercenaries, in case of special urgency, to more than one million. The army was made up of infantry, cavalry, and charioteers; the archers of the first being the most effective branch of the service. The regiments are sometimes represented upon the monuments as moving in a heavy mass, like the Macedonian phalanx. The Egyptian phalanx consisted of ten thousand men drawn up in a solid square, with one hundred men on each face. Protected with immense shields, this body, like its Macedonian successor, was practically impenetrable, and when moving over level ground bore down everything before it.

The navy of the Egyptians was composed of Phœnician ships and sailors; the Egyptians themselves hated the sea. Records have been discovered of naval engagements between the Egyptian fleets and their enemies upon the Mediterranean more than two thousand years before our era.

Religious Doctrines. — Attached to the chief temples of the Egyptians were colleges for the training of the sacerdotal order. These institutions were the repositories of the wisdom of the Egyptians. This learning was open only to the initiated few. The papyri have revealed to us — more favored than the uninitiated of those times — the jealously guarded mysteries of Isis.

The unity of God was the central doctrine in this esoteric system. They gave to this Supreme Being the very same name by which he was known to the Hebrews — *Nuk Pu Nuk*, "I am that I am."¹ The sacred manuscripts say, "He is the one living and

¹ "It is evident what a new light this discovery throws on the sublime

true God, who was begotten by himself. . . . He who has existed from the beginning, . . . who has made all things, and was not himself made."¹ To this Being were given many names, to express the modes of his manifestations; just as we give different names to the Deity—as Creator, Eternal, Father—to indicate the various relations he sustains to the universe and to ourselves.²

The great multitude, of course, did not and could not rise to this lofty monotheism; to them the different parts of nature, as the sun and moon, and the various animals, were distinct gods, instead of parts of a great whole animated by a universal soul.

Osiris, Isis, and Horus.—The Egyptian divinities of the popular mythology were frequently grouped in triads. First in importance among these groups was that formed by Osiris, Isis (his wife and sister), and Horus, their son. The members of this triad were worshipped throughout Egypt. The Egyptians had whole libraries of myths and legends, some of them very beautiful and significant, respecting these favorite divinities.³ Many of the other triads were composed of local deities.

passage in Exodus iii. 14; where Moses, whom we may suppose to have been initiated into this formula, is sent both to his people and to Pharaoh to proclaim the true God by this very title, and to declare that the God of the highest Egyptian theology was also the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob. The case is parallel to that of Paul at Athens."—SMITH, *Ancient History of the East*, p. 196, note.

¹ Lenormant, *Ancient History of the East*, Vol. I. p. 318.

² The inferior deities were likewise given many designations. Isis was called "the goddess with ten thousand names."

³ "The peculiar character of Osiris, his coming upon earth for the benefit of mankind, with the title of 'Manifestor of good and truth,' his being put to death by the malice of the evil one, his burial and resurrection, and his becoming the judge of the dead, are the most interesting features of the Egyptian religion. This was the great mystery; and this myth and his worship were of the earliest times, and universal in Egypt. He was to every Egyptian the great Judge of the dead; and it is evident that Moses abstained from making any very pointed allusion to the future state of man because it would have recalled the well-known Judge of the dead and all the funeral ceremonies of Egypt, and have brought back the thoughts of the mixed mul-

The possible origin of the triad, or threefold grouping of the gods, which is a feature characterizing many, if not all, polytheistic religions, is that anthropomorphic conception of the divinities which attributes to them all human distinctions, and creates a celestial family, composed, like the human, of father, mother, and son.

Set, or Typhon. — The god Set (called Typhon by the Greek writers), the principle of evil, was the Satan of Egyptian mythology. While the good and beneficent Osiris was symbolized by the Nile, the malignant Typhon was emblemized by the terrors and barrenness of the desert; by a frightful serpent, slain by Horus; and, again, by the hippopotamus or the crocodile.

Animal-Worship. — As strange to us as to the Greeks seems the animal-worship of the ancient Egyptians. Clemens, after describing the superb temples of Egypt, the solemn ceremonies, and the magnificent processions of the priests, thus contrasts all this with the deity which is the object of this adoration: "But if you enter the penetralia, and inquire for the image of the god, one of the attendants approaches with a solemn and mysterious aspect, and, putting aside the veil, suffers you to peep in and obtain a glimpse of the divinity. There you behold a snake, a crocodile, or a cat, or some other beast, a fitter inhabitant of a cavern or a bog than a temple."

To kill one of these sacred animals was adjudged the greatest impiety. Persons so unfortunate as to kill one through accident were sometimes murdered by the infuriated people. A Roman soldier, having killed a sacred cat, was set upon by the multitude and killed, in spite of the intercession of the reigning Ptolemy. The destruction of a cat in a burning building was lamented more than the loss of the property. Upon the death of a dog, every member of the family shaved his head. The scarabæus, or beetle, was especially sacred, being considered an emblem of the sun.

itude, and of all whose minds were not entirely uncontaminated by Egyptian habits, to the crude superstitions from which it was his object to free them." — WILKINSON, *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. I. p. 331.

The Sacred Bull Apis.—Not only were various animals held sacred as being the emblems of certain deities, but some were thought to be real gods. This belief of the Egyptians that their gods actually incarnated themselves in various animals is best illustrated in their worship of the bull Apis. The soul of Osiris, it was imagined, animated the body of some bull, which might be known from certain spots and markings. One of these marks was a vulture with outspread wings upon the back of the ox. At Memphis was the sacred stable in which was kept “the fair and beautiful image of the soul of Osiris.”

Upon the death of the Apis, a great search, accompanied with loud lamentation, was made throughout the land for his successor: for, the moment the soul of Osiris departed from the dying bull, it entered a calf that moment born. The calf was always found with the proper markings; but, as Wilkinson says, the young animal had probably been put to “much inconvenience and pain to make the marks and hair conform to his description.”

The body of the deceased Apis—if he lived beyond twenty-five years he was killed and cast into a well, without ceremony—was carefully embalmed, and, amid funeral ceremonies of great expense and magnificence, deposited in the tomb of his predecessors. In 1851, Mariette discovered this sepulchral chamber of the sacred bulls. It is a narrow gallery, two thousand feet in length, cut in the limestone cliffs just opposite the site of ancient Memphis. Thirty of the immense granite sarcophagi, fifteen feet long and eight wide and high, have been brought to light.

Explanation of Animal-Worship.—Many explanations have been given to account for the existence of so low and debased a form of worship among a people so far advanced in the scale of culture as were the ancient Egyptians, and who, moreover, entertained such just and exalted conceptions of Deity. Plutarch believed that the worship arose from the custom of using for military standards the figures of various animals, which gradually came to be regarded as sacred. Diodorus accounted for it by the fable that the gods, when hard pressed in their battle with the giants,

sought safety in the disguise of animals, which hence became objects of adoration.

Some modern scholars propose the following solution: The ancient religion of the Egyptians was the result of the meeting and partial blending and accommodation to each other of two very different systems of belief. Hence its dualistic character. The element which manifested itself in animal-worship had its origin and basis in that low form of religion existing at the present day among many African tribes, and known as fetichism, or the adoration of material objects, animate or inanimate. The purer monotheistic element, represented by the sacerdotal order, was introduced by the Hamites, or perhaps Semites, who mingled with the original dwellers in the Nile valley. We know that the doctrines taught the initiated in the priestly colleges prevailed from the very remotest times among the ancestors of at least the latter of these Asiatic intruders. This sacerdotal class, finding their doctrines too refined and spiritual for the masses, allowed them to retain their own sensuous worship, but dignified it with temples and magnificent ceremonies. In course of time attempts to harmonize the two forms of belief led to a complicated and ingenious system of symbolism, till every sacred animal and object in the lower mode of worship became an emblem of some attribute of the Deity. As all nature is a parable, an emblem,—the things which are seen being a figure of those things which are not seen,—it was not an entirely fanciful system that was evolved by this endeavor.

Probably the only modification we need make in this theory to bring it into accordance with the actual facts, is to suppose the more spiritual truths, instead of being brought into Egypt from without, to have been the natural outgrowth of Egyptian thought and experience. Then the sacred animals in the later worship would represent an earlier stage of the Egyptian religion, just as many superstitious beliefs and observances in modern religions are simply survivals from the prehistoric ages of these faiths and creeds.

Judgment of the Dead.—Death was a great equalizer among the Egyptians. King and peasant alike must stand before the judgment-seat of Osiris and his forty-two assessors.

This judgment of the soul in the other world was prefigured by a peculiar ordeal to which the body was subjected here. Between each chief city and the burial-place on the western edge of the valley was a sacred lake, across which the body was borne in a barge. But, before admittance to the boat, it must pass the ordeal called "the judgment of the dead." This was a trial before a tribunal of forty-two judges, assembled upon the shore of the lake. Any person could bring accusations against the deceased, false charges being guarded against by the most dreadful penalties. If no proofs of impiety were established, the body was allowed to be borne across the sacred waters to the place of sepulture. But if it appeared that the life of the deceased had been evil, passage to the boat of Charon, as the master of the barge was called, was denied; and the body was either carried home in dishonor, or, in case of the poor who could not afford to care for the mummy, was interred on the shores of the lake. Many mummies of those refused admission to the tombs of their fathers have been dug up along these "Stygian banks." Diodorus affirms that several Pharaohs were denied the usual funeral honors. The soul of the body thus adjudged unworthy of sepulture was condemned to wander for a hundred years in the realms of the dead.

But this ordeal of the body was only a faint symbol of the dread tribunal of Osiris before which the soul must appear in the lower world. In one scale of a balance, held by Horus and Anubis, was placed the heart of the deceased; in the other scale, an image of Justice, or Truth. The soul stands by watching the result, and, as the beam inclines, is either welcomed to the companionship of the good Osiris, or consigned to oblivion in the jaws of a frightful hippopotamus-headed monster, "the devourer of evil souls." This annihilation, however, is only the fate of those inveterately wicked. Those respecting whom hopes of reformation may be entertained are condemned to return to earth and do pen-

ance in long cycles of lives in the bodies of various animals. This is what is known as the transmigration of souls. The kind of animals the soul should animate, and the length of its transmigrations, were determined by the nature of its sins.



JUDGMENT OF THE DEAD.

These ceremonies at the sacred lake, and before the tribunal of Osiris and his assessors, are of great interest as showing the influence of the Egyptian religion upon the nations of Southern Europe ; for they are doubtless the original of the Acherusian lake, Charon and the Styx, and a whole series of Grecian and Roman fables and beliefs respecting the other world, and the fortunes of the soul after death.

Tombs. — “All Egypt bore the impress of religion.” Before all things else, the tombs of the ancient Egyptians tell us of their faith and worship. They believed that, after having spent three thousand years with Osiris, the good soul would return to earth, and reanimate its former body. Hence little care was bestowed upon the temporary residences of the living, but the “eternal homes” of the dead were fitted up with the most lavish expenditure of labor. These were chambers, sometimes built of brick or stone, but more usually cut in the limestone cliffs that form the western rim of the Nile valley ; for that, as the land of the sunset, was conceived to be the realm of darkness and of death. The

cliffs opposite the ancient Egyptian capitals are honeycombed with sepulchral cells.

In the hills back of Thebes is the so-called Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, the "Westminster Abbey of Egypt." Here are twenty-five magnificent sepulchres. These consist of extensive rock-cut passages and chambers, whose walls are covered with sculptures and paintings depicting the rewards and punishments awaiting men in the after-life, according to their deserts.

The ordinary tombs were owned by the priests, and were bought and sold like any other form of property. They were fitted up in various styles to suit different purchasers; even the paintings and legends were all finished, leaving nothing to be done save the insertion of the name of the deceased. Many of the wealthy class purchased sites from the priests, and then spent immense sums in embellishing family tombs, some of which are said to have rivalled those of the kings themselves.

The poorer classes, who were unable to defray the expense of a separate tomb, were, after the embalming of the body in the rudest and most inexpensive manner, laid in tiers in great trenches dug in the desert sands.

The sculptures and paintings of the tombs usually portray the occupation of the deceased, being representations of the various processes in different manufactures, scenes of social festivities, and domestic employments. Thus the artist has converted for us the Egyptian necropolis into a city of the living, where the Egypt of four thousand years ago seems to pass before our eyes.

The Pyramids. — Remains of ancient pyramidal structures, the simple and durable character of which form of edifice led to its adoption by primitive builders, are found in all parts of the world, — in Mexico, China, India, Chaldaea, and Egypt. But the enormous structures of this nature raised by the dwellers of the Nile valley far surpass all other edifices of the same kind, and are the most wonderful and venerable monuments that have been preserved to us from the early world.

The Egyptian pyramids were almost all erected before the

Twelfth Dynasty ; and the largest and most perfect, as we have already learned, were raised by the monarchs of the Fourth Dynasty. This fact lends to them the greatest interest ; for although thus standing away back in the earliest twilight of the historic morning, they mark, not the beginning, but the perfection, of Egyptian art. They speak of long periods of growth in art and science lying beyond the era they represent. It is this vast and mysterious background that astonishes us even more than these giant forms cast up against it.

The principal Egyptian pyramids, sixty-seven in number, are found in groups along the edge of the Libyan desert, for a distance of about sixty miles above the present city of Cairo. Being sepulchral monuments, they are confined to the western side of the Nile valley ; for that, as we have already seen, was considered the region of darkness and death.

The largest of the Gizeh group, the Pyramid of Cheops, rises from a base covering thirteen acres, to a height of four hundred and eighty feet. According to Herodotus, Cheops employed one hundred thousand men for twenty years in its erection, ten years' preparatory work having been expended upon the great causeway over which the stones were dragged from the Nile.

All the pyramids were constructed of stone, save three or four, which were built of sun-dried brick. These latter have crumbled into vast conical heaps, like the mounds left by the pyramid-temples of the Babylonians.

Several of the pyramids have been opened, and sarcophagi discovered in their inner chambers, thus proving their sepulchral character. Ambition, doubtless, as well as a desire to secure the royal body against any possible accident or violence, determined their enormous size. After the body had been placed within, the passage-way was closed by letting fall a portcullis of hard granite ;¹ and all traces of the entrance were then obliterated by masonry.

¹ This so effectually blocks the way that modern explorers of the pyramids, in seeking an entrance, are often forced to cut a tunnel around the obstruction, through the softer limestone.

Palaces and Temples. — The early Memphian kings built great unadorned pyramids, but the later Theban monarchs constructed splendid palaces and temples. "Thebes," says Lenormant, "in spite of all the ravages of time and of the barbarian, still presents the grandest, the most prodigious assemblage of buildings ever erected by the hand of man."

The ruins that cover the site of this ancient capital are the remains of palaces and temples erected by the combined labors of many of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies from as early as the Twelfth Dynasty to the Roman conquest. "Most of the great temples, like our cathedrals, were the work of age after age." Two of the most prominent masses of buildings are called, the one the Temple of Karnak, and the other the Temple of Luxor, from the names of two native villages built near or within the ruined enclosures. The former was the work of seven kings, and was more than five hundred years in process of building.

Any detailed description of these ruins is here impossible. We can only notice that the walls of both palace and temple, as well as the faces of the forest of columns and obelisks that adorned the numerous courts and corridors, are covered with sculptures and paintings, portraying the processions of the priests or the exploits of the kings.

In connection with the temple proper were various buildings for the use of the priests of the sacred college, which corresponded to the chapter of the modern cathedral. As an adjunct of the temple at Karnak was a Hall of Columns, which consisted of a phalanx of one hundred and sixty-four gigantic pillars. Some of these columns measure seventy feet in height, with capitals sixty-five feet in circumference.

Although the ruins of the royal and sacred edifices at Thebes surpass all others in the Nile valley, still there are many remains of a similar nature, though less remarkable in extent, found upon the different sites occupied by the other capitals and chief cities of Egypt. Most of these, however, are of a later date than those of Karnak and Luxor. In Nubia, beyond the First Cataract, is the



THE GREAT HALL OF COLUMNS AT KARNAK.

THE ART OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

The colossal temple of Ipsambul, the façade of which is adorned with four gigantic portrait-statues of Rameses II., seventy feet in height. This temple has been pronounced the greatest and noblest achievement of Egyptian art.

Sphinxes and Colossi.— Egyptian sculpture grew out of painting or hieroglyphical writing. The figure or character was first a mere outline drawing, was after a time cut into the rock surface, and next the rock was chiselled away so as to leave a figure in bas-relief. Egyptian mimetic art barely reached a point so early attained by the Greeks, who cut the figure clear



FAÇADE OF ROCK TEMPLE AT IPSAMBUL.

around, and forced it to stand out boldly, away from all support. A strange immobility, at an early period, attached itself to Egyptian art, due to the influence of religion.¹ The artist, in the portrayal of the figures of the gods, was not allowed to change a

¹ At first, great freedom, originality, and promise characterized Egyptian art which is generally regarded as having reached its highest perfection in the monuments of the Pyramid-builders.

single line in the sacred form. Hence the impossibility of improvement in sacred sculpture. Wilkinson says that Menes would have recognized the statue of Osiris in the Temple of Amasis. Plato complained that the pictures and statues in the temples in his day were no better than those made "ten thousand years" before.

The heroic, or colossal, size of many of the Egyptian statues excites our admiration. The two colossi of Amunoph III. at



COLOSSI AT THEBES.

Thebes are forty-seven feet high, and are hewn each from a single block of granite. The appearance of these gigantic figures, upon the solitary plain, is peculiarly impressive. "There they sit together, yet apart, in the midst of the plain, serene and vigilant, still keeping their untired watch over the lapse of ages and the eclipse of Egypt."

One of these colossi acquired a wide reputation among the Greeks and Romans, under the name of the "Vocal Memnon." When the rays of the rising sun fell upon the colossus, it emitted low musical tones, which the Egyptians believed to be the greeting of the statue to the mother-sun. These mysterious sounds, it has been affirmed, were produced by a person concealed by the priests in the lap of the colossus. It is more probable that the musical notes were produced by the action of the sun upon the surface of the rock while wet with dew.¹ "It had not been produced in the colossus before the earthquake that, about the time of Tiberius [Roman Emperor, A.D. 14-37], threw down the upper part of the statue, and thus uncovered the fissures most exposed to the action of the dew; it ceased when the statue was repaired by Septimius Severus [Roman Emperor, A.D. 193-211], and put into the state in which we now see it."

The sphinxes, figures having commonly the head of a man and the body of a lion, symbolizing power and intelligence, were often ranked along the avenues leading to the palaces and temples. The most famous of the sphinxes of Egypt is the colossal figure at the base of the Great Pyramid, at Gizeh, sculptured, some think, by Menes, and others, by one of the kings of the Fourth Dynasty. This immense statue, cut out of the native rock, save the fore-legs, which are built of masonry, is ninety feet long and seventy feet high. "It is certainly the most gigantic, and perhaps the oldest, idol of the human race." Excavations in the sand heaped about it have revealed the ruin of a temple, or chapel, between its outstretched paws. "This huge, mutilated figure has an astonishing effect; it seems like an eternal spectre. The stone phantom seems attentive; one would say that it hears and sees.

¹ Musical rocks are found in different parts of the world. The phenomenon is connected with granite rocks along the course of the Middle Orinoco, in South America. The granite is split with deep crevices, that seem to give emission to these mysterious sounds. Humboldt explained the phenomenon by supposing currents of air, produced by the heating of the rocks, to beat against the spangles of mica that line the crevices.

Its great ear appears to collect the sounds of the past ; its eyes, directed to the east, gaze, as it were, into the future ; its aspect has a depth, a truth of expression, irresistibly fascinating to the spectator. In this figure — half statue, half mountain — we see a wonderful majesty, a grand serenity, and even a sort of sweetness of expression.”¹

Glass Manufacture. — The manufacture of glass, a discovery usually attributed to the Phœnicians, was carried on in Egypt more than four thousand years ago. The paintings at Beni-Hassan represent glass-blowers moulding all manner of articles. Glass bottles, and various other objects of the same material, are found in great numbers in the tombs. Some of these objects show that the ancient Egyptians were acquainted with processes of coloring glass that secured results which we have not yet been able to equal. They imitated, with marvellous success, the variegated hues of insects and stones. The manufacture of precious gems, so like the natural stone as to defy detection, was a lucrative profession. The sacred scarabæi (beetles) were reproduced in glass, with linings so delicate that it is almost certain that magnifying-glasses were used in their manufacture. Glass coffins were sometimes used. Processes for cutting and grinding glass — patented quite recently among us as a new discovery — were well known to the Egyptian artists.

The various articles of glass manufacture, as well as objects of the lapidary's art, which were produced by the Egyptians, were sought after and highly prized by all the nations of antiquity. They are found in the tombs of Etruria and Greece and Asia Minor, and are dug from the palace-mounds of Assyria and Babylonia. The Phœnicians, being carriers of all this vast trade, often received credit, among the peoples to whom they introduced these articles, for various inventions and discoveries of which they were simply the disseminators.

¹ Ampère, as quoted by Lenormant, *Ancient History of the East*, Vol. I. p. 331.

The Papyrus Paper.—The chief writing material used by the ancient Egyptians was the noted papyrus paper, manufactured from a reed which grew in the marshes and along the water-channels of the Nile. From the names of this Egyptian plant, *byblos* and *papyrus*, come our words "Bible" and "paper." The plant has now entirely disappeared from Egypt, and is found only on the Anapus, in the island of Sicily, and on a small stream near Jaffa, in Palestine. Long before the plant became extinct in Egypt an ancient prophecy had declared, "The paper reeds by the brooks . . . shall wither, be driven away, and be no more."¹ The costly nature of the papyrus paper led to the use of many substitutes for writing purposes—as leather, broken pottery, tiles, stones, and wooden tablets.

Forms of Writing.—The Egyptians employed three forms of writing: the *hieroglyphical*, consisting of rude pictures of material objects, usually employed in monumental inscriptions;² the *hieratic*, an abbreviated or rather simplified form of the hieroglyphical, adapted to writing, and forming the greater part of the papyrus manuscripts; and the *demotic*, or *encorial*, a still simpler form than the hieratic. The last did not come into use till about the seventh century B.C., and was then used for all ordinary documents, both of a civil and commercial nature. It could be written eight or ten times as fast as the hieroglyphical form.

Key to Egyptian Writing.—The key to the Egyptian writing was discovered by means of the Rosetta Stone, for which the world is indebted to the *savants* that accompanied the expedition of Napoleon in 1798. This valuable relic, a heavy block of black basalt, is now in the British Museum. It holds a trilingual inscription, written in hieroglyphic, demotic, and Greek characters. Champollion, a French scholar, by comparing the characters composing the words Ptolemy, Alexander, and other names in the

¹ Isa. xix. 7.

² "The hieroglyphical writing reveals itself to us in the monuments of the first dynasties with all that complication which belonged to it down to the last day of its existence."—LENORMANT.

parallel inscriptions, discovered the value of several letters ; and thus were opened the vast libraries of Egyptian learning.

We have now the Ritual, or Book, of the Dead, which gives the soul minute directions how to meet every possible emergency and peril in its journey through the underworld ; novels, or romances, and fairy tales, among which is "Cinderella and the Glass Slipper," and a story written expressly for the amusement of the little son of Rameses II. ; autobiographies, public and private letters, fables, and epics ; treatises on medicine, astronomy, and various other scientific subjects ; and books on history — in prose and verse — which fully justify the declaration of the Egyptian priests to Solon : "You Greeks are mere children, talkative and vain ; you know nothing at all of the past."

Of all this literature, the novels perhaps possess the most peculiar interest. The Egyptian notion of the transmigration of the soul afforded the romancer an admirable opportunity to introduce into his story elements which to our mode of thinking are supernatural, but which to the old Egyptian readers doubtless seemed perfectly natural. Not only do the dead reappear, — the old dry mummies suddenly warming with life as the long-absent souls return to their former tenements, — but animals and trees are made to talk, and the imprisoned souls, doing penance probably for sins committed in their human life, converse familiarly with men. Nor does the premature death of the hero or heroine cause the novelist any embarrassment ; the tale runs right on as though nothing serious had happened.¹ And these romances afforded entertainment not alone to the living, for they were sometimes put in the tomb "to amuse the leisure of the dead."

Astronomy. — The cloudless and brilliant skies of Egypt must have early invited the inhabitants of the Nile valley, like the dwellers of the Chaldæan plains, to the study of the heavenly bodies. And another circumstance closely related to their very existence, the inundation of the Nile, following the changing cycles of the stars, could not but have incited them to the watch-

¹ Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I. p. 151.

ing and predicting of astronomical movements. Their observations led them to discover the length, very nearly, of the sidereal year, which they made to consist of 365 days, every fourth year adding one day, making the number for that year 366. They also divided the year into twelve months of thirty days each, adding five days to complete the year. This was the calendar that Julius Cæsar introduced into the Roman Empire, and which, slightly reformed by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582, has been the system employed by almost all the civilized world up to the present day.

The birth of astrology was natural, and its absurdities are mingled with all the more solid astronomical attainments of the Egyptians. They noticed that the rise of the Nile began just at the heliacal rising of the bright dog-star Sirius, and they naturally inferred that the river obeyed some subtle influence of that body. In the Red Sea they saw, too, the tides rising and falling under some strange impulse from the wandering sun and moon. It was an easy step from these observed influences of the heavenly bodies over the inanimate world, to a belief in their benign or baneful influence upon the vegetable world, and over human life and destiny.

Geometry and Arithmetic.—The Greeks accounted for the early rise of the science of geometry among the Egyptians by reference to the necessity they were under each year of re-establishing the old boundaries of their fields—the inundation obliterating old landmarks and divisions. Diodorus says, “The river, changing the appearance of the country very materially every year, causes various and many discussions among neighboring proprietors about the extent of their property; and it would be difficult for any person to decide upon their claims without geometrical proof.” The science thus forced upon their attention was cultivated with zeal and success. A single papyrus has been discovered that holds twelve geometrical theorems.

Arithmetic was necessarily brought into requisition in solving astronomical and geometrical problems. We ourselves are great

debtors to the ancient Egyptians for much of our mathematical knowledge, which has come to us from the banks of the Nile, through the Greeks and Saracens.

Medicine and the Art of Embalming.—The custom of embalming the dead, affording opportunities for the examination of the body, without doubt had a great influence upon the development of the sciences of anatomy and medicine among the Egyptians. That the embalmers were physicians, we know from various testimonies. Thus we are told in the Bible that Joseph “commanded the *physicians* to embalm his father.” The Egyptian doctors had a very great reputation among the ancients; several of the Persian kings attached to their courts medical advisers from the schools of Egypt.

Every doctor was a specialist, and was not allowed to take charge of cases outside of his own branch. As the artist was forbidden to change the lines of the sacred statues, so the physician was not permitted to treat cases save in the manner prescribed by the customs of the past; and if he were so presumptuous as to depart from the established mode of treatment, and the patient died, he was adjudged guilty of murder. Many drugs and medicines were used; the ciphers, or characters, employed by modern apothecaries to designate grains and drams are of Egyptian invention.

In the various processes of embalming, the physicians made use of oils, resins, bitumen, and various aromatic gums. The bodies of the wealthy were preserved by being filled with costly aromatic and resinous substances, and swathed in bandages of linen. The face was sometimes gilded, or covered with a gold mask. As this, which was the “most approved method” of embalming, was very costly, the expense being equivalent probably to \$1000 or more, the bodies of the poorer classes were simply “salted and dried,” and wrapped in coarse mats, preparatory to burial. It is estimated that “between 2000 B.C. and 700 A.D., when embalming ceased, 420,000,000 mummied corpses” were placed in the various Egyptian cemeteries.

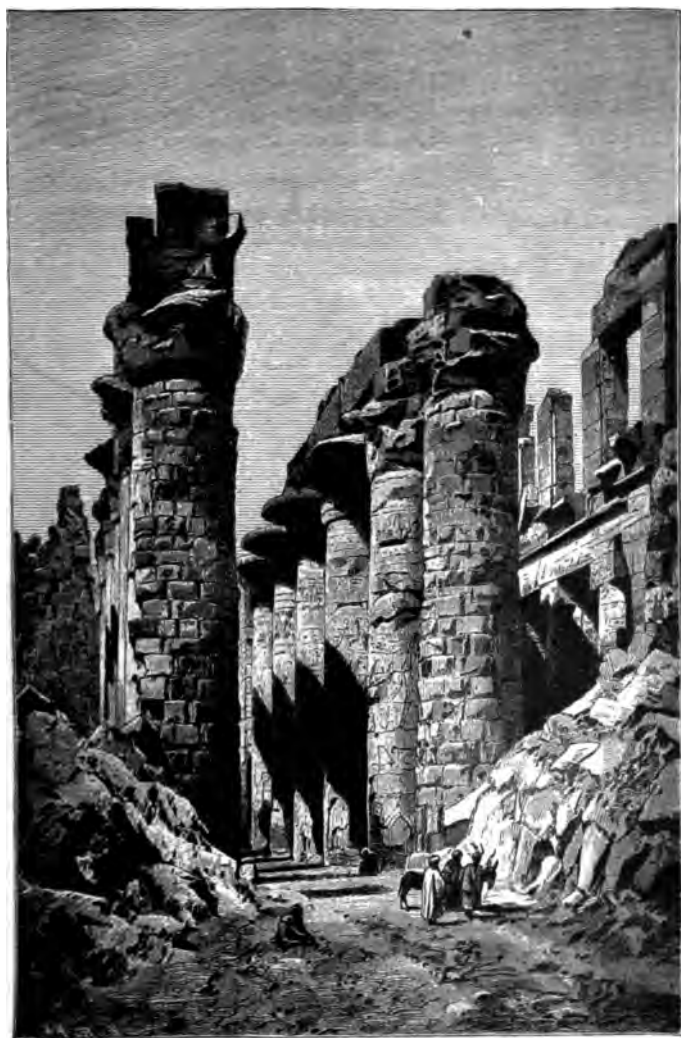
Palaces and Temples. — The early Memphian kings built great unadorned pyramids, but the later Theban monarchs constructed splendid palaces and temples. "Thebes," says Lenormant, "in spite of all the ravages of time and of the barbarian, still presents the grandest, the most prodigious assemblage of buildings ever erected by the hand of man."

The ruins that cover the site of this ancient capital are the remains of palaces and temples erected by the combined labors of many of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies from as early as the Twelfth Dynasty to the Roman conquest. "Most of the great temples, like our cathedrals, were the work of age after age." Two of the most prominent masses of buildings are called, the one the Temple of Karnak, and the other the Temple of Luxor, from the names of two native villages built near or within the ruined enclosures. The former was the work of seven kings, and was more than five hundred years in process of building.

Any detailed description of these ruins is here impossible. We can only notice that the walls of both palace and temple, as well as the faces of the forest of columns and obelisks that adorned the numerous courts and corridors, are covered with sculptures and paintings, portraying the processions of the priests or the exploits of the kings.

In connection with the temple proper were various buildings for the use of the priests of the sacred college, which corresponded to the chapter of the modern cathedral. As an adjunct of the temple at Karnak was a Hall of Columns, which consisted of a phalanx of one hundred and sixty-four gigantic pillars. Some of these columns measure seventy feet in height, with capitals sixty-five feet in circumference.

Although the ruins of the royal and sacred edifices at Thebes surpass all others in the Nile valley, still there are many remains of a similar nature, though less remarkable in extent, found upon the different sites occupied by the other capitals and chief cities of Egypt. Most of these, however, are of a later date than those of Karnak and Luxor. In Nubia, beyond the First Cataract, is the



THE GREAT HALL OF COLUMNS AT KARNAK.

which drove the Shepherd conquerors from the land, and set Amosis upon the throne of the ancient Pharaohs.

Egypt's Influence upon History. — The influence of the arts, sciences, learning, and institutions of the ancient Egyptians upon the Mediterranean nations is but just beginning to be realized. From the Nile came the germs of much found in the later culture of Asia and of Europe. In speaking of the influence of the political institutions of the Egyptians, Dr. Smith observes : " The Greeks regarded the laws of Egypt as the expression of the highest wisdom and the fountain of inspiration to their own legislators and philosophers — Lycurgus, Solon, Pythagoras, and Plato ; and the likeness between the Egyptian and Jewish codes is a decisive testimony alike to the merit of the former and to the purpose for which Moses was led to acquire his Egyptian learning." ¹

¹ Smith's *Ancient History of the East*, p. 191.

" It has been said that ' the forty-two laws of the Egyptian religion contained in the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead fall short in nothing of the teachings of Christianity,' and conjectured that Moses, in compiling his code of laws, did but ' translate into Hebrew the religious precepts which he found in the sacred books' of the people among whom he had been brought up. Such expressions are, no doubt, exaggerated; but they convey what must be allowed to be a fact — viz., that there is a very close agreement between the moral law of the Egyptians and the precepts of the Decalogue." — RAWLINSON, *History of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I. p. 104.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHALDÆAN MONARCHY.

(From about 4000 to 1300 B.C.)

Basin of the Tigris and Euphrates. — As in the case of Egypt, so in that of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, the physical features of the country exerted a great influence upon the history of its ancient peoples. Differences in geological structure divide this region into an upper and a lower district; and this division in natural features is reflected, as we shall see, throughout its political history. The northern part, which comprised ancient Assyria, forms undulating plains, so elevated above their streams that the waters of these can be rendered available only by laborious systems of irrigation.

But all the southern portion of this great river-basin, known as Chaldæa, or Babylonia, presents quite a different aspect. This lower district has been formed by the gradual encroachment of the deposits of the Tigris and Euphrates upon the waters of the Persian Gulf, and on this account has been called the "Asian Egypt." Owing to its origin, it is as level as the sea, and the soil is of inexhaustible fertility. The climate is almost rainless, and hence agriculture is dependent mainly upon artificial irrigation. The distribution of the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates was secured, in ancient times, by a stupendous system of canals and irrigants, which, at the present day, in a sand-choked and ruined condition, spread like a perfect network over the face of the country.

The productions of Babylonia are very like those of the Nile valley. The luxuriant growth of grain upon these alluvial flats excited the wonder of all the Greek travellers who visited the

East. Herodotus will not tell his countrymen the whole truth, for fear they will doubt his veracity. The soil is as fertile now as in the time of the historian ; but owing to the neglect of the ancient canals, the greater part of this once populous district has been converted into alternating areas of marsh and desert.

The Three Great Monarchies. — Within the Tigris-Euphrates basin, three great empires — the Chaldæan, the Assyrian, and the



ANCIENT BABYLONIAN CANALS.

Babylonian — successively rose to prominence and dominion. Each, in turn, not only extended its authority over the valley, but also made the power of its arms felt throughout the adjoining regions. We shall now trace the rise and the varied fortunes of these empires, and the slow growth of the arts and sciences from

rudé beginnings among the early Chaldæans to their fuller and richer development under the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchies.

The Accadians. — In the earliest times Lower Chaldæa was known as Shumir, the Shinar of the Bible, while Upper Chaldæa bore the name of Accad. The original inhabitants of this low country are conjectured to have been of Turanian race, and are called Shumiro-Accadians, or simply Accadians. Many scholars now regard it as probable that these people settled in the valley as early at least as the beginning of the fourth millennium before our era. They seem to have come from the mountain district southwest of the Caspian. That they came originally from a non-tropical, mountainous, mineral-bearing country, is inferred from such facts as that their name Accadian means "highlander," and that while they had names for metals, they had no word for palm.

The Accadians are believed to have laid the basis of civilization in the Euphrates valley, so that with them the history of Asian culture begins. They brought with them into the valley the art of hieroglyphical writing, which later developed into the well-known cuneiform system. They also had quite an extensive literature, and had made considerable advance in the art of building.

Semites mingle with the Accadians. — The civilization of the Accadians was given, it would seem, a great impulse by the arrival of a Semitic people. These foreigners were nomadic in habits, and altogether much less cultured than the Accadians. Gradually, however, they adopted the arts and literature of the people among whom they had settled; yet they retained their own language, which in the course of time superseded the less perfect Turanian speech of the original inhabitants; consequently the mixed people, known later as Chaldæans,¹ that arose from the blending of the two races, spoke a language essentially the same as that used by their northern neighbors, the Semitic Assyrians.

¹ This name does not appear in the inscriptions before the 9th century B.C.

Sargon (Sharrukin) I. (3800? B.C.). — Although we know something about the arts and culture of the early Accadians, still we know scarcely anything about their kings or their political affairs until after the arrival of the Semites. Then, powerful kings, sometimes of Semitic and then again of Turanian, or Accadian, origin, appear ruling in the cities of Accad and Shumir, and the political history of Chaldæa begins.

The first prominent monarch is called Sargon I. (Sharrukin), a Semitic king of Agadê, the chief city at this time of the upper country. An inscription recently deciphered makes this king to have reigned as early as 3800 B.C.¹

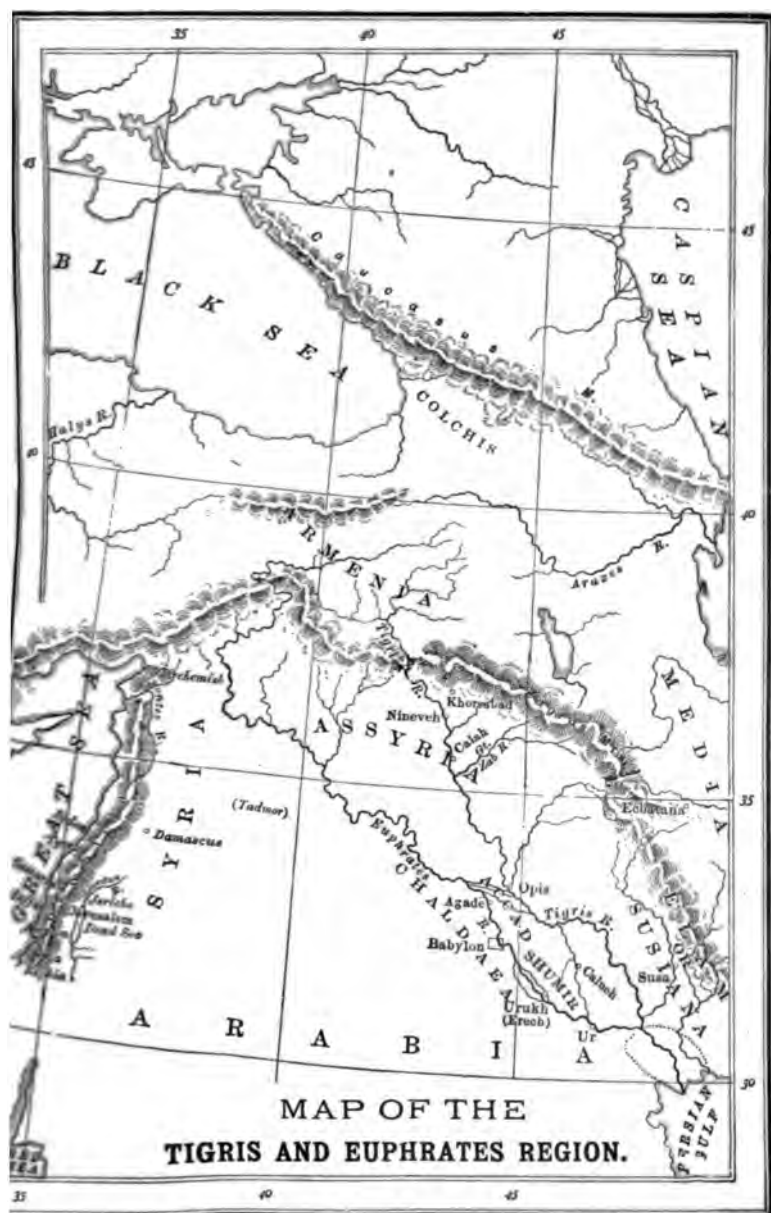
Sargon was the Chaldæan Moses.² He appears to have been the first great organizer of the peoples of the Chaldæan plains. He apparently was unable to bring all the cities of Accad and Shumir under his sway, still he built up a powerful state, and extended his dominions to the Mediterranean, thus bringing the civilization of the Euphrates into significant contact with that rising in the West.

Yet not as a warrior, but as a patron and protector of letters, is Sargon's name destined to a sure place in history. He classified and translated the religious, mythological, and astronomical literature of the Accadians, and deposited the books in great libraries, which he established or enlarged,—the oldest and most valuable libraries of the ancient world. His relations to the learning of his times leads the scholar Sayce to call him the Chaldæan Solomon.

Ur-êa (Uruk) (2800? B.C.). — Descending ten centuries, we

¹ The inscription from which the date is derived is upon a cylinder of the last Babylonian king, Nabonadius, who reigned 555-538 B.C. He says that in restoring a temple at Sippara, he found a cylinder which had been deposited 3200 years before his day by Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon.

² An inscription says: "My mother . . . placed me in an ark of bulrushes; with bitumen my door she closed up; she threw me into the river, which did not enter into the ark to me. The river carried me; to the dwelling of Akki the water-carrier it brought me. Akki the water-carrier, in his goodness of heart, lifted me up from the river. Akki the water-carrier brought me up as his own son." — *Records of the Past*, Vol. V. p. 3.





find another great king, now of the Accadian race, named Ur-êa (formerly read Uruk), reigning in Chaldæa. His capital city was Ur, in the southern land of Shumir.

This king appears, even to a greater extent than did Sargon, to have consolidated the petty states of Babylonia into one kingdom, and to have ruled over the cities of both Shumir and Accad. He is best known to us through the remains of his great buildings. He was, with perhaps one or two exceptions,¹ the first great builder among the kings of early Chaldæa. The art of building in his day had made considerable advance, and many of his edifices were quite richly adorned.

All the great structures of this king were tower-temples, built in several stages, and somewhat resembling the pyramids of Egypt. The sites of these edifices are marked at the present day by vast conical hills of crumbled ruins, that dot thickly the Chaldæan plains. From the vast number and size of his works — for Uruk adorned each of the chief cities of his empire with a great temple — we may infer either that as a despot he had at his command the life and labor of his subjects, whom he oppressed as the pyramid-building kings of Egypt burdened their people, or that as a conqueror he set to the task the captives of his numerous wars.

Conquest of Chaldæa by the Elamites (2286 B.C.). — While the Chaldæan kings were building their great cities and pyramid-temples on the plains of Lower Babylonia, the princes of the Elamites, a people of Turanian race, were setting up a rival kingdom to the northeast, just at the foot of the hills of Persia. The capital of this Scythian empire was Susa, thought to be one of the oldest, if not the very oldest, of Asiatic cities.

In the year 2286 B.C., a king of Elam, Kudur-Nakhunta by name, overran Chaldæa, took all the cities founded by Sargon and his successors, and from the temples of Uruk bore off in triumph to his capital, Susa, the statues of the Chaldæan gods, and set up in these lowland regions what is known as the Elamite Dynasty.

¹ Gudêa, the priest-king of Sirbula, appears to have erected many buildings; but his date is not settled, some placing him before, and others after, Ur-êa.

More than sixteen hundred years after this despoiling of the Chaldæan sanctuaries, a king of Nineveh (Asshur-bani-pal) captured the city of Susa, and found there these stolen statues and caused them to be restored to their original temples (see p. 82).

Chedorlaomer, the Conqueror. — Kudur-Nakhunta was succeeded by his son Kudur-Iagamer, the Chedorlaomer of Genesis, whose contact with the history of the Jewish patriarch Abraham has caused his name to be handed down to our own times in the records of the Hebrew people.

Chedorlaomer conceived the ambitious project of uniting all the nations and tribes of Western Asia, between the hills of Persia and the Mediterranean, in one gigantic kingdom. He was at least partly successful in his plans; for we know that the princes of Elam and Babylonia, and some of the kings of Syria, paid tribute to him.

Rawlinson, in reviewing the character of Chedorlaomer, says: "In thus effecting conquests which were not again made from the same quarter till the time of Nebuchadnezzar, fifteen or sixteen hundred years afterwards, Chedorlaomer has a good claim to be regarded as one of the most remarkable personages in the world's history, — being, as he is, the forerunner and prototype of all great Oriental conquerors who from time to time have built up vast empires in Asia out of heterogeneous material, which have, in a longer or shorter space, successively crumbled to decay."

Chaldæa eclipsed by Assyria. — After the Elamite princes had maintained a more or less perfect dominion over the cities of Chaldæa for two or three centuries, their power seems to have declined; and then for several centuries longer, down to about 1300 B.C., dynasties and kings of which we know very little as yet, ruled the country.

During this period, Babylon, gradually rising into prominence, overshadowed the more ancient Accadian cities, and became the leading city of the land. From it the whole country was destined, later, to draw the name by which it is best known — Babylonia.

Meanwhile a Semitic power had been slowly developing in the

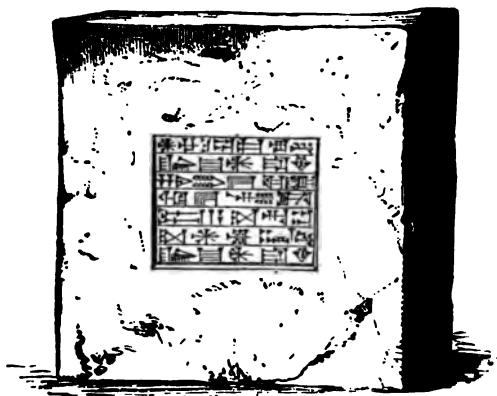
north. This was the Assyrian empire, the later heart and centre of which was the great city of Nineveh. For a long time Assyria was simply a province or dependency of the lower kingdom ; but about 1300 B.C., the Assyrian monarch Tiglathi-nin (= Tiglath-Adar) conquered Babylonia, and Assyria assumed the place that had been so long held by Chaldæa. From this time on to the fall of Nineveh in 606 B.C., the monarchs of this country virtually controlled the affairs of Western Asia.

CHAPTER IV.

ARTS AND GENERAL CULTURE OF THE CHALDÆANS.

Tower-Temples.—In the art of building, the Chaldæans, though their edifices fall far short of attaining the perfection exhibited by the earliest Egyptian structures, displayed no inconsiderable architectural knowledge and skill.

The most important of their constructions, and those alone of which any certain traces have survived to our own day, if we except their burial mounds, were their tower-temples. These



BABYLONIAN BRICK.

were simple in plan, consisting of two or three terraces, or stages, placed one upon another so as to form a sort of rude pyramid. The material used in their construction was sun-dried brick, the hills of Arabia and Persia being too distant to encourage the use of stone in any considerable quantity. The structure was some-

times protected by outer courses of burnt brick. Surmounting the upper platform was the temple proper, reached by stairs running up the sides of the stages. From the enamelled bricks, flakes of alabaster and marble, and occasional plates of gold found in the rubbish on the top of the mounds, we may infer the beauty and richness of the shrine.

All these tower-temples have crumbled into vast mounds, with only here and there a projecting mass of masonry to distinguish them from natural hills, for which they were at first mistaken. It is probable that they were used as astronomical observatories, and that from their summits the Chaldæan astrologers watched the changing aspect of the stars.

Burial Mounds.—The coffins of the Chaldæans have been pronounced the most curious sepulchral monuments of antiquity. (Rawlinson.) One kind consisted of a large terra-cotta cover, which was turned over the body, placed on a mat. Another kind was made of two large jars, placed mouth to mouth, the joint being closed by bitumen. These curious coffins were deposited in tiers, in artificial mounds, often of vast extent. In the burial mounds about the city of Wurka, the coffins are piled fifty deep. All about these mounds, the ground for miles on every side is filled with graves. It has been estimated that a greater number of bodies rest here than in the necropolis of Thebes. (Loftus.) So exalted was the sanctity that had attached to the ancient city of Wurka, that for more than two thousand years the spot was a sacred burial-place, not only for the Chaldæans, but also, it is conjectured, for the Assyrians and Babylonians, as no tombs have ever been found in Assyria or Upper Babylonia.

All the oldest cities in Chaldæa are thus surrounded by vast cemeteries. Bodies were transported long distances by the Tigris and the Euphrates, that they might repose at last in sacred ground. A similar sentiment still impels the Mohammedans in the same land to carry the bodies of friends vast distances, in order to lay them near the shrine of some celebrated saint.

Cuneiform Writing.—We have already mentioned the fact

that the Accadians, when they entered the Euphrates valley, were in possession of a system of writing. This was a simple pictorial, or hieroglyphical, system, which they gradually developed into the cuneiform. We can trace the same stages here in the development of the art of writing as are observed in its growth among the Egyptians.

We may distinguish five forms; the *hieroglyphic*, the *hieratic*, the *archaic cuneiform*, the *modern cuneiform*, and the *cursive*. The first and second are the same as the corresponding forms in Egyptian writing, and the one grew out of the other in the same way.

The archaic cuneiform is the same as the hieratic, only the characters, instead of being formed of unbroken lines, are composed of wedge-like marks; hence the name (from *cuneus*, a wedge). This form arose when the Accadians, having entered the low country, substituted tablets of clay for the papyrus or other similar material which they had formerly used. (Sayce.) The characters were impressed upon the soft tablet by means of a triangular stylus, which gave them their peculiar wedge-shaped form.

The modern cuneiform is simply an abbreviated form of the preceding; and the cursive is a still further simplification of the last. The modern cuneiform and cursive were not developed by the Chaldæans, but by the Assyrians, who borrowed their system of writing, as well as many other elements of their culture, from the people they had conquered.

The characters employed in all these modes of writing were of two kinds — ideographic and phonetic. The former were symbols representing entire words or ideas; the latter, several hundred in number, represented each a syllable, and thus constituted a syllabarium rather than a true alphabet. In its earliest stages the archaic cuneiform writing was made up largely of ideographs; but it gradually became more and more phonetic, until the syllabic characters formed the larger part of the inscription.

Although the Chaldæans, and the Assyrians after them, advanced so far in the difficult art of depicting thought, still they failed to

take the last step — to analyze the syllable into its simplest elements or sounds, and then represent each of these by a single character. The honor of this achievement was left to another people and race. It was not until more than two thousand years after the first improvements had been made in rude picture-writing by the Chaldæans, that the Persians,¹ beyond the Zagros ranges, to the east of the lowlands, finally took the step which marks the crowning achievement in the development of the greatest of human arts. That people reduced language to its ultimate elements, and with thirty-six characters represented all its elementary sounds. They thus replaced the cumbrous syllabic with the pliant alphabetical system. Thus the Turanian Accadians, the Semitic Assyrians, and the Aryan Persians — all contributed to the grand result. So, slowly and painfully, are wrought out the elements of human arts and culture.

The cuneiform mode of writing was in use about two thousand years, being employed by the nations in and near the Euphrates basin — that is, by the Chaldæans, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Susianians, the Armenians, the Medes, and the Persians — down to the time of the conquest of the East by the Macedonians (about 330 B.C.).

Books and Libraries. — The books of the Chaldæans were in general clay tablets, varying in length from one inch to twelve inches, and being about one inch thick. They were closely written on both sides, and often over the edges, the characters employed being the cuneiform, already described. Those holding records of special importance were, after having been once written over and baked, covered with a thin coating of clay, and then the matter was written in duplicate and the tablets again baked. If the outer writing were defaced by accident or altered by design,

¹ It is possible that the honor of the reduction of the hieroglyphical cuneiform writing to a purely alphabetical mode of representation should be given to the Medes rather than to the Persians. In any event, it must be allowed that the Persians, even though they be denied the honor of original inventors, improved and perfected the system.

the removal of the outer coating would at once show the true text.

The tablets were carefully preserved in great public libraries. Even during the Turanian period, before the Semites had entered the land, one or more of these collections existed in each of the chief cities of Accad and Shumir. "Accad," says Sayce, "was the China of Asia. Almost every one could read and write." Erech (Uruk) was especially renowned for its great library, and was known as "the City of Books."



CHALDÆAN TABLETS. (After Layard.)

How the Contents of the Accadian Libraries were preserved.

— All the books in the earliest Accadian libraries were written, of course, in the old Turanian language used by the Accadians, and had these tablets not been translated into another tongue before that Accadian speech became a dead language (it became extinct, according to Sayce, about 1700 B.C.), it is very doubtful whether we should ever have known anything about their contents. But fortunately the Semitic princes that came to rule in the Accadian

cities were, some of them at least, as we have seen in the case of Sargon I., patrons of literature, and to them it is that we are indebted for the preservation of what is perhaps the oldest literature of the world.

We have noticed how Sargon I., king of Agadê, devoted himself to the work of collecting and systematizing the literature of the Accadians. Now, even in his day, the Accadian language was already being superseded by the Semitic, and he consequently had all the Accadian books of most importance turned into Semitic, or Assyrian. In doing this he was careful to have his scribes copy the old text also, so that the new tablets were exact reproductions of the old, with an interlinear translation. Sometimes, however, the two texts were written in parallel columns. Sargon further ordered the compilation of grammars and lexicons of the Accadian language, as additional aids in its study.

Long after Sargon's time, when Assyria had risen into power and eclipsed Babylonia, one of the kings of that country (see p. 93) had copies made of these bilingual tablets, and deposited these copies in the royal library of Nineveh. These it is that we now possess. In this way was a good part of the contents of the first libraries of the race preserved to become the inestimable treasure of the present generation.

To the purely Accadian literature derived from the old libraries of Accad and Shumir, there was added during the Semitic period a great mass of fresh literature, — legends, heroic myths, and sacred hymns, which grew up after the Semites and Turanians had blended, or while they were blending, into one people. Quite a different spirit from that which characterizes the earlier pervades this later literature, especially the religious portion of it, of which we shall say something in a moment.

Embracing in one view the earlier and later Chaldæan tablets, we find them to cover the greatest possible variety of subjects. There are mythological tablets, which hold the myths of the Chaldæans respecting their gods; religious tablets, filled with prayers and hymns; legal tablets, containing laws, law-cases, contracts,

wills, loans, and various other matters of a commercial nature; legendary and epic tablets; and astronomical, geographical, historical, and mathematical tablets, illustrating the wisdom of the Chaldæans in all these matters.

We will say just a word of what the tablets reveal respecting the religion and mythology of the Chaldæans, and of the state of science among them.

The Religion. — The tablets hold a large religious literature. Those belonging to the earliest Accadian period open up to us what is perhaps the first and most instructive chapter in the religious history of the race.

The Accadian religion, for religion it must be called, although it was of a very low type, was essentially the same as that held to-day by the nomadic Turanian tribes of Northern Asia — what is known as Shamanism. It consisted in a belief in good and evil spirits, of which the latter held by far the most prominent place. To avert the malign influence of these wicked spirits, the Accadians had resort to charms and magic rites.¹

But even before the arrival of the Semites, the Accadian religion had advanced from the Shamanistic stage into the polytheistic. Not only had the good spirits come to hold a more prominent place in the religious system, but some of them had been lifted to positions of pre-eminence among the others, and had become real deities. The tablets are now filled, not alone with incantations, but with prayers and with hymns of praise to the gods.

By the time the Accadians had reached this stage in their religious progress, the Semites had come into the land. Their religion was a form of Sabæanism, — that is, a worship of the heavenly bodies, — in which the sun was naturally the central object of adoration. The two systems now blended to form one of the most influential religions of the world — one which spread far and wide under the form of Baal worship. The Chaldæan pantheon was now formed, chiefly by the early Semitic kings of Accad

¹ Consult *Records of the Past*, I. 135; and III. 142.

and Shumir. "The same kings that organized men below," says Sayce, "organized the gods above."

The order of the chief gods in the perfected system was as follows: At the head of the Pantheon was Il, or Ra, the latter name being one of the titles of the Egyptian Osiris, and the former being the root of the Hebrew Elohim and of the Arabian Allah.¹ Below Il was a triad — Ana, Belus, and Hoa, gods of the earth, of the heaven, and of the waters, and corresponding, Rawlinson ventures to think, to the classical Pluto, Jupiter, and Neptune. Next to these divinities was a second triad — Sin (Moon), San, or Shamas (Sun), and Bin, or Vul (Atmosphere). Then come five planetary deities, representing Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, embracing all the planets visible to the naked eye. Besides these divinities, which constituted the twelve primary gods, there were numerous secondary and local deities and genii, for room was made in the new system for all the spirits of the Turanian system, as well as for the deities of the Semitic worship.

The Semites changed not only the outer forms of the Accadian religion, but they infused into it a deeper and truer religious feeling. This inner change is best illustrated by what are called the Penitential Psalms,² which breathe the same spirit as that which pervades the Psalms of David; and by the teachings of a monotheistic sect, which show that at least some minds of spiritual vision had caught sight of the truth that there is but one God.

What lends to this religious movement a transcendent interest is the fact that this lofty idea, though it seems to have faded out in Chaldæa, was not lost to the world. In "Ur of the Chaldees," Abraham embraced the grand doctrine, which was to be the idea of the future. He carried it up into Palestine, and a long line of Hebrew teachers handed it down to later generations, as the most precious bequest of all antiquity.

There were still other outcomes of this old Chaldæan religion

¹ Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. I. p. 114.

² See *Records of the Past*, Vol. VII. pp. 153-156.

which were destined to exert a wide-spread and potent influence upon the minds of men. Out of the Sabæan Semitic element grew astrology, the art of forecasting events by the aspect of the stars, which was most elaborately and ingeniously developed, until the fame of the Chaldæan astrologers was spread throughout the ancient world, while the spell of their art held in thralldom the mind of mediæval Europe.

Out of the Shamanistic element contributed by the Turanian Accadians, grew a system of magic and divination which had a most profound influence not only upon all the Eastern nations, including the Jews, but also upon the later peoples of the West. Mediæval necromancy and witchcraft were, in large part, an unchanged inheritance from Chaldæa.¹

The "Chaldæan Genesis."—The cosmological myths and legends of the Chaldæans were the fountain-head of the stream of Hebrew cosmogony.

The discoveries and patient labors of various scholars have reproduced, in a more or less perfect form, from the legendary tablets, the Chaldæan account of the Creation of the World, of an ancestral Paradise and the Tree of Life with its cherub wardens, of the Deluge, and of the Tower of Babel.²

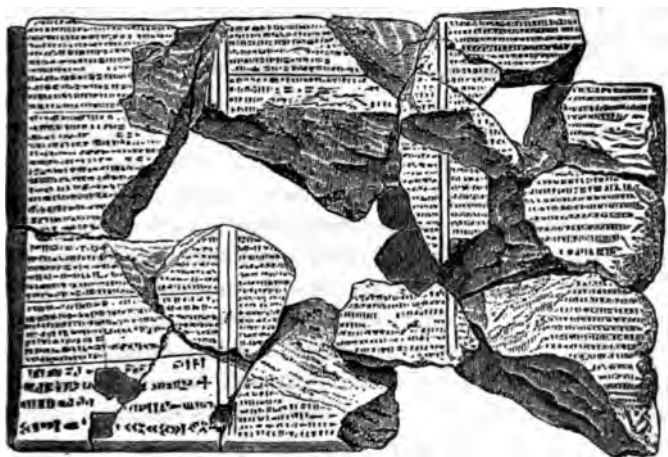
All these legends and myths are remarkably like the Biblical accounts of the several matters with which they deal, showing that before the Abrahamic clan migrated from Chaldæa, all this literature had become the prized and sacred possession of the peoples of the Chaldæan plains.

¹ The popular beliefs of Europe in the Middle Ages respecting evil spirits, exorcisms, and charms, and regarding witches and the characteristics of the Chief of the powers of evil, are simply survivals from the old Chaldæan culture. Thus the Chaldæan witch was believed to possess the power of flying through the air on a stick, and "the features of the mediæval devil may be traced on an Assyrian bas-relief, which represents the dragon of chaos, with claws, tail, horns, and wings, pursued by the sun-god, Merodack."—SAYCE, *The Ancient Empires of the East*, pp. 154, 155.

² Consult especially George Smith's *The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*; see also *Records of the Past*, Vol. VII. pp. 127, 131.

The Chaldæan versions of these traditions, however, are not so simple and pure as the Biblical narratives ; for, being the legends and myths of a people of a polytheistic belief, they are of course tinged with the religious notions of those who invented or recited them, and attribute to various deities works and acts which the Hebrew writers refer to the one God, Jehovah. In a word, all these ancient legends and myths were moralized and spiritualized by the great teachers and prophets of the Hebrew race.

The Chaldæan Epic of Izdubar.— Besides their cosmological myths, or stories of the origin of things, the Chaldæans had a vast



ASSYRIAN TABLET WITH PARTS OF THE DELUGE LEGEND.

number of so-called heroic and nature myths. The most noted of these form what is known as the Epic of Izdubar (Nimrod?), which is doubtless the oldest epic of the race. This is in twelve parts, and is really a solar myth, which recounts the twelve labors of the sun in his yearly passage through the twelve signs of the Chaldæan zodiac.

This epic was carried to the West, by the way of Phœnicia and Asia Minor, and played a great part in the mythology of the

Greeks and Romans. "The twelve labors of Heracles may be traced back to the adventures of Gisdhubar (Izdubar) as recorded in the twelve books of the great epic of Chaldæa." (Sayce.)

And as the Chaldæan hero Izdubar is the prototype of the Greek hero Heracles, so many other heroes and heroines of the Chaldæan stories are the originals or analogues of those of the classical myths. Thus Ishtar (Istar), the Chaldæan goddess of love, reappears in the West as the Aphrodite of the Greeks. One of the most beautiful passages in the great Chaldæan epic tells of Ishtar's descent into the realm of shades in search of her beloved Tammuz, just as Aphrodite descends into Hades for her lost Adonis. There is a Chaldæan Prometheus, too,—Zu, by name,—who steals the lightning of Bel, and suffers punishment for the act.

Science.—In astronomy and its associate science, arithmetic, the Chaldæans made substantial progress. The clear sky and unbroken horizon of the Chaldæan plains, lending an unusually brilliant aspect to the heavens, naturally led the Chaldæans to the study of the stars. They early divided the zodiac into twelve signs, and named the zodiacal constellations, a memorial of their astronomical attainments which will remain forever inscribed upon the great circle of the heavens; they foretold eclipses, constructed gnomons, or sun-dials, of various patterns, divided the year into twelve months, and the day and night into twelve hours each, and invented or devised the week of seven days, the number of days in the week being determined, it seems, by the course of the moon. "The 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days of the lunar month were kept like the Jewish Sabbath, and were actually so named in Assyria. . . . On these days it was forbidden, at all events in the Accadian period, to cook food, to change one's dress or wear white robes, to offer sacrifice, to ride in a chariot, to legislate, to practice augury, or even to use medicine."¹

The influence upon the world of this remarkable calendar,

¹ Sayce, *The Ancient Empires of the East*, p. 171; see also *Records of the Past*, Vol. VII. p. 157.

worked out by the old Chaldæan star-gazers and priest-astronomers, has been, and is still, so great, that it may fairly be regarded as one of the most important and potent factors in the civilization of the world.

In arithmetic, also, the Chaldæans made considerable advance. A tablet has been found which contains the squares and cubes of the numbers from one to sixty. The duodecimal system in numbers was the invention of the Chaldæans, and it is from them probably that the system has come to us.

Conclusion. — This hasty glance at the beginnings of civilization among the primitive peoples of the Euphrates valley, will serve to give us at least some little idea of how much we owe to the old Chaldæans. In the words of Rawlinson, "Chaldæa stands forth as the great parent and inventress of Asiatic civilization"; and as we now know the classical nations, whose inheritors we are, to have received from the Oriental nations many at least of the primary elements of their art, of their literature, and of their mythology, we may say that Chaldæa was one of the main sources — Egypt was the other — of the stream of universal history.

And now, having found in the remote civilizations of Egypt and Chaldæa the sources of this great stream, we shall proceed to trace its course through the ages, and shall watch its rising tide, as it receives fresh contributions on every hand, until it grows into the wide and deep stream of modern culture.

CHAPTER V.

THE ASSYRIAN MONARCHY.

(From an unknown date to 606 B.C.)

Introduction. — In preceding chapters we traced the beginnings of Asiatic civilization among the early settlers of the lowlands of the Euphrates. Meanwhile, as has already been noticed, farther to the north, upon the banks of the Tigris, were growing into strength and prominence a rival Semitic people — the Assyrians — to whom were now to be transferred, for preservation and enrichment, the arts and sciences and primitive culture of the Chaldaean plains.

In tracing the dynastic, or political, history of Assyria, we shall mention only those kings whose wide conquests or great works, or the strength of whose character or the greatness of whose misfortunes, have caused their names to live among the renowned personages of the ancient world.

✓ **Tiglath-Pileser I.** (1130–1110 B.C.). — It is not until about two centuries after the conquest of Chaldæa by the Assyrian prince Tiglath-Nin (see p. 63), that we find a sovereign of renown at the head of Assyrian affairs. This was Tiglath-Pileser I., who came to the throne about 1130 B.C. We know more of his reign than of that of any preceding king, through the fortunate discovery of a clay cylinder containing the royal records. It details at great length the various war-expeditions of Tiglath-Pileser, and describes the great works which he constructed. So we can listen to the king himself, while, in his self-laudatory style, he narrates his great exploits, and glories in the number and extent of his conquests.

“There fell into my hands altogether,” says this inscription, “between the commencement of my reign and my fifth year, forty-

two countries, with their kings, from the banks of the river Zab to the banks of the Euphrates, the country of the Khatti,¹ and the upper ocean of the setting sun [Mediterranean]. I brought them under one government; I took hostages from them; and I imposed on them tribute and offerings."²

He speaks as follows of the restoration of a temple: "In the beginning of my reign, Anu and Vul, the great gods, my lords, guardians of my steps, gave me a command to repair this their shrine. So I made bricks; I levelled the earth; . . . fifty feet deep I prepared the lower foundations of the temple of Anu and Vul. From its foundation to its roof I built it up better than it was before. I also built two lofty towers in honor of their noble godships; and the holy place, a spacious hall, I consecrated for the convenience of their worshippers, and to accommodate their votaries, who were numerous as the stars of heaven."

The inscription closes with the following imprecations upon any one who shall injure the tablets and cylinders placed in the temple:—

"Whoever shall abrade or injure my tablets and cylinders, or shall moisten them with water, or scorch them with fire, or expose them to the air, or in the holy place of God shall assign them a place where they cannot be seen or understood, or shall erase the writing and inscribe his own name, or shall divide the sculptures (?) and break them off my tablets, may Anu and Vul, the Great Gods, my lords, assign his name to perdition! May they curse him with an irrevocable curse! May they cause his sovereignty to perish! . . . May Vul in his fury tear up the produce of his land! . . . May he not be called happy for a single day! May his name and his race perish!"

Asshur-nazir-pal (883–858 B.C.).—We pass an interval of more than two centuries, during which Assyria almost "drops below the historical horizon," and then find upon the throne Asshur-nazir-pal,

¹ Assyrian for Hittites. These people proved as formidable enemies of the Assyrian kings as they had been of the early Pharaohs. See above, pp. 25, 27.

² Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. II. p. 68.

under whom the Assyrian Empire enjoyed an era of unusual magnificence. This king made several expeditions into the surrounding countries, punishing cruelly, by crucifixion and burning, all that dared to resist his authority.

But while, like all the Assyrian kings, he was cruel and unrelenting in war, he seemed not insensible to the gentler influences of peace; for he was a generous patron of sculpture and architecture. Many of the cities of his empire were adorned by him with magnificent palaces and temples. Of the capital Calah, overlooking the Tigris, which city Asshur-nazir-pal embellished with his most splendid edifices, Rawlinson, forming his picture from the nature and extent of the ruins, declares that "when the setting sun lighted up the view with the gorgeous hues seen only under an Eastern sky, it must have seemed to the traveller who beheld it for the first time like a vision from fairy-land."

• **Shalmaneser II.** (858-823 B.C.).—Asshur-nazir-pal was followed by Shalmaneser II., who reigned thirty-five years. During his rule this warlike king made between twenty and thirty military expeditions against various countries, and held in subjection almost all the peoples between the Mediterranean and the mountains of Persia.

Shalmaneser II. was the last strong king of what is known as the First Empire. After his death, province after province and city after city revolted against the feeble sovereigns that held the throne, until the empire was virtually dissolved.

• **Tiglath-Pileser II.** (745-727 B.C.).—With this king, who was a usurper, begins what is known as the Second Empire. He was a man of great energy and of undoubted military talent. Syria, Palestine, and Phœnicia were conquered, or brought into a state of vassalage; and Babylonia, which at this time was broken up into a great number of petty states, was overrun, and Tiglath-Pileser assumed the ancient title of "King of Accad and Shumir." Thus the Assyrian power was once more extended over the greater part of Southwestern Asia.

But what renders the reign of this king a landmark not only in Assyrian, but, we may almost say, in universal history, is the fact that he was not a mere conqueror like his predecessors, but a political organizer of great capacity.

Hitherto the empires that had arisen in Western Asia consisted simply of tributary or vassal cities and states, each of which, having its own king, was ready at the first favorable moment to revolt against its suzerain, who, like a mediæval feudal king, was simply a great overlord, "a king of kings." Now, Tiglath-Pileser introduced, or at least first put into practice in a large way, the plan of reducing conquered states to provinces, — that is, instead of allowing the princes that he conquered to rule as his vassals, he put in their places Assyrian magistrates, or viceroys, upon whose loyalty to himself he could depend.

This system gave a more compact and permanent character to his conquests. It is true he was not able to carry out his system perfectly; but in realizing the plan to the extent that he did, he laid the basis of the power and glory of the great kings who followed him upon the Assyrian throne, and made the later Assyrian Empire, to a certain degree, the prototype of the succeeding world-empires of Darius, Alexander, and Cæsar.

Sargon (722–705 B.C.). — Sargon was one of the greatest conquerors and sovereigns of the Second Empire. In 722 B.C. he captured Samaria, the siege of which had been commenced by his predecessor Shalmaneser IV., and carried away the Ten Tribes into captivity beyond the Tigris. From this time the kingdom of Israel disappears from among the states of the East. The larger part of the captives were scattered among the cities of Media, and probably became, for the most part, merged with the population of that province. During this reign the Egyptians and their allies, in the first encounter (the battle of Raphia, 720 B.C.) between the empires of the Euphrates and the Nile valley, suffered a severe defeat, and the ancient kingdom of the Pharaohs became tributary to Assyria.

Sargon was a famous builder. Near the foot of the Persian hills he founded a large city, which he named for himself; and there he erected a royal residence, described in the inscriptions as "a palace of incomparable magnificence," the site of which is now preserved by the vast mounds of Khorsabad.

Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.). — Sennacherib, the son of Sargon, came to the throne 705 B.C. We must accord to him the first place of renown among all the great names of the Assyrian Empire. His name, connected as it is with the narrative of Jerusalem's marvellous deliverance from the power of the Assyrian army, and with many of the most wonderful discoveries among the ruined palaces of Nineveh, has become as familiar to the ear as that of Nebuchadnezzar in the story of Babylon.

The fulness of the royal inscriptions of this reign enables us to permit Sennacherib, like Tiglath-Pileser I., to tell us in his own words of his great works and military expeditions. Respecting the decoration of Nineveh, he says: "I raised again all the edifices of Nineveh, my royal city; I reconstructed all its old streets, and widened those that were too narrow. I have made the whole town a city shining like the sun."

Concerning an expedition against Hezekiah, king of Judah, he says: "I took forty-six of his strong fenced cities; and of the smaller towns which were scattered about I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates, so as to prevent escape."¹

While Sennacherib was besieging Jerusalem, the king of Egypt appeared in the field in the south with aid for Hezekiah. This caused Sennacherib to draw off his forces from the siege to meet the new enemy; but near the frontiers of Egypt the Assyrian host,

¹ Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. II. p. 161.

according to the Hebrew account, was smitten by "the angel of the Lord,"¹ and the king returned with a shattered army and without glory to his capital, Nineveh.

Sennacherib laid a heavy hand upon Babylon, which at this time was the leading city of Chaldæa. That city having revolted, Sennacherib captured the place, and, as his inscription declares, destroyed it "root and branch," casting the rubbish into the "River of Babylon."

Sennacherib employed the closing years of his reign in the digging of canals and in the erection of a splendid palace at Nineveh. He was finally murdered by his two eldest sons, who were led to the act through jealousy of their younger brother Esarhaddon, the Joseph of the family, apparently.

Esarhaddon I. (680-668 B.C.).—The first work of Esarhaddon, who, though the youngest son of Sennacherib, became the successor of his father, was to drive the parricides out of the country; then he entered upon his renowned wars, and gave himself to his numerous architectural works, for he was a great builder as well as a great warrior.

He performed the feat, probably never accomplished by any other conqueror, of penetrating Central Arabia, and capturing the cities of that desert-guarded region. During another campaign he led his army up the Nile, to the gates of Thebes.

Esarhaddon built four royal residences, erected many temples in the various cities of his empire, and restored Babylon,—which his father, it will be recalled, had razed to the ground,—making it again a great city.

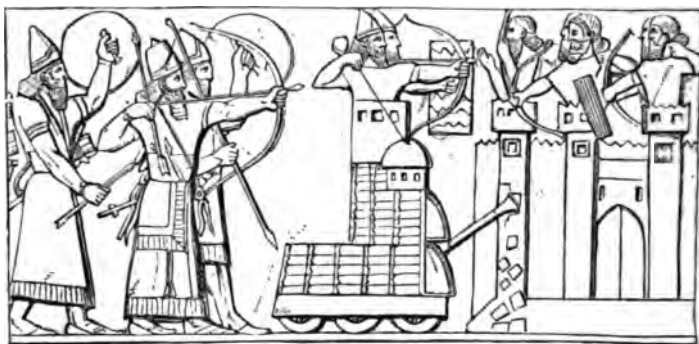
Sickness falling upon the monarch, he made his son Asshur-bani-pal joint ruler with himself, and died shortly after, leaving his renowned son as the sole head of the great empire.

Asshur-bani-pal (668-626? B.C.).—This king, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, is distinguished for his magnificent patronage of

¹ This expression is a Hebraism, meaning often any physical cause of destruction, as a plague or storm. In the present case, the destroying agency was probably a pestilence.

art and literature. During his reign Assyria enjoyed her Augustan age. Under the inspiration of his example and the encouragement of his favor, a great literary enthusiasm sprang up at Nineveh ; and within the walls of his palace in that city was collected the largest and most important of Assyrian libraries.

But Asshur-bani-pal was also possessed of a warlike spirit. He broke to pieces, with a terrible energy, in swift campaigns, the



SIEGE OF A CITY. SHOWING USE OF BATTERING-RAM. (From Nimrud.)

enemies of his empire. Susiana especially was made a terrible example of his vengeance ; its cities were levelled, and the whole country was laid waste. All the scenes of his sieges and battles he caused to be sculptured on the walls of his palace at Nineveh. These pictured panels are now in the British Museum. They are a perfect Iliad in stone.

Saracus, or Esarhaddon II. (? -606 B.C.).—Saracus was the last of the long line of Assyrian kings. His reign was filled with misfortunes for himself and his kingdom. For nearly or quite seven centuries the Ninevite kings had lorded it over the East. There was scarcely a state in all Western Asia that had not, during this time, felt the weight of their conquering arms ; scarcely a people that had not suffered their cruel punishments, or tasted the bitterness of their servitude.

But now swift misfortunes were bearing down upon the oppressor from every quarter. The Scythian hordes, breaking through the mountain gates on the north, spread a new terror throughout the upper Assyrian provinces ; from the mountain defiles on the east issued the armies of the recent-grown empire of the Aryan Medes, led by the renowned Cyaxares ; from the southern lowlands, anxious to aid in the overthrow of the hated oppressor, the Babylonians, led by the youthful Nebuchadnezzar, the son of the traitor viceroy Nabopolassar, joined, it appears, the Medes as allies, and together they laid close siege to the Assyrian capital.

The operations of the besiegers seem to have been aided by an unusual inundation of the Tigris, which undermined a section of the city walls, and caused a wide breach in the defences. At all events the place was taken, and dominion passed away forever from the proud capital¹ (606 B.C.). Two hundred years later, when Xenophon with his Ten Thousand Greeks, in his memorable retreat, passed the spot, the once great city was a crumbling mass of ruins, of which he could not even learn the name.

¹ Saracus, in his despair, is said to have erected a funeral pyre within one of the courts of his palace, and, mounting the pile with the members of his family, to have perished with them in the flames ; but this is doubtless a poetical embellishment of the story.

CHAPTER VI.

INSTITUTIONS, ARCHITECTURE, AND LITERATURE OF
THE ASSYRIANS.

Nature of the Assyrian Empire.—The Assyrian state is a good type of all the great empires that have succeeded one another upon the soil of Asia. It was simply a heterogeneous mass of peoples and races, held together by external force, and united by no inner bonds of religion or customs or language.

Attempts, indeed, were made by some of the Assyrian kings, notably by Tiglath-Pileser II. (see p. 78), to consolidate the varied elements which wide conquests had brought within the limits of the empire, into something like national unity. But these efforts did not proceed from a desire to promote the welfare of the peoples over whom they ruled; their object was simply to strengthen the power of the dominant state and to rivet, more securely, the chains of the subject nations. The sovereigns endeavored to Assyrianize the remotest provinces by the wholesale transference of the population of a conquered country to a new region, in order that, with the old ties of country and home thus severed, the new generation might the more easily forget past wrongs and old traditions and customs, and become blended with the peoples about them. Thus, the Ten Tribes of Israel were carried away from their homes by Sargon and scattered among the Median towns, where they became so mingled with the native population of the country as to be inquired after even to this day as "the lost tribes."

It was inevitable that a kingdom of this nature should be ever threatening dissolution the moment the organizing genius that had consolidated it was embarrassed by accident or removed by death.

Hence the constant efforts necessary to reconquer revolted provinces, and to refasten the chains upon states that were constantly breaking away from the central authority. Hence, also, the disturbances and uprisings that accompanied almost every dynastic change.

The Religion. — The Assyrians were Semites, and as such they possessed the deep religious spirit that has always distinguished the peoples of this family. In this respect they were very much like the Hebrews. The wars which the Assyrian monarchs waged were not alone wars of conquest, but were, in a certain sense, crusades made for the purpose of extending the worship and authority of the gods of Assyria. They have been likened to the wars of the Hebrew kings, and again to the conquests of the Saracens.

As with the wars, so was it with the architectural works of these sovereigns. Greater attention, indeed, was paid to the palace in Assyria than in Babylonia; yet the inscriptions, as well as the ruins, of the upper country attest that the erection and adornment of the temples of the gods were matters of anxious and constant care on the part of the Assyrian monarchs. Their accounts of the construction and dedication of temples for their gods afford striking parallels to the Bible account of the building of the temple at Jerusalem by King Solomon.

Not less prominently manifested is the religious spirit of these kings in what we may call their sacred literature, as testifies the following prayer of Asshur-bani-pal, offered to one of his great gods: "May the look of pity that shines in thine eternal face dispel my griefs. May I never feel the anger and wrath of the God. May my omissions and my sins be wiped out. May I find reconciliation with him, for I am the servant of his power, who is the author of the great gods. May thy powerful face come to my help: may it shine like heaven, and bless me with happiness and abundance of riches."¹

As to the Assyrian pantheon and worship, these were in all their essential features so similar to those of the later Chaldean system,

¹ See Lenormant's *Ancient History of the East*, Vol. I. p. 418.

already described (see p. 71), that any detailed account of them here is unnecessary. One difference, however, in the two systems should be noted. The place occupied by Il, or Ra, as the head of the pantheon of Chaldæa is in Assyria given to the national deity Asshur, whose emblem was a winged circle with the figure of a man within, the whole perhaps symbolizing, according to Rawlinson, eternity, omnipresence, and wisdom.

Cruelty of the Assyrians. — The Assyrians have been called the “Romans of Asia.” They were a proud, martial, cruel, and unrelenting race. Although possessing, as we have just noticed, a deep and genuine religious feeling, still the Assyrian monarchs often displayed in their treatment of prisoners the disposition of savages. In common with most Asiatics, they had no respect for



ASSYRIANS FLAYING THEIR PRISONERS.

the body, but subjected captives to the most terrible mutilations. The sculptured marbles taken from the palaces exhibit the cruel tortures inflicted upon prisoners: kings are being led before their conqueror by means of hooks thrust through one or both lips;¹ other prisoners are being flayed alive; the eyes of some are being bored out with the point of a spear; and still others are having their tongues torn out.

An inscription by Asshur-nazir-pal, found in one of the palaces at Nimrud, runs as follows: “Their men, young and old, I took

¹ See 2 Chron. xxxiii. 10-13.

prisoners. Of some I cut off the feet and hands ; of others I cut off the noses, ears, and lips ; of the young men's ears I made a heap ; of the old men's heads I built a tower. I exposed their heads as a trophy in front of their city. The male children and the female children I burned in the flames."

Royal Sports.—The Assyrian king gloried in being, like the great Nimrod, "a mighty hunter before the Lord." In his inscriptions, the wild beasts he has slain are as carefully enumerated as the cities he has captured.¹ The monuments are covered with sculptures that represent the king engaged in the favorite royal sport. We see him slaying lions, bulls, and boars, as well



LION HUNT. (From Nineveh.)

as less dangerous animals of the chase, with which the uncultivated tracts of the country appear to have abounded.

Asshur-izer-pal had at Nineveh a menagerie, or hunting-park, filled with various animals, many of which were sent him as tribute by vassal princes. During a single hunting expedition into the desert regions of Mesopotamia, this monarch, according to his own inscriptions, slew three hundred and sixty lions, two hundred and fifty-seven wild cattle, and thirty buffaloes, besides capturing for his menagerie an immense number of ostriches, bears, and hyenas.²

¹ Lenormant's *Ancient History of the East*, Vol. I. p. 431.

² Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. I. p. 91.

The Royal Cities.—The capital of the Assyrian monarchy, like that of almost every other empire in Asia, was of a migratory character. There are scattered along the course of the Tigris the ruins of three royal cities—Asshur, Calah, and Nineveh, or, as called at the present time, Kileh-Sherghat, Nimrud, and Koyunjik. Away from the Tigris, about ten miles to the northeast of Nineveh, is the mound of Khorsabad, which marks the site of the royal residence of Sargon.

The ruins of these royal cities of Assyria are very unlike those of the capital cities of Egypt. Enormous grass-grown mounds, enclosed by crumbled ramparts, alone mark the sites of the great cities of the Assyrian kings. The character of the remains arises from the nature of the building material. City walls, palaces, and temples were constructed chiefly of sun-dried bricks, so that the generation that raised them had scarcely passed away before they began to sink down into heaps of rubbish. The rains of many centuries have beaten down and deeply furrowed these mounds, while the grass has crept over them and made green alike the palaces of the kings and the temples of the gods.

The Ruins of Nineveh.—Lying upon the left bank of the Upper Tigris is a large quadrangular enclosure surrounded by heavy earthen ramparts, about eight miles in circuit. This is the site of ancient Nineveh, the immense enclosing ridges being the ruined city walls. These ramparts are still, in their crumbled condition, about fifty feet high (Xenophon says that they were one hundred and fifty feet high when he saw them), and average about one hundred and fifty in width. The lower part of the wall was constructed of solid stone masonry; the upper portion, of dried brick. This upper and frailer part, crumbling into earth, has completely buried the stone basement. The Turks quarry the stone from these old walls for their modern buildings. The bridge that spans the Tigris at Mosul (a native town just opposite the ruins of Nineveh) is constructed of stone dug from these ancient ramparts.

The regularity of the old walls is broken by large heaps of rub-

bish, which mark the position of the city gates and their flanking towers. In one of these mounds, excavated by Layard, were found several colossal winged bulls, the wardens of the entrance. The stone pavement was discovered worn into deep ruts by the chariot-wheels.

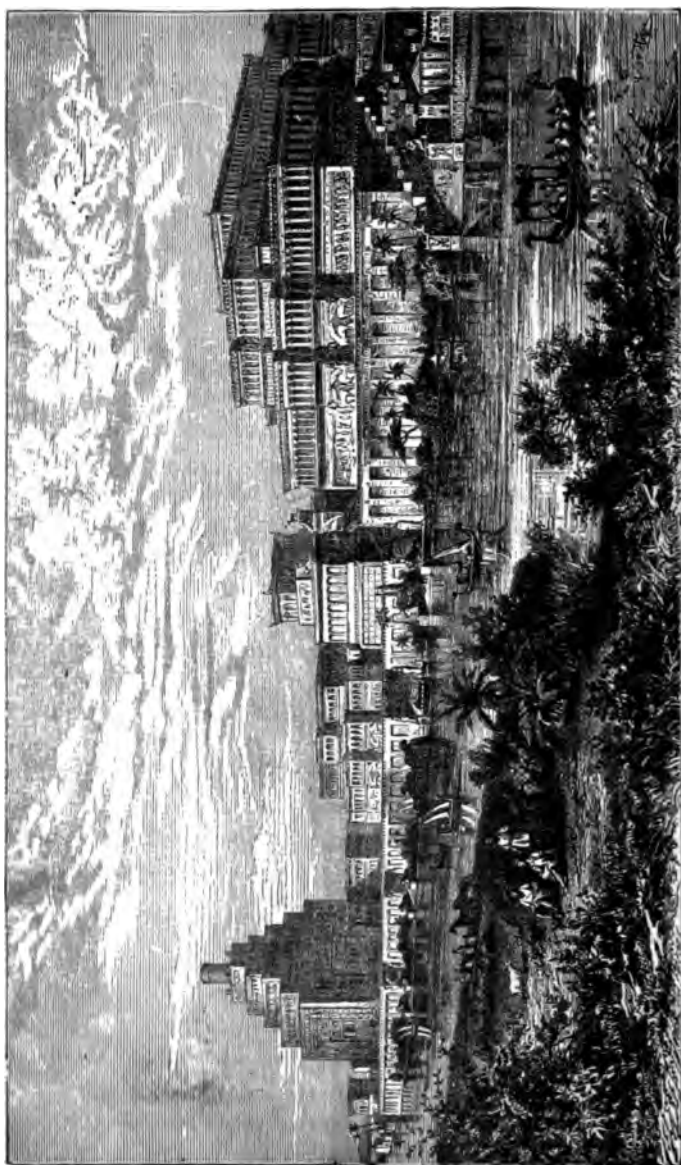
But the most interesting feature of the ruins is the great palace-mound, called by the natives Koyunjik. This mound covers an area of one hundred acres, and is from seventy to ninety feet high. It is traversed by deep ravines, worn in its mass by centuries of storms. Upon this great platform stood several of the most splendid palaces of the Ninevite kings.

Palace-Mounds and Palaces. — In order to give a certain dignity to the royal residence, to secure the fresh breezes, and to render them more easily defended, the Assyrians, as well as the Babylonians and Persians, lifted their palaces upon lofty artificial terraces, or platforms. These eminences, which appear like natural flat-topped hills, were constructed with an almost incredible expenditure of human labor. Out of the material composing the mound of Koyunjik at Nineveh could be built four pyramids as large as that of Cheops. One at least of these gigantic mounds marks the site of each of the royal cities already mentioned.

The tops of these platforms are loaded with the débris of the Assyrian palaces. The swiftness with which the mud-wall edifices fell into dilapidation, an ambition to surpass all predecessors, and a superstitious fear in regard to occupying the palace of a deceased monarch led each king, upon his accession to the throne, to commence the erection of a new royal residence. Sometimes an entirely new site was chosen ; but often the new palace was erected alongside the old, upon the same platform.

The group of buildings constituting the royal residence was often of enormous extent ; the various courts, halls, corridors, and chambers of the Palace of Sennacherib, which surmounted the platform at Nineveh, covered an area of over ten acres. The palaces were usually one-storied.¹ The walls, constructed chiefly of

¹ The many-storied appearance of the restored palace in the accompanying cut, results, in the main, from the buildings being lifted upon a succession of terraces.



ASSYRIAN ROYAL PALACE AT NINEVEH. (Restored by Layard.)

dried brick, were immensely thick and heavy. The rooms and galleries were plastered with stucco, or panelled with precious woods, or lined with enamelled bricks. The main halls, however, were faced with slabs of alabaster, covered with sculptures and inscriptions, the illustrated narrative of the wars and labors of the monarch. There were two miles of such sculptured panelling at Koyunjik. At the portals of the palace, to guard the approach, were stationed the colossal human-headed bulls.

The immense courts upon which the chambers opened were the most important feature of the palace, as is still the case in all



SCULPTURES FROM A GATEWAY AT KHORSABAD.

Oriental residences, and were sumptuously decorated with symbolic sculptures, and surrounded with carved and painted balconies, supported usually upon wood columns encased in bronze plates, and crowned with capitals that were the original of the Grecian Ionic. These superb courts were used on special state occasions, the assembly being protected from the sun and weather by a rich awning, as the Roman emperors in later times shielded the multitudes in the amphitheatre.

An important adjunct of the palace was the temple, a copy of the tower-temples of the Chaldæans. Its position is marked at

present by a lofty conical mound, rising amidst and overlooking the palace ruins.

Assyrian Explorations. — Upon the decay of the Assyrian palaces, the material forming the upper part of the thick walls completely buried and protected all the lower portion of the structure. In this way their sculptures and inscriptions have been preserved through so many centuries, till brought to light by the recent excavations of French and English antiquarians.

In 1844 M. Botta, the French consul at Mosul, excavated the mound of Khorsabad, and astonished the world with most wonderful specimens of Assyrian art from the Palace of Sargon. The sculptured and lettered slabs were removed to the Museum of the Louvre, in Paris. Some years later, Layard disintombed the Palace of Sennacherib, and those of other kings at Nineveh and Calah, and enriched the British Museum with the treasures of his search. These disintombed palaces have thrown as strong a light upon the arts and history of the ancient Assyrians as the excavated cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum have shed upon the arts and domestic life of the Romans.

The Royal Library at Nineveh. — Within the palace of Asshurbani-pal at Nineveh, Layard discovered what is known as the Royal Library. There were two chambers, the floors of which were heaped with books, like the Chaldæan tablets already described. The number of books in the collection has been estimated at ten thousand. The writing upon some of the tablets is so minute that it cannot be read without the aid of a magnifying-glass.¹ We learn from the inscriptions that a librarian had charge of the collection. Catalogues of the books have been found, made out on clay tablets. The library was open to the public,

¹ "The discovery of a crystal lens on the site of Nineveh suggests that some of the microscopic characters on the tablets were inscribed with artificial aid, as well as the possibility of a rude kind of telescope having been employed for astronomical observations. At all events, one astronomical record states that 'Venus rises, and in its orbit duly grows in size.'" — SAYCE, *The Ancient Empires of the East*, p. 173.

for an inscription says, "I [Asshur-bani-pal] wrote upon the tablets ; I placed them in my palace for the instruction of my people."

Asshur-bani-pal, as we have already learned, was the Augustus of Assyria. It was under his patronage and direction that most of the books were prepared and placed in the Ninevite collection. The greater part of these were copies of older Chaldæan tablets ; for the literature of the Assyrians, as well as their arts and sciences, was borrowed almost in a body from the Chaldæans. All the old libraries of the low-country were ransacked, and copies of their tablets made for the Royal Library at Nineveh. Rare treasures were secured from the libraries founded or enlarged by Sargon of Agadê (see p. 60). The great religious and astronomical works which he had compiled were copied with reverential care ; for all this early Chaldæan literature was at this time not only sacred, but classical. In the case especially of the tablets that held the sacred psalms, both the ancient Accadian text and the Semitic interlineal translation (see p. 68) were religiously copied by the Assyrian scribe, although the old Turanian speech of the original inhabitants of Accad and Shumir had now been a dead language probably for more than a thousand years.

In this way was preserved the most valuable portion of the early Chaldæan literature, which would otherwise have been lost to the world.

The Tablets and their Contents. — The Assyrian tablets, as has already been noted, were in form like the Chaldæan. They embrace a great variety of subjects ; the larger part, however, are lexicons and treatises on grammar, and various other works intended as text-books for scholars. Perhaps the most curious of the tablets yet found are notes issued by the government, and made redeemable in gold and silver on presentation at the king's treasury. Tablets of this character have been found bearing date as early as 625 B.C. It would seem from this that the Assyrians had very correct notions of the representative character of paper (tablet) money.

Other books are found to treat of laws, of chronology and history, and of the natural sciences. In natural history we find tablets exhibiting classifications into families and genera of all the animals inhabiting the different provinces of the Assyrian Empire,—a common and scientific name being attached to each species. "No doubt," says Lenormant, "the great divisions of this classification are those of a very rudimentary science, but we may well be astonished to find that the Assyrians had already invented a scientific nomenclature similar in principle to that of Linnæus."

From one part of the library, which seems to have been the archives proper, were taken copies of treaties, reports of officers of the government, deeds, wills, mortgages, and contracts. One tablet, known as "the Will of Sennacherib," conveys to certain priests some personal property to be held in trust for his son Esarhaddon. This is the oldest will in existence.¹

Influence of Assyria upon Civilization.—The recent excavations among the Assyrian palaces, and the discovery of the key to the cuneiform inscriptions, which has opened to us the treasures of the libraries of the Euphrates valley, have greatly modified our views respecting the influence of Asiatic art and culture upon European civilization, and have given a sort of epic unity to history. As many of the elements of our modern civilization were received as an inheritance from Greece and Rome, so in turn, we now find, was their culture enriched by valuable gifts from the older civilizations of the East. As the Tiber and the Ilissus are classic streams to us, so were the Nile and the Euphrates classic rivers to the Greeks and Romans. Thence these younger nations received much that the Oriental peoples had invented or sought

¹ We give the text of this interesting document: "I, Sennacherib, king of multitudes, king of Assyria, have given chains of gold, stores of ivory, a cup of gold, crowns and chains besides, all the riches of which there are heaps, crystal and another precious stone and bird's stone; one and a half manehs, two and a half cih, according to weight, to Esar-Iladdon, my son; . . . the treasure of the Temple of ANUK and (NEBO)-IRIK-ERBA, the harpists of Nebo."

out in art, science, and philosophy. As Birch, the Egyptologist, says, "From the East originated germs of thought which grew up into blossoms amongst other races long after the parent stem had lain a sapless trunk in the distant regions of the Euphrates and the Nile."

The Greeks received the germs of their mimetic, or sculptural, art from the Euphrates by the way of Asia Minor or through the maritime cities of Phœnicia. "Between the works of Ninevite artists and the early works of the Greeks," says Lenormant, "even to the Æginetans, we may observe an astonishing connection; the celebrated primitive bas-relief at Athens, known by the common name of the 'Warrior of Marathon,' seems as if detached from the walls of Khorsabad or Koyunjik."¹ But the genius of the Greek artists always transformed what they borrowed. Beneath their touch "the hard and rigid lines of Assyrian sculpture," as Layard says, "were converted into the flowing draperies and classic forms of the highest order of art."

Fergusson thus sums up the results of his studies among the palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis: "Egypt may, indeed, have been the schoolmistress from whom the ancient world derived half her science and her art; but the nations from whom we are descended were born in Assyria, and out of her they brought all their sympathies, all their innate civilization."² And Rawlinson, after acquainting himself with the arts and sciences of the Euphrates valley, and the contents of the Assyrian libraries, declares that "it was from the East . . . that Greece derived her architecture, her sculpture, her science, her philosophy, her mathematical knowledge, — in a word, her intellectual life."³

¹ Lenormant's *Ancient History of the East*, Vol. I. p. 465.

² Fergusson's *Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 4.

³ Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. III. p. 76.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BABYLONIAN MONARCHY.

(625-538 B.C.)

Babylonian Affairs from 1300 to 625 B.C. — During the six centuries and more that intervened between the conquest of the old Chaldæan monarchy by the Assyrian king Tiglathi-Nin and the successful revolt of the low countries under Nabopolassar, the Babylonian peoples bore the Assyrian yoke very impatiently. Again and again they made violent efforts to throw it off; and in several instances they succeeded, and for a time enjoyed home rulers. But for the most part the whole country as far as the "Sea," as the Persian Gulf is called in the inscriptions, was a dependency of the great overshadowing empire of the north.

Belonging to this period, however, are two names which we should fix in our minds before we proceed to speak of the great kings of the later Babylonian monarchy. These are Nabonassar and Merodach-Baladan. The former reigned in Babylon about one hundred years before the overthrow of Nineveh (from 747 to 733 B.C.). He was evidently a strong and self-reliant man; for under him Babylon succeeded in freeing herself from the Assyrian yoke, and enjoyed a short-lived independence. Nabonassar destroyed the records of the kings that had preceded him, probably because he thought they reflected no glory on his country. Consequently, following ages were obliged to reckon dates from his reign, which was called the "Era of Nabonassar."

Merodach-Baladan (721-709 B.C.) is brought to our notice because it was he who, when Hezekiah, king of Judæa, was sick, and it was reported in Babylon that, as a sign of his recovery, the shadow had gone back several degrees on the dial of Ahaz, sent

commissioners to Jerusalem, ostensibly to congratulate the Hebrew monarch on his recovery, and to make inquiry respecting the reported astronomical wonder, a matter in which the Chaldean astrologers would naturally be interested. From what followed, it is thought that the embassy was really a political one, having for its object the forming of an alliance, embracing Judah, Egypt, and Babylonia, against the Assyrian king.

Nabopolassar (625-604 B.C.).—Nabopolassar was the first king of what is properly called the Babylonian monarchy. When troubles and misfortunes began to thicken about the last Assyrian king, Saracus, he intrusted to the care of Nabopolassar, as his viceroy, the towns and provinces of the South. The chance now presented of obtaining a crown proved too great a temptation for the satrap's fidelity to his master. He revolted and became independent (625 B.C.). Later, he entered into an alliance with the Median king, Cyaxares, against his former sovereign (see p. 83). This alliance was cemented by the betrothal of Amytis, the young and beautiful daughter of Cyaxares, to Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar. Through the overthrow of Nineveh and the break-up of the Assyrian Empire, the new Babylonian kingdom received large accessions of territory.

Nabopolassar in his old age intrusted the conduct of important expeditions to his son Nebuchadnezzar, whose relations to his royal sire, with his brilliant victories over his father's enemies, remind us of the "Black Prince" and Edward III. of England.

Nebuchadnezzar (604-561 B.C.).—Nebuchadnezzar was far away from Babylon, either in Southern Palestine or in Egypt, chastising Pharaoh-Necho for an invasion of Syria, when intelligence reached him of his father's death. He acted with that quick decision and energy which characterized all his subsequent life. Leaving his army to be led back to Babylonia by the usual military route up through Syria and around the northern end of the desert, he himself, with a few attendants, pushed directly across the desert, and in a few days reached the capital, before any plots against his succession could be perfected.

With the energy of a Napoleon, Nebuchadnezzar now began the conduct of his brilliant campaigns, and the superintendence of those gigantic works that rendered Babylon the wonder of the Greeks, and have caused her name to pass into all histories and literatures as the synonym of material power and magnificence.

Jerusalem, having repeatedly revolted, was finally taken and sacked. The temple was stripped of its sacred vessels of silver and gold, which were carried away to Babylon, and the temple itself with the adjoining palace was given to the flames; the people, save a miserable remnant, were also borne away into the "Great Captivity" (586 B.C.). Zedekiah, under whom the last revolt took place, was punished by having his eyes put out, after having seen "his sons slain before his face."

With Jerusalem subdued, Nebuchadnezzar pushed with all his forces the siege of the Phœnician city of Tyre, whose investment had been commenced several years before. In striking language the prophet Ezekiel describes the length and hardness of the siege: "Every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled."¹ After a siege of thirteen years, the city seems to have fallen into the hands of the Babylonian king, and his authority was now undisputed from the Zagros Mountains to the Mediterranean.

The numerous captives of his many wars, embracing peoples of almost every nation in Western Asia, enabled Nebuchadnezzar to rival even the Egyptian Pharaohs in the execution of enormous works requiring an immense expenditure of human labor. The works which we may with very great certainty ascribe to this prince are the following: the repair of the Great Walls of Babylon; the Great Palace in the royal quarter of the city; the celebrated Hanging Gardens; vast quays along the Euphrates, to confine it in its course through the capital; and gigantic reservoirs, canals, and various engineering works, embracing a vast system of irrigation that reached every part of Babylonia.

In addition to all these works, the indefatigable monarch seems

¹ Ch. xxix. 18.

to have either rebuilt or repaired almost every city and temple throughout the entire country. There are said to be at least a hundred sites in the tract immediately about Babylon which give evidence, by inscribed bricks bearing his legend, of the marvelous activity and energy of this monarch.

In the midst of all these gigantic undertakings, surrounded by a brilliant court of councillors and flatterers, the reason of the king was suddenly and mysteriously clouded.¹ After a period the cloud passed away, "the glory of his kingdom, his honor, and brightness returned unto him." But it was the splendor of the evening; for the old monarch soon after died at the age of eighty, worn out by the toils and cares of a reign of forty-three years, the longest, most memorable, and instructive in the annals of the Babylonian or Assyrian kings.

Successors of Nebuchadnezzar (561-555 B.C.).—The reigns of Evil-Merodach (son of Nebuchadnezzar), Neriglissar, and Labossoracus (Laborosoarchod) were all short and uneventful. The first and last both met with violent deaths. With Labossoracus ended the dynasty of Nabopolassar.

The Fall of Babylon.—In 555 B.C., Nabonadius (= Nabonidos), one of the nobles that had conspired against the life of the last sovereign, was placed upon the throne. He seems to have associated with himself in the government his son Belshazzar, who shared with his father the duties and honors of royalty, apparently on terms of equal co-sovereignty.

To the east of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, beyond the ranges of the Zagros, there had been growing up an Aryan kingdom, the Medo-Persian, which, at the time now reached by us, had excited by its aggressive spirit the alarm of all the nations

¹ "Nebuchadnezzar fell a victim to that mental aberration which has often proved the penalty of despotism, but in the strange and degrading form to which physicians have given the name of lycanthropy; in which the patient, fancying himself a beast, rejects clothing and ordinary food, and even (as in this case) the shelter of a roof, disuses articulate speech, and sometimes persists in going on all-fours." — SMITH, *Ancient History of the East*, p. 357.

of Western Asia. For purposes of mutual defence, the king of Babylon, and Croesus, the well-known monarch of Lydia, a state of Asia Minor, formed an alliance against Cyrus, the strong and ambitious sovereign of the Medes and Persians. This league awakened the resentment of Cyrus, and after punishing Croesus and depriving him of his kingdom (see p. 130), he collected his forces to chastise the Babylonian king.

Anticipating the attack, Nabonadius had strengthened the defences of Babylon, and stationed around it supporting armies. But he was able to avert the fatal blow for only a few years. Risking a battle in the open field, his army was defeated, and the gates of the capital were thrown open to the Persians (538 B.C.).¹

¹ The device of turning the Euphrates, which Herodotus makes an incident of the siege, was not resorted to by Cyrus; but it seems that a little later (in 521-519 B.C.), the city, having revolted, was actually taken in this way by the Persian king Darius. Herodotus confused the two events. See Sayce, *The Ancient Empires of the East*, p. 145.

The account that has usually been given of the fall of the great city, as gathered from the Greek writer Herodotus and from the Bible, is in substance as follows: At the dead of night, when the young king (Belshazzar, who is the only king noticed by the tradition) and all his court were giving themselves up to song and revelry, attendant upon the celebration of a great Babylonian festival, Cyrus, having previously dug with great labor immense channels, turned the course of the Euphrates, which ran directly through the city enclosure, and then led his troops along the river bed till within the line of the ramparts. Upon mounting the river steps, the soldiers found, as they had hoped, the gates unguarded, and in a few moments were in the streets of the capital. The cry of alarm ran along the broad avenues,* and at last fell upon the affrighted ears of the revellers in the palace. To add to their dismay, a warning hand, it is said, appeared against the wall, and traced there the words *Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin*, which Daniel, hastily called, interpreted to the king as meaning, "God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it. Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting; thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." "In that night was Belshazzar, the king of the Chaldeans, slain." †

* "One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to show the king of Babylon that his city is taken at *one* end." — Jer. li. 31.

† Dan. v. 25-30.

With the fall of Babylon, the seat of empire in the East, which now for two or three thousand years had been in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, was transferred to Persepolis, the Persian capital, on the table-lands of Iran. Thus the sceptre of dominion, borne for so many centuries by Semitic princes, was given into the hands of the Aryan peoples, who were destined, from this time forward, to shape the course of events, and control the affairs of civilization.

The Great Edifices of Babylon.

The deep impression which Babylon produced upon the early Greek travellers was made chiefly by her vast architectural works, —her temples, palaces, elevated gardens, and great walls. The Hanging Gardens of Nebuchadnezzar and the walls of the city were reckoned among the Seven Wonders of the World.

The Temple of the Seven Spheres.—The Babylonians, like their predecessors the Chaldæans, accorded to the sacred edifice the place of pre-eminence among their architectural works. Upon the temples of the gods were lavished the wealth of the kingdom.

Sacred architecture in the time of Nebuchadnezzar had changed but little from the early Chaldæan models; only the temples were now larger and more sumptuous in their embellishments, being made, in the language of the inscriptions, “to shine like the sun.”

The celebrated Temple of the Seven Spheres, which may serve as a representative of the later Babylonian temples, was located at Borsippa, a suburb of Babylon proper. This structure was a vast pyramid, 270 feet square at the base, and rising in seven successive stages, or platforms, to a height of 156 feet. Each of the stages was dedicated to one of the seven planets, or spheres. (The sun and moon were reckoned as planets.) Various means were adopted to give the platforms the conventional tints assigned to the different planetary bodies. Thus the stages sacred to the sun and moon were covered respectively with plates of gold and silver.¹

¹ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVIII. Art. I. p. 6.

The chapel, or shrine proper, surmounted the uppermost stage, and, as described by Herodotus, must have been sumptuous in the extreme. The tower, thus crowned by the sanctuary and zoned with all the planetary colors, with the gilded stages glistening, as the inscriptions declare, "like the sun," presented a



BIRS-NIMRUD.

(Ruin of the great Temple of the Seven Spheres, near Babylon.)

splendid and imposing appearance, that struck every beholder with astonishment and awe.

An inscribed cylinder discovered under the corner of one of the stages (the Babylonians always buried records beneath the corners of their public edifices) informs us that this temple was a restoration by Nebuchadnezzar of a very ancient one, which in his day had become, from "extreme old age," a heap of rubbish.¹

¹ The translation of the inscription runs as follows: —

"And by his favor, also, I rebuilt the Temple of the Seven Spheres, which is the Tower of Borsippa, which a former king had built, and had raised it to the height of forty-two cubits, but had not completed its crown or summit. From extreme old age it had crumbled down. The water-courses

This edifice in its decay has left one of the grandest and most impressive ruins in all the East. The great mass of the crumbled stages is now deeply furrowed with ravines, worn by the rains of twenty centuries, and at a distance over the level desert appears like a mountain crowned with ruined walls.

Palaces. — The Babylonian palaces were so like those of the Assyrians, already described, that any detailed account of them here is unnecessary. They were built upon platforms, or enormous substructions, similar to those we have seen at Nineveh. One of the largest of these, called by the natives El-Kasr, which supported the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar, covers an area of over one hundred acres. Its height varies from sixty to ninety feet. Numerous excavations have been made in this mound by the natives, in search of bricks. For two thousand years Babylon has been an inexhaustible brick quarry. Selucia of the Greeks, Ctesiphon of the Parthians, Al-Maydan of the Persians, and Cufa and Bagdad of the caliphs, were all built of material mined from these ruins. All the modern towns and caravansaries of the neighboring regions are constructed chiefly of brick dug out of the ruined edifices of the old capital. The Arab brick-merchants of the country, at the present day, engage as a regular business in the work of quarrying material from the old mounds and walls.

which once drained it had been entirely neglected. From their own weight its bricks had fallen down; the finer slabs which cased the brick-work were all split and rent, and the bricks which had formed its mound lay scattered in ruins.

"Then the Great Lord Marduk moved my heart to complete this temple; for its site or foundation had not been disturbed, and its timbel, or sacred foundation-stone, had not been destroyed.

"In the month Shalmi, on a festival-day, I replaced and renewed both the bricks of its mound and the finer slabs of its . . . Then I firmly fixed up its mikitta, and I placed upon its new crown the sculptured inscriptions of my name. For its summit and its upper story I made . . . like the old ones. I rebuilt entirely this upper portion, and I made its crown or summit as it had been planned in former days." — *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVIII. Art. II.

The Hanging Gardens. — This structure excited the greatest admiration of the ancient Greek visitors to Babylon. It was constructed by Nebuchadnezzar, to please his wife Amytis, who, tired of the monotony of the Babylonian plains, longed for the mountain scenery of her native Media. The edifice was probably built somewhat in the form of the tower-temples, stages being erected one upon another, so as to form a vast pyramidal structure. The successive terraces, which overhung the city at a great height, were covered with earth, and beautified with rare plants and trees, so as to simulate the appearance of a mountain rising in cultivated terraces towards the sky. The gardens were irrigated by means of curious hydraulic devices, which elevated and distributed over the terraces water drawn from the Euphrates.¹

The Walls of Babylon. — Under the later kings, Babylon was surrounded with walls of vast circuit and of great strength. Herodotus affirms that these defences enclosed an area just fourteen miles square. An inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, recently discovered, exactly confirms the statement of the historian.

The space enclosed by the ramparts must not be regarded as a city, but rather as a fortified district. The walls possibly embraced several cities, including Babylon proper and Borsippa. We may compare these ramparts to the celebrated Long Walls by means of which Athens was united with her seaports. The object in enclosing such an enormous district seems to have been to bring sufficient tillable ground within the defences to support the inhabitants in case of a protracted siege. No certain traces of these outer ramparts can now be found;² but close alongside the Eu-

¹ Recent excavations (1880-81) made by Hormuzd Rassam amid the ruins of Babylon have resulted in important and interesting discoveries. At what is called the Babel mound, one of the largest and most imposing upon the ancient site, the explorer has brought to light ruined hydraulic works of great extent, reservoirs, and stone-lined aqueducts evidently designed for bringing water from the Euphrates. These discoveries seem to point out the great Babel mound as the remains of the celebrated Gardens of Nebuchadnezzar.

² Herodotus says the walls were eighty-five feet thick and three hundred and twenty-five feet high. Strabo gives thirty-two feet for the thickness, and

phrates, where lie the vast heaps of which we have spoken (save the Borsippa ruin), are vast crumbled ramparts, seven miles in circuit, and similar in every respect to those of old Nineveh. This doubtless was the royal quarter of the capital, or Babylon proper.

seventy-three feet for the height. There was an inner wall, very inferior to the great outer wall, and enclosing only about one-half of the area embraced by the latter. (Neither of these must be confused with the wall that surrounded the royal city, or Babylon proper.)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CHALDÆAN, ASSYRIAN, AND BABYLONIAN DYNASTIES AND KINGS.

(Based on the Authority of Sayce and Rawlinson.)

	Dynasties or Periods.	Kings.	B.C.
Chaldæan.	From 4300? to about 1300 B.C. Order of dynasties unsettled. Country, much of the time, divided into many petty states, with priest-kings ruling contemporaneously in the great cities of Agadê, Erech, Ur, Babylon, etc.	Accadians (Turanians) settled in Chaldæa	before 4000?
		Arrival of the Semites	4000?
		Sargon I. (Sarrukin), Semitic king of Agadê	3800?
		Naram-Sin (son), according to inscription of Nabonadius	3750
		Ur-êa (Ur-Bagas), formerly read Uruk, Accadian king, capital at Ur	2800?
		Kudur-Nakhunta, Elamite prince, conquers Chaldæa	2286
		Kudur-Lagamer (Chedorlaomer), contemporary with Abraham	about 2000
		Chaldæa conquered by Assyrian king Tiglath-Nin (= Tiglath-Adar)	about 1300
		Tiglath-Nin, conqueror of Chaldæa	about 1300-1280
		* * * * *	
Assyrian.	First Empire. (1300-745 B.C.)	Tiglath-Pileser I.	about 1130-1110
		* * * * *	
	Second Empire. (745-606 B.C.)	Asshur-nazir-pal	883-858
		Shalmaneser II.	858-823
		* * * * *	
		Tiglath-Pileser II.	745-727
		Shalmaneser IV.	727-722
		Sargon	722-705
		Sennacherib	705-681
		Esarhaddon I.	680-668
		Asshur-bani-pal (Sardanapalus)	668-626
		* * * * *	
Babylonian.	First Period. (1300-625 B.C.)	Esarhaddon II. (Saracus)	?-606
		Babylon ruled, for the most part, by Assyrian viceroys	1300-747
		Re-establishes her independence under Nabonassar	747
		Merodach-Baladan	721-709
		Assyrian Sargon reconquers Babylon	709
		Successive revolts and their suppression	709-626
		Babylon becomes independent	625
		Nabopolassar	625-604
	Second Period. (625-538 B.C.)	Nebuchadnezzar	604-561
		Evil-Merodach	561-559
		Neriglissar	559-556
		Labossoracus	556-555
		Nabonadius	555-538
		Belshazzar, his son (shares the government with his father).	

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HEBREW NATION.

Importance of Hebrew History. — The history of no other people in so eminent a degree as that of the Hebrew nation illustrates the fact — a fact which we must in our study keep steadily in view — that the germ of all that is best in our modern civilization is to be sought among the institutions of antiquity. The nations already passed in review enriched the world by their labors and discoveries in the arts and sciences. The Hebrews did nothing in these matters. Their mission was a grander one — to teach righteousness. Of all the elements of the rich legacy bequeathed to the modern by the ancient world, by far the most important, in their influence upon the course of events, were those transmitted to us by the ancient Hebrews.

The Patriarchal Age. — Hebrew story begins with the departure of Abraham out of Ur of the Chaldees, about 2000 B.C. (see p. 7).

The story of Abraham and his nephew Lot, of Isaac and his sons Jacob and Esau, and of the twelve sons of the patriarch Jacob, is told in the Hebrew Scriptures with a charm and simplicity that have made all these names the familiar possession of childhood.

During all the Patriarchal Age, the descendants of Abraham in Palestine felt themselves to be strangers and sojourners in a country not their own. Their life was the simple wandering one of the Bedouins of to-day, who each summer come up from the Mesopotamian region, and dot the valleys and plains of this same land with their tents and herds. In the times of the Hebrew patriarchs, this region seems to have been but sparsely settled, and these wanderers from beyond the Euphrates were permitted to

rove over the country about at will. Thus moving from place to place in search of pasturage for their flocks, they pitched their tents on almost every spot in Palestine.

The Hebrews in Egypt (from the 18th to the 13th century B.C.?).—An event of frequent occurrence in the East now gave an entirely new turn to Hebrew history. A long drought, and consequent failure of crops and pasturage in Palestine, forced the families of Israel to look to the more favored valley of the Nile for sustenance for themselves and their flocks. The way for their kind reception by the king of Egypt had been providentially prepared. Joseph, having been sold by his jealous brothers into slavery, had won, through the generosity of events and his personal ability, the favor of the Egyptian monarch, and had been advanced to the position of prime-minister of the empire. Through his regard for his trusted minister, the Pharaoh admitted the Hebrews to an audience, and assigned them lands for their families and flocks in the land of Goshen, a most fertile section of the Delta country, and one well adapted to their pastoral habits. Here the Hebrews increased rapidly in numbers, and soon became an important element in the Egyptian state.

A change in the ruling dynasty led to an entire reversal of the policy of the Egyptian sovereigns in their treatment of the Hebrews, as well as of the other Semitic peoples whom migratory movements had brought into the Delta from the neighboring regions of Asia. On account of their increasing number it was feared that in case of invasion or revolt they might join the enemies of the Egyptians. Such an apprehension was not by any means groundless, for the country had but just been delivered from those Asiatic intruders called the Shepherd Kings. For this reason a severe persecution was waged against them. They were treated like prisoners of war, and by unfeeling taskmasters forced to hard labor upon the various edifices of the Pharaohs. The persecution gradually assumed a religious character, and became more bitter; for the pure monotheism of the Hebrews and the debased animal-worship of the Egyptians were in direct antag-

onism. A long and severe contest arose between Moses and Aaron, the leaders of the Hebrews, and the priests and magicians of the Egyptians.

The contest was brought to an abrupt termination. A series of plagues and calamities, falling with terrible swiftness and fatal effect upon the country and its people, led the Pharaoh to yield to the demands of the Hebrews—to which were now joined the entreaties of his own afflicted people—and to suffer them to depart out of the country. Hastily mustering the different tribes, Moses led the vast multitude—there were 600,000 fighting men—towards the eastern frontier of Egypt.

The Exodus (about 1300 B.C.).—Although the Pharaoh, while under the fear produced by the wonderful and calamitous events of the preceding months, had consented to the departure of the Israelites, still no sooner did he see himself about to be deprived of this vast number of subjects and slaves than he repented of having granted the permission, and determined to detain them by force.

Gathering a large army of foot soldiers and chariots, he set out in hot pursuit of the fugitives, and overtook them just as they reached the shores of the Red Sea, near its head. Here his army was overwhelmed in the treacherous quicksands, and the fleeing multitude were delivered from what seemed certain destruction.

From this experience dates the birth of the Hebrew nation. The great deliverance touched the hearts of all with a common and intense enthusiasm. It colored the whole subsequent history of Israel, and is the key to very much that would otherwise be inexplicable in the story of this peculiar people. The convictions that were born out of that wonderful event were the source, and are the explanation, of much of the resolution and religious zeal exhibited in succeeding passages of the nation's history.

The forty years following this event were consumed by the Hebrews in weary wanderings up and down the Sinaitic peninsula. During this time the generation that came out of Egypt, and to whom clung all the instincts of their life of slavery, were replaced

by a new generation inured to the hardships of the desert, and thus by this discipline prepared for the conquest of the land of Palestine, for which work their fathers had shown themselves unfitted by shamefully recoiling from the attempt when Moses wished to lead them against the strongholds of the tribes that held the southern frontier of Philistia. Amidst the "terrific scenery" of the southern portion of the peninsula, they received the law which formed the basis of all their national institutions.

At last, with the long-intermitted march resumed, Moses led the tribes by a great detour to the eastern frontier of Palestine, thus avoiding the strongly garrisoned forts and cities of the south, and bringing the armies of Israel upon the comparatively unprotected flank of the country. From the mountains of Moab, which overhang the valley of the Jordan, the great leader and prophet of Israel was privileged, from some commanding height, to cast his eyes over the land promised unto his fathers. Here, in sight of the longed-for country, he died amidst the mountains of Moab; but "no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day."

Conquest of Canaan and Apportionment of the Land. — Joshua, the successor of Moses, led the people across the Jordan; and, after the capture of Jericho, a walled city situated in the river plain just above the head of the Dead Sea, proceeded to the work of subjugating the different tribes of the hill country of Palestine. Two campaigns, one conducted towards the south and the other towards the north, placed the larger part of the land in the possession of the Hebrews.

The conquered territory was now apportioned among the different tribes, the two tribes of Gad and Reuben and half the tribe of Manasseh being permitted to settle upon land to the east of the Jordan, the inviting nature of which had struck them while marching through that region.

Thus, after one of the most remarkable migratory movements of which any annals have been preserved, the tribes of Israel were brought again, as permanent settlers, to the land over which, five hundred years before, their ancestors had roved, with their flocks and tents, as strangers and as pilgrims.

The Judges (from 1300 to 1095 B.C.?).—A long period of anarchy and dissension followed the conquest and allotment of the land. "There was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes." During this time there arose a line of national heroes, such as Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson, whose deeds of valor and daring, and the timely deliverance they wrought for the tribes of Israel from their foes, caused their names to be handed down with grateful remembrance to following ages.

These popular leaders were called Judges because they usually exercised judicial functions, acting as arbiters between the different tribes, as well as between man and man.

Prominent among the Judges was the heroine Deborah, who was a poet and prophet as well as judge. This wonderful person brings to our mind Joan of Arc in French history; and the parallel will aid us in comprehending the character and mission of the Hebrew heroine. Her influence seems to have been almost unbounded. The overthrow and death of Sisera, one of Israel's enemies, is celebrated by Deborah in a wild, exultant song that ranks among the most remarkable of the martial poems of the barbarous age of any people.¹

Towards the close of the dark, confused, and transitional period of the Judges is placed Samson, the most renowned, in some respects, of the heroes of Israel. With his feats of strength and adventurous exploits, every one is familiar. They are narrated in the Book of Judges, which is a collection of the fragmentary, yet always interesting, traditions of this early and heroic period of the nation's life. The last of the Judges was Samuel, whose life embraces the close of the anarchical age and the beginning of the monarchy.

Founding of the Hebrew Monarchy (1095 B.C.?).—During the period of the Judges, the tribes of Israel were united by no central government. Their union was nothing more than a league, or confederation, which has been compared to the Saxon Hep-

¹ See Judges v.

tarchy in England. But the common dangers to which they were exposed from the attacks of the half-subdued Canaanitish tribes about them, and the example of the great kingdoms of Egypt and Assyria, led the people to begin to think of the advantages of a closer union and a stronger government. Consequently the republic, or confederation, was changed into a kingdom, and Saul, of the tribe of Benjamin, a man chosen chiefly because of his commanding stature and royal aspect, was made king of the new monarchy (about 1095 B.C.).

The king was successful in subduing the enemies of the Hebrews, and consolidated the tribes and settled the affairs of the new state. But towards the close of his reign, his reason became disturbed: fits of gloom and despondency passed into actual insanity, which clouded the closing years of his life. At last he and his three sons fell in battle with the Philistines upon Mount Gilboa (about 1055 B.C.).

The Reign of David (1055-1015 B.C.?). — Upon the death of Saul, David, son of Jesse, of the tribe of Judah, who had been previously anointed and encouraged to expect the crown by the prophet Samuel, assumed the royal sceptre. After crushing the attempt made by the surviving son of Saul (Ishbosheth) to secure the throne of his father, and reducing to allegiance all the tribes, David set about enlarging and strengthening his dominions.

There were yet many Canaanitish strongholds in the land, the defenders of which the Israelites had been unable to dislodge. In the midst of the district allotted to the tribe of Judah was the strong fortress of Jebus, possessed by the Jebusites. David succeeded in capturing this place by stratagem, and, under the name of Jerusalem, made it his capital city. This warlike king transformed the pastoral and half-civilized tribes into a conquering people, and, in imitation of the monarchs of the Nile and the Euphrates, extended the limits of his empire in every direction, and waged wars of extermination against the troublesome tribes of Moab and Edom.

Poet as well as warrior, David enriched the literature of his own

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¹ See Judges v.

held by an Oriental sovereign. When the Queen of Sheba, attracted by the reports of his glory, came from Southern Arabia to visit the monarch, she exclaimed, "The half was not told me." He was the wisest king of the East. His proverbs are famous specimens of sententious wisdom. He was versed, too, in botany, being acquainted with plants and trees "from the hyssop upon the wall to the cedar of Lebanon."

But, wise as was Solomon in his words, his life was far from being either admirable or prudent. In conformity with Asiatic custom, he had many wives — seven hundred, we are told — of different nationalities and religions. Through their persuasion the old monarch himself fell into idolatry, which turned from him the affections of his best subjects, and prepared the way for the dissensions and wars that followed his death.

The Division of the Kingdom (975 B.C.?). — The reign of Solomon was brilliant, yet disastrous in the end to the Hebrew monarchy. In order to carry on his vast undertakings, he had laid most oppressive taxes upon his people. When Rehoboam, his son, succeeded to his father's place, the people entreated him to lighten the taxes that were making their very lives a burden. Influenced by young and unwise counsellors, he replied to the petition with haste and insolence: "My father," said he, "chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." Immediately all the tribes, save Judah and Benjamin, rose in revolt, and succeeded in setting up, to the north of Jerusalem, a rival kingdom, with Jeroboam as its first king. This northern state, with Samaria as its capital, became known as the Kingdom of Israel; the southern, of which Jerusalem remained the capital, was called the Kingdom of Judah.

Thus was torn in twain the empire of David and Solomon. United, the tribes might have maintained an empire capable of offering successful resistance to the encroachments of the powerful and ambitious monarchs about them. But now the land becomes an easy prey to the spoiler. It is henceforth the pathway of the conquering armies of the Nile and the Euphrates. Between the

powerful monarchies of these regions, as between an upper and nether millstone, the little kingdoms are destined, one after the other, to be ground to pieces.

The Kingdom of Israel (975 ?-722 B.C.). — The kingdom of the Ten Tribes maintained an existence for about two hundred and fifty years. Its story is instructive and sad. Many passages of its history are recitals of the struggles between the pure worship of Jehovah and the idolatrous service of the deities introduced from the surrounding nations. During the reign of Ahab and his infamous queen Jezebel, the quarrel between the two religious parties issued in bitter persecutions and massacres. The cause of the religion of Jehovah, as the tribes of Israel had received it from the patriarch Abraham and the lawgiver Moses, was boldly espoused and upheld by a line of the most remarkable teachers and prophets produced by the Hebrew race, among whom Elijah and Elisha stand pre-eminent. With undaunted courage and unswerving loyalty to the divine monitions, they condemned the idolatry and corruption of the times, and labored to lead the people back to the earlier and purer faith of their fathers.

But all was in vain; and at last the thoroughly corrupt and enfeebled nation falls into the power of the Assyrian monarch. This happened 722 B.C., when Samaria, as we have already narrated in the history of Assyria, was captured by Sargon, king of Nineveh, and the Ten Tribes were carried away into captivity beyond the Euphrates (see p. 79). From this time they are quite lost to history.

The country, left nearly vacant by this wholesale deportation of its inhabitants, was filled with other subjects or captives of the Assyrian king. The descendants of these, mingled with the few Jews of the poorer class that were still left in the country, formed the Samaritans of the time of Christ.

The Kingdom of Judah (975 ?-586 B.C.). — This little kingdom, torn by internal religious dissensions, as was its rival kingdom of the north, and often on the very verge of ruin from Egyptian or Assyrian armies, maintained an independent existence for about

four centuries. During this period, a line of eighteen kings, of most diverse characters, sat upon the throne. Upon the extension of the power of Babylon to the west, Jerusalem was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Babylonian kings.

The kingdom at last shared the fate of its northern rival. Nebuchadnezzar, the powerful king of Babylon, in revenge for an uprising of the Jews, besieged and captured Jerusalem, and carried away a large part of the people, and their king Zedekiah, into captivity at Babylon (see p. 98). This event occurred one hundred and thirty-six years after the leading of the Ten Tribes into captivity by the Assyrians. It virtually ended the separate and political life of the Hebrew race (586 B.C.). Henceforth Judah constituted simply a province of the empires — Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman — which successively held sway over the regions of Western Asia, with, however, just one flicker of national life under the Maccabees, during a part of the two centuries just preceding the birth of Christ.

It only remains to mention those succeeding events which belong rather to the story of the Jews as a people than as a nation. Upon the capture of Babylon by the Persian king Cyrus (see p. 100), that monarch, who was kindly disposed towards the Jews that he there found captives, permitted them to return to Jerusalem and restore the temple. Jerusalem thus became again the centre of the old Hebrew worship, and, although shorn of national glory, continued to be the sacred centre of the ancient faith till the second generation after Christ. Then, in chastisement for repeated revolts, the city was laid in ruins by the Romans; while vast numbers of the inhabitants — some authorities say over one million — were slain, or perished by famine, and the remnant were driven into exile to different lands.

Thus, by a series of unparalleled calamities and persecutions, were the descendants of Abraham "sifted among all nations"; but to this day they cling with a strange devotion and loyalty to the simple faith of their fathers.

Hebrew Religion and Literature.

The ancient Hebrews made little or no contribution to science. They produced no new order of architecture. In sculpture they did nothing : their religion forbade their making "graven images." Their mission, as we have already said, was to teach religion. Here they have been the instructors of the world. Their literature is a religious one ; for literature with them was simply a medium for the conveyance of religious instruction and the awakening of devotional feeling.

The Hebrew religion, a pure monotheism, the teachings of a long line of holy men — patriarchs, lawgivers, prophets, and priests — stretching from Abraham down to the fifth century B.C., is contained in the sacred books of the Old Testament Scriptures. In these ancient writings, patriarchal traditions, histories, dramas, poems, prophecies, and personal narratives blend in a wonderful mosaic, which pictures with vivid and grand effect the various migrations, the deliverances, the calamities — all the events and religious experiences in the checkered life of the Chosen People.

Out of this old exclusive, formal Hebrew religion, transformed and spiritualized by the Great Teacher who spake as never man spake, grew the Christian faith. Out of the Old Testament arose the New, which we should think of as a part of Hebrew literature ; for although written in the Greek language, and long after the close of the political life of the Jewish nation, still it is essentially Hebrew in thought and doctrine, and the supplement and crown of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Besides the Sacred Scriptures, called collectively, by way of pre-eminence, the Bible (the Book), it remains to mention especially the Apocrypha, embracing a number of books that were composed after the decline of the prophetic spirit, and which show traces, as indeed do several of the later books of the Bible, of the influence of Persian and Greek thought. These books are generally regarded by the Jews and Protestants as uncanonical, but

in the main are considered by the Roman Catholics as possessing equal authority with the other books of the Bible.

Neither must we fail to mention the Talmud, a collection of Hebrew customs and traditions, with the comments thereupon of the rabbis, a work held by most Jews next in sacredness to the Holy Book ; the writings of Philo, an illustrious rabbi who lived at Alexandria just before the birth of Christ ; and the *Antiquities of the Jews* and the *Jewish Wars* by the historian Josephus, who lived and wrote about the time of the taking of Jerusalem by Titus ; that is, during the latter part of the first century after Christ.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF HEBREW KINGS.

The chronology of the period of the Judges is very uncertain. The era covers something like three centuries, embraced between the death of Joshua and the establishment of the Monarchy, about 1095 B.C. Some uncertainty also attaches to the chronology of the monarchy. The dates given below of the reigns of the kings, both of the united and the divided kingdom, save a few that have been checked by the readings of the monuments, must be regarded as only approximately correct.

KINGS OF THE UNITED MONARCHY.

	B.C.
Saul	about 1095-1055
David	" 1055-1015
Solomon	" 1015-975

DIVISION OF MONARCHY, ABOUT 975 B.C.

KINGS OF ISRAEL.	B.C.	KINGS OF JUDAH.	B.C.
Jeroboam	about 975-954	Rehoboam	about 975-958
Nadab	954-953	Abijam	958-956
Baasha	953-930	Asa	956-916
Elah	930-929	Jehoshaphat	916-892
Zimri	929	Jehoram	892-885
Omri	929-918	Ahaziah	885-884
Ahab	918-897	Athaliah	884-878
Ahaziah	897-896	Joash	878-838
Jehoram	896-884	Amaziah	838-809
Jehu	884-856	Azariah	809-757
Jehoahaz	856-839	Jotham	757-742
Joash	839-823	Ahaz	742-726
Jeroboam II.	823-772	Hezekiah	726-697
Zachariah	772	Manasseh	697-642
Shallum	772	Amon	642-640
Menahem	772-762	Josiah	640-609
Pekahiah	762-760	Jehoahaz	609
Pekah	760-730	Jehoiakim	609-598
Hoshea	730-722	Jehoiachin	598-597
Sargon captures Samaria .	722	Zedekiah	597-586

CHAPTER IX.

THE PHŒNICIANS.

The Country and its Products. — Ancient Phœnicia embraced a little strip of broken sea-coast lying between the Mediterranean and the ranges of Mount Lebanon. One of the most noted productions of the country was the fine fir timber cut from the forests that crowned the lofty ranges of the Lebanon Mountains. The “cedar of Lebanon” holds a prominent place both in the history and the poetry of the East.

Another celebrated product of the country was the Tyrian purple, which was obtained from several varieties of the murex, a species of shell-fish, secured at first along the Phœnician coast, but later sought in distant waters, especially in the Grecian seas.

The People. — The Phœnicians were a Semitic people, and of close kin to most of the so-called Canaanitish tribes. In very remote times the ancestors of all these peoples dwelt in the regions bordering upon the Persian Gulf. From those seats they migrated westward, and came into Palestine some time before the arrival of Abraham from the same region; for we are told that when that patriarch led his flocks into Palestine, “the Canaanite was then in possession of the land.”

The larger part of the migratory bands appear to have settled in the country which afterwards became known as the Promised Land; but some of the tribes pressed on to the sea-coast, and took possession of the region called by the Greeks Phœnicia. Still other clans of the same race pushed southward into the Delta of the Nile, and there doubtless helped to form the basis of the power of the Shepherd Kings, of whom we have given an account in connection with the history of the Egyptians (see p. 22).

While the Hyksos were extending their authority over the old civilization of the Nile, the kindred tribes that had settled on the tract of sea-coast overlooked by Mount Lebanon were establishing fishing-stations, and laying the foundation of the first and foremost maritime power of the early world.

Tyre and Sidon. — The various Phœnician cities never coalesced to form a true nation. They simply constituted a sort of league, or confederacy, the petty states of which generally acknowledged the suzerainty of Tyre or Sidon, the two chief cities. The latter at first held the place of supremacy in the confederation, until that city was overthrown by the Philistines, about 1050 B.C. Upon that event, Tyre, a little to the south of Sidon, built partly upon the mainland and partly upon a "rock in the midst of the waves," assumed the position of leadership among the Phœnician communities.

For more than seven centuries Tyre controlled, almost without dispute on the part of Sidon, the affairs of Phœnicia; and during this time the maritime enterprise and energy of her merchant spread the fame of the little island-capital throughout the world. She was queen and mistress of the Mediterranean. The kings of Tyre had but little of the ambition for territorial aggrandizement that characterized the monarchs of their times. So long as they controlled the commerce of the seas they were content. When Solomon offered King Hiram twenty cities and towns for aid rendered in building the temple, the Tyrian monarch chose instead oil, wheat, and other products of Palestine.

During all the last centuries of her existence, Phœnicia was, for the most part, tributary to one or another of the great monarchies about her. She acknowledged in turn the suzerainty of the Assyrian, the Egyptian, the Babylonian, the Persian, and the Macedonian kings. Alexander the Great, after a most memorable siege, captured the city of Tyre — which alone of all the Phœnician cities closed her gates against the conqueror — and reduced it to ruins (332 B.C.). She never recovered from this blow. The larger part of the site of the once great city is now "bare as the top of a rock,"

a place where the few fishermen that still frequent the spot spread their nets to dry.

Phœnician Commerce ; Sea-Routes. — When we catch our first glimpse of the Mediterranean, about 1500 B.C., it is dotted with the sails of Phœnician navigators. It was natural that the people of the Phœnician coast should have been led to a seafaring life. The lofty mountains that back the little strip of shore seemed to shut them in from a career of conquest and to prohibit an extension of their land domains. At the same time, the Mediterranean in front invited them to maritime enterprise ; while the forests of Lebanon in the rear offered timber in abundance for their ships. The Phœnicians, indeed, were the first navigators who pushed out boldly from the shore and made real sea voyages. They crossed the Mediterranean in every direction with their ships, distributing the manufactures of Asia among the different peoples of Southern Europe, that were now just rising out of the lowest stages of culture, and from those regions brought back articles in quest among the merchants of the East.

The longest voyages were made to procure tin, which was in great demand for the manufacture of articles in bronze. The nearest region where this metal was found was the Caucasus, on the eastern shore of the Euxine. The Phœnician sailors boldly threaded the Ægean Archipelago, passed through the Hellespont, braved the unknown terrors of the Black Sea, and from the land of Colchis brought back to the manufacturers of Asia the coveted article — more precious than the Golden Fleece of the Argonauts (see p. 164).

Towards the close of the 11th century B.C., the jealousy of the Pelasgic states of Greece and of the Archipelago, that were now growing into maritime power, closed the Ægean Sea against the Phœnician navigators. They then pushed out into the Western Mediterranean, and opened the tin-mines of the Iberian (Spanish) peninsula. When these began to fail, these bold sailors passed the Pillars of Hercules, faced the dangers of the Atlantic, and brought back from those distant seas the tin gathered in the mines of Britain.

Phœnician Colonies.—Along the different routes pursued by their ships, and upon the coasts visited by them, the Phœnicians established naval stations and trading-posts. Thus the islands and shores of the Mediterranean became studded with naval depots and establishments that in time grew into important centres of trade and civilization.

The stations first established by the Phœnicians were simply factories and stopping-places for their ships. They were not colonies in the sense that they were the new seats of a surplus population. But when the little home-land, growing rich and populous through its extended trade, became too strait for its inhabitants, then a true colonizing movement began.¹ Phœnician settlements were planted in Cyprus, in Rhodes and other islands of the Ægean Sea, and even in Greece itself. The shores of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica were fringed with Phœnician colonies; while the coast of North Africa was dotted with such great cities as Utica, Hippo, and Carthage. Colonies were even planted beyond the Pillars of Hercules, upon the Atlantic seaboard. The Phœnician settlement of Gades, upon the western coast of Spain, is still preserved in the modern Cadiz.

Routes of Trade.—From the mother city Tyre, and from all her important colonies and trading-posts, radiated long routes of land travel, by which articles were conveyed from the interior of the continents to the Mediterranean seaboard. Thus, amber was brought from the Baltic, through the forests of Germany, to the mouth of the river Padus (Po), in Italy. The tin of the British Isles was, at first, brought across Gaul to the outlets of the Rhone, and there loaded upon the Phœnician ships. The trade with India

¹ Some think that this movement received an additional impulse from the Hebrew invasion of Palestine. About the close of the 14th century, the children of Israel crossed the eastern frontier of that country, and almost at a blow destroyed thirty-five of the Canaanitish states. The inhabitants were either slaughtered or driven back towards the coast, where they crowded into the cities of their kinsmen, the Phœnicians. This influx of refugees from the hill country contributed, it is supposed, a new motive to the colonizing spirit.

was carried on by way of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, great caravans bearing the burdens from the ports at the heads of these seas across the Arabian and Syrian deserts to the warehouses of Tyre. Other routes led from Phœnicia across the Mesopotamian plains to Armenia, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and thence on into the heart of Central Asia.

Arts Disseminated by the Phœnicians. — We have dwelt at some length upon the maritime and land routes of the Phœnician traders, because of the light which the facts we have detailed shed upon the distribution of certain arts, and the spread of civilization, among the early peoples of the Mediterranean area. We can scarcely overestimate the influence of Phœnician culture and enterprise upon the civilization of Europe. "Egypt and Assyria," says Lenormant, "were the birthplace of material civilization; the Canaanites [Phœnicians] were its missionaries." Most prominent of the arts which they introduced among all the nations with whom they traded was the art of alphabetical writing.

Before or during the rule of the Hyksos in Egypt, the Phœnician settlers in the Delta borrowed from the Egyptians twenty-two hieratic characters, which they passed on to their Asiatic kinsmen. These characters received new names, and became the Phœnician alphabet.

Now, almost all the true alphabets in use among different peoples are manifestly derived from the Phœnician. Lenormant classifies the various alphabets of the world into five great groups:¹ the *Semitic*, employed by the various Semitic nations of Western Asia; the *Græco-Italic*, used by the Greeks and Romans; the *Iberian*, employed in the Spanish Peninsula; the *Northern*, embracing the Runic alphabets in use among the early Teutonic tribes; and the *Indo-Homerite*, including various alphabets in use among nations scattered from Arabia to India.

These groups of alphabets correspond to the five great routes of maritime and land travel followed by the Phœnician traders. Wherever they went, they carried letters and the art of alpha-

¹ *History of the East*, Vol. II.

ALPHABETS.

125

HEBREW	PHENICIAN	ARABIC	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	HEBREW	OF	ROMAN
א	𐤀	ا	Α	A	Α	א	𐤀	𐤀
ב	𐤁	ب	Β	B	Β	ב	𐤁	𐤁
ג	𐤂	ج	Γ	G	Γ	ג	𐤂	𐤂
ד	𐤃	د	Δ	D	Δ	ד	𐤃	𐤃
ה	𐤄	ه	Ε	E	Ε	ה	𐤄	𐤄
ו	𐤅	و	Ζ	Z	Ζ	ו	𐤅	𐤅
ז	𐤆	ز	Θ	Θ	Θ	ז	𐤆	𐤆
ח	𐤇	ح	Ι	I	Ι	ח	𐤇	𐤇
ט	𐤈	ط	Κ	K	Κ	ט	𐤈	𐤈
י	𐤉	ي	Λ	L	Λ	י	𐤉	𐤉
כ	𐤊	ك	Μ	M	Μ	כ	𐤊	𐤊
ל	𐤋	ل	Ν	N	Ν	ל	𐤋	𐤋
מ	𐤌	م	Ξ	X	Ξ	מ	𐤌	𐤌
נ	𐤍	ن	Ο	O	Ο	נ	𐤍	𐤍
ס	𐤎	س	Π	P	Π	ס	𐤎	𐤎
ע	𐤏	ع	Ρ	R	Ρ	ע	𐤏	𐤏
פ	𐤐	ف	Σ	C	Σ	פ	𐤐	𐤐
צ	𐤑	ظ	Τ	T	Τ	צ	𐤑	𐤑
ק	𐤒	ق	OMITTED, NOT BEING IN GREEK			ק	𐤒	𐤒

betical writing as "one of their exports." The characters were modified by the different peoples who adopted them ; yet, among all the different groups enumerated, it is easy to detect a family likeness, and to recognize in the Phœnician alphabet the mother of them all.

It is supposed that the ancestors of the nations of Northern Europe were, at the time they first met the Phœnicians, living in the vicinity of the Black Sea. There they received the alphabet, and carried it with them in their westward migration into Europe.

The characters used by the early Teutons are known as *runes*. The Romans received their alphabet from the Greeks, and the Teutons, giving up their runes when they gave up paganism, adopted the creed and alphabet of the Romans together. So our alphabet has come to us from Egypt through the Phœnicians first, then the Greeks, and lastly the Romans.

The introduction of letters among the different nations, vast as was the benefit which the gift conferred upon peoples just beginning to make advances in civilization, is only one of the many advantages which resulted to the early civilization of Europe from the commercial enterprise of the Phœnicians. It is probable that they first introduced among the semi-civilized tribes of that continent the use of bronze, which marks an epoch in their growing culture. Articles of Phœnician workmanship are found in the earliest tombs of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans ; and in very many of the manufactures of these peoples may be traced the influence of Phœnician art.

Great Enterprises aided by the Phœnicians. — While scattering the germs of civilization and culture broadcast over the entire Mediterranean area, the enterprising Phœnicians were also lending aid to almost every great undertaking of antiquity.

King Hiram of Tyre furnished Solomon with artisans and skilled workmen, and with great rafts of timber from Lebanon, for building the splendid temple at Jerusalem. The Phœnicians also provided timber from their fine forests for the construction of the great palaces and temples of the Assyrians, the Babylonians,

and the Egyptians. They built for the Persian king Xerxes the Hellespontine bridges over which he marched his immense army into Greece. They furnished contingents of ships to the kings of Nineveh and Babylon for naval operations both upon the Mediterranean and the Persian and Arabian gulfs. Their fleets served as transports and convoys to the expeditions of the Persian monarchs aiming at conquest in Asia Minor or Europe. They formed, too, the naval branch of the armaments of the Pharaohs ; for the Egyptians hated the sea, and never had a native fleet. And it was Phœnician sailors that, under the orders of Pharaoh-Necho, circumnavigated Africa — an undertaking which, although attended perhaps with less advantages to the world, still is reckoned quite as remarkable, considering the remote age in which it was accomplished (604–601 B.C.), as the circumnavigation of the globe by the Portuguese navigator Magellan, more than two thousand years later.

CHAPTER X.

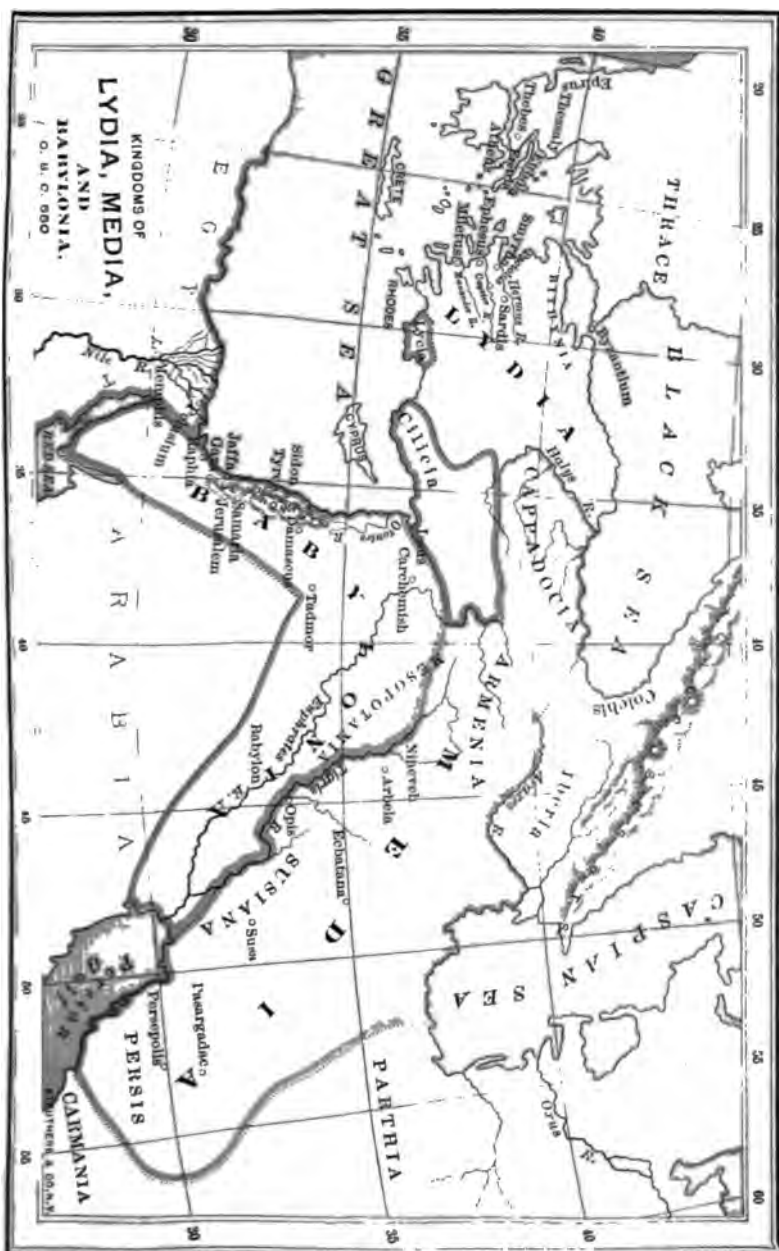
LYDIA.

The Country and the People. — Lydia was a country in the western part of Asia Minor. It was a land highly favored by nature. It embraced two rich river valleys, — the plains of the Hermus and the Cayster, — which from the mountains inland sloped gently to the island-dotted *Ægean*. The Pactolus, and other tributaries of the streams we have named, rolled down "golden sands," while the mountains were rich in the precious metals. The coast region did not at first belong to Lydia; it was held by the Greeks, who had fringed it with cities. The capital of the country was Sardis, whose citadel was set on a lofty and precipitous rock.

The Lydians were a mixed people, formed, it is thought, by the mingling, in prehistoric times, of Aryan tribes that crossed the *Ægean* from Europe, with the original non-Aryan population of the country. The Lydian kings were always anxious to be regarded as Greeks, and they made many rich presents to the Grecian shrines.

Gyges (about 687–653 B.C.). — The first historical Lydian king was Gyges, the founder of the dynasty of the Mermnadæ. It seems probable that the state which he and his successors lifted into prominence, was a fragment of the great Hittite empire, which once extended from the Euphrates to the shores of the *Ægean*.

Under Gyges Lydia began to play a distinct and important part in history. He helped Psammetichus of Egypt to throw off the Assyrian yoke, and to make that country once more an independent kingdom. He also began attacks upon the Greek cities of the coast, which, continued by his successors, resulted in bringing them all into bondage to the Lydian crown. He was slain in bat-





tle with the Cimmerians, a nomadic people, believed to have been of Celtic origin, who had burst upon Asia Minor from beyond the Caucasus, had sacked Sardis (save the citadel), and were spreading terror through the whole region, in some such way as their kinsmen, the Gauls, two or three centuries later, sacked Rome, and ravaged Italy from end to end.

Alyattes III. (about 603-554 B.C.). — The ravages of the Cimmerians checked for a time the rising fortunes of Lydia. But King Alyattes, the third in succession from Gyges, drove these barbarians quite or entirely out of Asia Minor, gaining thereby a wide reputation among the surrounding states, and thus laying the foundation of a great Lydian empire. He also extended the frontiers of Lydia towards the sea, by capturing the important Greek city of Smyrna.

But his chief war was with the Median king, Cyaxares, the conqueror, it will be recalled, of the Assyrian capital Nineveh. The destruction of the great Assyrian empire had resulted in the speedy extension of the western frontier of the new Median power to the river Halys, in Asia Minor. The ambitious Cyaxares soon found a pretext for passing that stream, and, with the Babylonian king as his ally, attacked the Lydians and their confederates.

For six years the struggle was carried on with changing fortunes, when the war was brought to a happy end by a singular circumstance. In the midst of a great battle, the sun was suddenly eclipsed, which portent so impressed the superstitious combatants that they ceased fighting, laid aside their animosities, and entered into a true and firm alliance. The treaty of peace was not only bound by most solemn covenants, but was further cemented by the marriage of the daughter of the Lydian king to Astyages, the son of the Median monarch (probably 585 B.C.).

The peace thus strangely brought about between the chief Asiatic powers, lasted for the lifetime of a generation, so that Western Asia, which for centuries had hardly for a moment been unharassed by war, enjoyed a sort of Saturnian age. Egypt alone during this period made serious trouble, through her aggressive policy in Asia, and forced Babylon into conflict with her (see p. 31).

Croesus (about 554-540 B.C.). — The long peace was at length broken by the rise of a new power, the Persian, which destroyed successively the three allied kingdoms of Media, Lydia, and Babylon, and upon their ruins established the first great world-empire. The story of the rise of this empire we shall tell in the following chapter. Here we will simply trace to its lamentable end the Lydian kingdom.

The last and most renowned of the Lydian kings was Croesus, the son of Alyattes. Under him the Lydian empire attained its greatest extension. He subjected all the Greek cities of the coast, and thus gained control of the commerce of the Mediterranean as well as that of the Black Sea. He also extended his authority over all the states of Asia Minor west of the Halys, save Lycia. The tribute he collected from the Greek cities, and the revenues he derived from his gold mines, rendered him the richest monarch of his times, so that his name has passed into the proverb, "Rich as Croesus." He made extravagantly magnificent presents of vessels of gold and silver to the Greek temples. No other personage in all antiquity seems to have so impressed the imagination of the Greeks, and they accordingly embellished the history of his reign with innumerable stories and fables, of which we shall in a moment have an illustration.

The marriage which was intended to strengthen the Lydian and Median alliance formed on the occasion of the eclipse, made Croesus and Astyages, the present Median king, brothers. Now, just at this time, Cyrus, leader of the Persians, had overthrown Astyages, and set up a new kingdom upon the ruins of the Median power. Croesus determined to avenge his brother. The Delphian oracle, to which he sent to learn the issue of a war upon Cyrus, told him that he "would destroy a great kingdom." Interpreting this favorably, he sent again to inquire whether the empire he should establish would prove permanent, and received this oracle: "Flee and tarry not when a mule¹ shall be king of the Medes."

¹ The allusion is to the (traditional) mixed Persian and Median descent of Cyrus.

Deeming the accession of a mule to the Persian throne altogether impossible, he inferred the oracle to mean that his empire should last forever.

Thus encouraged in his purpose, Crœsus made a league with Babylon, Egypt, and the Greek city of Sparta, and prepared to make war upon Persia. But he had miscalculated the strength and activity of his enemy. Cyrus marched across the Halys, defeated the Lydian army in the field, and after a short siege captured Sardis; and Lydia became a province of the new Persian empire.

There is a story which tells how Cyrus had caused a pyre to be erected on which to burn Crœsus, but at the last moment was struck by hearing the unfortunate monarch repeatedly call the name of Solon. Seeking the meaning of this, he was told that Crœsus in his prosperous years was visited by the Greek sage Solon, who, in answer to the inquiry of Crœsus as to whether he did not deem him a happy man, replied, "Count no man happy until he is dead." Cyrus was so impressed with the story, that he released the captive king, and treated him with the greatest kindness.

This story is a pure creation of the Greek imagination, for Solon was not a contemporary of Crœsus. But it is an historical fact that Cyrus dealt generously with his unfortunate prisoner, and that Crœsus resided a long time at the Persian court.

This war between Crœsus and Cyrus derives a special importance from the fact that it brought the Persian empire into contact with the Greek cities of Asia, and thus led on directly to that memorable struggle between Greece and Persia known as the Græco-Persian War.

Lydia a Connecting Link between the East and West.— "Lydia is the link," writes Sayce, "that binds together the geography and history of Asia and Europe." The Lydians, as well as the Phœnicians, were the heirs of Egypt and Babylon; and what they received, they passed on to Greece. It would be difficult to say whether, of all the primary elements of civilization which the western nations received from the East, they received most by

way of the sea, through Phœnicia, or overland, through Asia Minor.

The link that united the art and culture of Egypt and Babylon with that of Lydia, was the great Hittite empire, of which we have already spoken in connection with the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹ The dominion of the Hittite princes then extended over all the countries between the Euphrates and the shores of the *Ægean*, and throughout these regions they spread the civilization of Egypt and Babylon, from which countries, especially from the latter, the Hittites borrowed their culture. Thus the Hittite capital Carchemish, upon the Euphrates, was the first station of Babylonian art and culture in its westward march; Sardis, in Lydia, was its second station; and the Ionian Greek cities on the Lydian coast were its third and last station before it passed over to the European continent.

It is an indisputable fact that Greek art, literature, and philosophy arose in the Asiatic Greek cities. Why the first light of that wonderful civilization should have dawned among the Greek communities in Asia we can now understand, as well as appreciate the largeness of the debt which Greek culture owed to that of Egypt and Chaldæa. Some of the most characteristic forms of early Greek art, as revealed by sculptures exhumed on the site of the most ancient Greek cities, came from Babylon by the way of Lydia; while even the speculations of the Ionian sages were tinged by a philosophy derived from the same source through the same channel.

¹ See pp. 25, 27.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

(From 558 to 330 B.C.)

Kinship of the Medes and Persians. — We have already spoken of the probable early home of the Aryan peoples, north of the Hindu Kush Mountains. It was in very remote times, that some tribes, separating themselves from the other members of the Aryan family, crossed the mountain ranges to the south, and sought new abodes on the plateau of Iran. They drove out or absorbed a people of Turanian race whom they found in possession of the land. The tribes that settled in the south became known as the Persians ; while those that took possession of the mountain regions of the northwest were called Medes.

The Medes, through amalgamation with native non-Aryan tribes, became quite different from the Persians ; but notwithstanding this the names of the two peoples have always been very closely associated, as in the familiar legend, "The law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not."

The Medes at first the Leading Race. — Although the Persians were destined to become the dominant tribe of all the Iranian Aryans, still the Medes were at first the leading people. Cyaxares (625-585 B.C.) was their first prominent leader and king. We have already seen how, aided by the Babylonians, he overthrew the last king of Nineveh, and burned that capital ; and how, having extended his dominions to the Halys, in Asia Minor, he came into collision with the Lydian king, Alyattes, warred against him for six years, and then entered into a lasting alliance with him (see p. 129).

Cyaxares was followed by his son Astyages (585-558 B.C.),

during whose reign the Persians, whom Cyaxares had brought into at least partial subjection to the Median crown, revolted, overthrew the Median power, and thenceforth held the place of leadership and authority.

Reign of Cyrus the Great (558–529 B.C.).—The leader of the revolt against the Medes was Cyrus,¹ the tributary king of the Persians. Through his energy and soldierly genius, he soon built up an empire more extended than any over which the sceptre had yet been swayed by an Oriental monarch, or indeed, so far as we



TOMB OF CYRUS THE GREAT.

know, by any ruler before his time. It stretched from the Indus to the farthest limits of Asia Minor, and from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf, thus embracing not only the territories of the

¹ Myths and fables have gathered thick about the name of Cyrus. Thus legend makes him to have been the grandson of Astyages, who, on account of warning dreams, sought the child's life; but the child was rescued and brought up by a herdsman, and in due time, of course, fulfilled the prophetic visions by supplanting his grandfather. Read Herodotus I. 107–130.

Median kingdom, but also those of the allied kingdoms of Lydia and Babylonia, the subjugation of which to the Persian authority has already been narrated (see pp. 99, 131).

Tradition says that Cyrus lost his life while leading an expedition against some Scythian tribes in the north. He was buried at Pasargadæ, the old Persian capital, and there his tomb stands to-day, surrounded by the ruins of the magnificent buildings with which he adorned that city.¹ The following cuneiform inscription may still be read upon a pillar near the sepulchre: "I am Cyrus, the king, the Akhæmenian."

Character of Cyrus. — Cyrus, notwithstanding his seeming love for war and conquest, possessed a kindly and generous disposition. Almost universal testimony has ascribed to him the purest and most beneficent character of any Eastern monarch.

He was, more than any other Oriental king, accessible to his subjects, and by his free and open way with them won their undying affection and loyalty. They were fond of calling him "Father." He refused to treat harshly those whom the fortunes of war threw into his power; and often he forgave and readmitted to favor those that had plotted against his life and crown. Many stories are told by the ancient writers which illustrate the energy of his actions, the alertness of his mind, and the goodness of his heart.

Reign of Cambyses (529-522 B.C.). — Cyrus the Great left two sons, Cambyses and Smerdis: the former, as the oldest, inherited the sceptre, and the title of king. He began a despotic and unfortunate reign by causing his brother, whose influence he feared, to be secretly put to death.

With far less ability than his father for their execution, Cambyses conceived even vaster projects of conquest and dominion. Asia had hitherto usually afforded a sufficient field for the ambition of Oriental despots. Cambyses determined to add the country of

¹ It should, perhaps, be said that Sayce thinks this structure cannot be the tomb of the great Cyrus; see his *Ancient Empires of the East*, p. 273. On the other hand, consult Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. III. p. 388.

Africa to the vast inheritance received from his father. Upon some slight pretext, he invaded Egypt, captured Memphis, and ascended the Nile to Thebes. From here he sent an army of fifty thousand men to subdue the oasis of Ammon, in the Libyan desert. Of the vast host not a man returned from the expedition. It is thought that the army was overwhelmed and buried by one of those fatal storms, called simooms, that so frequently sweep over those dreary wastes of sand.

Cambyses had meanwhile sent an embassy to the Ethiopians, a people of large and powerful frame, demanding their submission; but he had received in reply a bow, with the message that when a Persian archer could bend it, then Cambyses might think of making war against the Ethiopians. The king immediately set his army in motion, to punish their insolence; but the terrors of the Nubian desert, rather than the valor of the foe, caused him to turn back, with the object of the expedition very unsatisfactorily accomplished.

Irritated by the ill-success of his plans, and believing that the Egyptians, taking advantage of his misfortunes, were concerting a revolt, he began to treat them with great severity. Herodotus says that he vented his rage especially upon the priests, whom he caused to be scourged, and that he stabbed, with his own hand, the sacred bull Apis, and gave the flesh to the dogs; but inscriptions recently brought to light, cast discredit upon this part of the historian's account, for they reveal the fact that the bull died a natural death, and was accorded the usual funeral honors by Cambyses.

Cambyses had set out on his return to Persia, when news was brought to him that his brother Smerdis had usurped the throne, and caused himself to be proclaimed king. A Magian impostor, Gomates by name, who resembled the murdered Smerdis, had personated him, and actually grasped the sceptre. Cambyses, already depressed in spirits by the small success attending his expedition, was entirely disheartened by this startling intelligence, and in despair took his own life.

Reign of the Pseudo-Smerdis (522-521 B.C.).—The circumstances of this reign are interesting on account of the insight they give us into the life of an Oriental monarch, and the light they throw upon religious matters.

There were at this time two opposing religions in Persia : Zoroastrianism, which taught the simple worship of God under the name of Ormazd ; and Magianism, a less pure faith, whose professors were fire-worshippers.

The former was the religion of the Aryans ; the latter, that of the non-Aryan portion of the population. The usurpation which placed Smerdis on the throne was planned by the Magi, Smerdis himself being a fire-priest. Of course the people were kept in profound ignorance of the real character of the new king, and they believed that they had for a monarch the true son of the Great Cyrus. For seven months Smerdis succeeded in concealing the fraud from the nation at large. He took every precaution to prevent the facts from becoming known. The wives of his harem, many of whom must have known the real Smerdis, were kept apart in different chambers, and no one was allowed to see them. Smerdis himself kept close within the walls of his palace, and admitted no one to an audience that had known the murdered prince.

But all was in vain. The very precautions that Smerdis took awakened suspicion, and at last the fraud was discovered. Several nobles, indignant at the deception that had been practised, forced their way to the presence of Smerdis, and the false king paid for his short-lived authority and royal honors with his life.

Reign of Darius I. (521-486 B.C.).—The leader of the nobles who rescued the sceptre from the grasp of the false Smerdis was Darius, son of Hystaspes. We are left in no doubt respecting his descent and titles, for on his tomb is this legend : " Darius, the Great King, the King of kings ; the King of all inhabited countries ; the King of the great earth, far and near ; the son of Hystaspes, an Akhæmenian ; a Persian, the son of a Persian ; an Aryan, of Aryan descent."

The first act of Darius was to punish, by a general massacre,

the Magian priests for the part they had taken in the usurpation by Smerdis. The pure Zoroastrian worship was re-instated ; and the temples which had been destroyed by the Magians, or fire-worshippers, were restored. All the inscriptions of Darius evince great zeal for the restored religion, and breathe a spirit of pious dependence upon Ormazd.

For several years the monarch was busy suppressing revolts in almost every province of his wide dominions. In all the ancient Oriental despotisms, disaffections and uprisings were almost always the accompaniment of dynastic changes. A sovereignty acquired by the sword must be maintained by the same means.



CAPTIVE INSURGENTS BROUGHT BEFORE DARIUS. Beneath his foot is the Magus Gomates, the false Smerdis. (From the great Behistun Rock.)

With quiet and submission secured throughout the empire, Darius gave himself, for a time, to the arts of peace. He built a palace at Susa, and erected magnificent structures at Persepolis ; reformed the administration of the government (see p. 144), making such wise and lasting changes that he has been called "the

second founder of the Persian empire"; established post-roads, centering in Susa, instituted a coinage for the realm, and upon the great rock of Behistun, a lofty smooth-faced cliff on the western frontier of Persia, caused to be inscribed a record of all his achievements.¹

And now the Great King, Lord of Western Asia and of Egypt, conceived and entered upon the execution of vast designs of conquest, the far-reaching effects of which were destined to live long after he had passed away. Inhospitable steppes on the north, and burning deserts on the south, whose shifting sands within a period yet fresh in memory had been the grave of a Persian army, seemed to be the barriers which Nature herself had set for the limits of empire in these directions. But on the eastern flank of the kingdom the rich and crowded plains of India invited the conqueror with promises of endless spoils and revenues; while on the west a new continent, full of unknown mysteries, presented virgin fields never yet traversed by the army of an Eastern despot.

Darius determined to extend the frontiers of his empire in both these directions. He first despatched, according to credible accounts, two naval expeditions of observation — one to seek information respecting the Indus country, and the other to make such investigations of the western seas and Grecian states as might be needful to his plans.

At one blow the region of northwestern India known as the Punjab, was brought under Persian authority; and thus with a single effort were the eastern limits of the empire pushed out so as to include one of the richest countries of Asia — one which henceforth returned to the Great King an annual revenue vastly larger than that of any other province hitherto acquired, not even excepting the rich district of Babylonia.

With an army numbering, it is said, more than 700,000 men,

¹ This important inscription is written in the cuneiform characters, and in three languages, Aryan, Turanian, and Semitic. It is the Rosetta Stone of the cuneiform writings, the key to their treasures having been obtained from its parallel columns.

Darius now crossed the Bosphorus by means of a sort of pontoon bridge, constructed by Grecian architects, and passing the Danube by means of a similar bridge, penetrated far into what is now Russia, which was then occupied by Scythian hordes. Adopting the same tactics employed by the Russians two thousand years later, when Napoleon led an army of nearly equal strength into the same country, the natives retreated as the Persians advanced, refusing battle, filling the wells, and destroying everything that might be of service to the enemy. After a short campaign of two months, Darius retreated from the country, effecting the movement, however, without those terrible losses and experiences which have made the later expedition the gloomiest episode of modern history.

The results of the expedition were the addition of Thrace to the Persian empire, and the making of Macedonia a tributary kingdom. Thus the Persian kings secured their first foothold upon the European continent.

The most significant campaign in Europe was yet to follow. In 500 B.C., the Ionian cities in Asia Minor subject to the Persian authority revolted. Miletus was the foremost city concerned in the rebellion. Athens, and Eretria on the island of Eubœa, lent aid to their sister states. Sardis was sacked and burned by the insurgents.

With the revolt crushed and punished with great severity, and with his power re-established to the Hellespont, Darius determined to chastise the European Greeks, and particularly the Athenians, for their insolence in giving aid to his rebellious subjects. Herodotus tells us that he appointed a person whose sole duty it was daily to stir up the purpose of the king with the words, "Master, remember the Athenians."

A large land and naval armament was fitted out and placed under the command of Mardonius, son-in-law of Darius. The land forces suffered severe losses at the hands of the barbarians of Thrace, and the fleet was wrecked by a violent storm off Mount Athos, three hundred ships being lost (492 B.C.).

Two years after this disaster, another expedition, consisting of 120,000 men, under the command of Datis and Artaphernes, was borne by ships across the *Ægean* to the plains of Marathon. The details of the significant encounter that there took place between the Persians and the Athenians will be given when we come to narrate the history of Greece. We need now simply note the result,—the complete overthrow of the Persian forces by the Greeks under Miltiades (490 B.C.).

Darius, angered beyond measure by the failure of the expedition, stirred up all the provinces of his vast empire, and called for new levies from far and near, resolved upon leading in person such an army into Greece that the insolent Athenians should be crushed at a single blow, and the tarnished glory of the Persian arms restored. In the midst of these preparations, with the Egyptians in revolt, the king suddenly died, in the year 486 B.C.

Reign of Xerxes I. (486–465 B.C.). — The successor of Darius, his son Xerxes, though more inclined to indulge in the ease and luxury of the palace than to subject himself to the hardship and discipline of the camp, was urged by those about him to an active prosecution of the plans of his father.

After crushing the Egyptian revolt and another insurrection in Babylonia, the Great King was free to devote his attention to the distant Greeks. Mustering the contingents of the different provinces of his empire, Xerxes led his vast army, numbering, if we are to believe Herodotus (see p. 219), over 2,000,000 fighting men, besides an equal number of attendants, over the bridges he had caused to be thrown across the Hellespont, crushed the Spartan guards at the Pass of Thermopylæ, pushed on into Attica, and laid Athens in ruins. But there fortune forsook him. At the naval battle of Salamis, his fleet was cut to pieces by the Grecian ships; and the king, making a precipitate retreat back into Asia, hastened to his capital, Susa. Here, in the pleasures of the harem, he sought solace for his wounded pride and broken hopes. He at last fell a victim to palace intrigue, being slain in his own chamber, 465 B.C.

The Decline of the Persian Empire. — The power and supremacy of the Persian monarchy passed away with the reign of Xerxes. The story of the empire for the last one hundred and forty years of its existence is simply a repetition of the history of all conquering states. Power acquired by conquest, and wealth gained by robbery, are certain, in the end, to corrupt and weaken the possessor. The closing history of the Persian Empire is one long recital of shameful briberies, corruptions, court intrigues, and assassinations. As the hand that wielded the sceptre grew weaker, the more remote or more powerful provinces cast off their allegiance ; and the records of the kings of this era are dreary enumerations of the wars and campaigns undertaken to punish conspiracies or to crush open revolt. The rising power of the Grecian states in the West was also a constant peril and menace in that quarter.

This period of turbulence and anarchy is spanned by the reigns of eight kings. It was in the reign of Artaxerxes II., called Mnemon for his remarkable memory, that took place the well-known expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks under Cyrus, the brother of Artaxerxes, an account of which will be given in connection with Grecian history.

The Last of the Persian Kings. — That mysterious allotment of Providence by which the consequences of the follies and crimes of a long line of ancestors fall upon an innocent descendant, is illustrated anew in the sad story of Darius III., the last of the Persian kings. He was comely in person, generous in disposition, and free from most of those faults which rendered the reigns of his predecessors infamous. Yet it was his misfortune to live to see the weakened empire fall to pieces in his hands, and to become himself a hunted fugitive in a remote province of his dominions.

The disclosures of the preceding reigns invited the Macedonians to the invasion and conquest of the empire. Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea had shown the immense superiority of the free soldiery of Greece over the splendid but servile armies of Persia, that were often driven to battle with the lash. The march of the Ten Thousand through the very heart of the dominions of the Great King

TABLE OF KINGS OF MEDIA AND PERSIA. 143

had demonstrated the amazing internal weakness of the empire. The condition of the Persian monarchy at this time was very like that of the Roman Empire just before its fall. A single blow will suffice to shatter the splendid fabric into ruins.

Alexander, the son of Philip of Macedon, was the destined destroyer. In the year 334 B.C., that conqueror led a small army of thirty-five thousand Greeks across the Hellespont. The great battles of the Granicus, of Issus, and Arbela decided the fate of the Persian Empire. Darius fled from the last field, on the plains of Assyria, only to be treacherously assassinated by one of his own generals, Bessus, satrap of Bactria. Alexander avenged his death, and caused his body to be buried with all the pompous ceremonial observed by the Persians.

The succeeding movements of Alexander, and the establishment by him of the short-lived Macedonian monarchy upon the ruins of the Persian state, are matters that properly belong to Grecian history, and will be related in a following chapter.

TABLE OF KINGS OF MEDIA AND PERSIA.

Kings of Media...	{	Phraortes	? -625
	{	Cyaxares	625-585
	{	Astyages	585-558
Kings of Persia...	{	Cyrus	558-529
	{	Cambyses	529-522
	{	Pseudo-Smerdis	522-521
	{	Darius I.	521-486
	{	Xerxes I.	486-465
	{	Artaxerxes I. (Longimanus)	465-425
	{	Xerxes II.	425
	{	Sogdianus	425-424
	{	Darius II. (Nothus)	424-405
	{	Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon)	405-359
	{	Artaxerxes III. (Ochus)	359-338
	{	Arses	338-336
	{	Darius III. (Codomannus)	336-330

CHAPTER XII.

INSTITUTIONS, RELIGION, AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE ANCIENT PERSIANS.

The Persian Government. — Before the reign of Darius government of the Persian Empire was like that of all the monarchies that had preceded it ; that is, it consisted of a number of subject states, which were allowed to retain the kings and manage their own affairs, only paying tribute and homage, and furnishing contingents in time of war, to the King.¹

We have seen how weak was this rude and primitive government. Darius I., who possessed rare ability as an organizer, remodelled the system of his predecessors, and actually reformed for the Persian monarchy what Tiglath-Pileser II. had long attempted, with indifferent success, to accomplish for the Assyrians. "For the first time in history centralization became a fact."

The system of government which Darius I. thus made a fact in the world, — and which was reproduced, if not improved by the Romans, — is known as the *satrapal*, a form reproduced to-day by the government of the Turkish Sultan. The kingdom was divided into twenty or more provinces, over each of which was placed a governor, called a satrap, appointed by the king. These officials held their position at the pleasure of the sovereign, and were thus rendered his subservient creatures. Each province contributed to the income of the king a

¹ The ideas of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser II., were, it must be remembered, only very partially realized; the Assyrian monarchy never became thoroughly organized and centralized government.

revenue. After raising this, the governor was at liberty to collect as much more as he needed to sustain such a court and retinue as his tastes might dictate. These often being capricious and extravagant, the taxes were usually exorbitant and oppressive; but so long as the annual stipend was received at the capital, no inquiries were likely to be made. The measures of these satraps were often cruel and despotic: they held the power of life and death; and justice with them was too frequently a thing of price and purchase.

There were provisions in the system by which the king might be apprised of the disloyalty of his satraps. Thus the whole dominion was firmly cemented together, and the facility with which almost sovereign states—which was the real character of the different parts of the empire under the old system—could plan and execute revolt, was removed.

Literature and Religion: Zoroastrianism.—The literature of the ancient Persians was mostly religious. Their sacred book is called the *Zendavesta*. It is composed of eight parts, the oldest of which is named the *Vendidad*. This consists of laws, incantations, and mythical tales.

The religious system of the Persians, as taught in the *Zendavesta*, is known as Zoroastrianism, from Zoroaster, its founder. This great reformer and teacher is now generally supposed to have lived and taught about 1000 B.C.

Zoroastrianism seems to have been a revolt against polytheistic tendencies in the old Aryan religion. Zoroaster taught belief in a Supreme Being, called Ahura Mazda,¹ or Ormazd; and his precepts inculcated virtue and purity. His teachings produced a religious schism among the hitherto united Indo-Iranian peoples, which led to their final separation, and to the establishment of the antagonistic systems of Brahminism in Hindustan and Zoroastrianism in Persia.

Dualism in the Persian Religion: Influence of Country.—The system of Zoroaster was much modified by the nature of the

¹ Hence *Mazdeism*, the name sometimes given to the religion.

region that became the home of the Iranian peoples, and also by the sensuous worship of the Turanian tribes with which they came in contact.

Persia is a country of sharp contrasts : winters of bitter cold are followed closely by springs of surpassing freshness and beauty, and these are quickly succeeded by hot, withering summers. Frightful deserts alternate with fertile and lovely valleys. Good and evil powers seemed thus, to the observant minds of those early peoples, to be waging an ever-renewed conflict in the world around them. Within themselves, also, health and disease, vice and virtue, evil and good, appeared ever contending, each for the mastery.

Hence arose the system of belief known as dualism, the germs of which are traceable in the earliest Aryan hymns. The Persians imagined that over against the good Ormazd there was a "dark spirit," Ahriman (Angro-Mainyus), who was constantly striving to destroy the good creations of Ormazd by creating all evil powers — storm, drought, pestilence, noxious animals, weeds and thorns in the world without, and evil in the heart of man within. From all eternity these two powers had been contending for the mastery ; in the present neither had the decided advantage ; but in the near future Ormazd would triumph over Ahriman, and evil be forever destroyed.

The duty of man was to aid Ormazd by working with him against the evil-loving Ahriman. He must labor to eradicate every evil and vice in his own bosom ; to reclaim the earth from barrenness ; and to kill all bad animals — frogs, toads, snakes, lizards — which Ahriman had created. Herodotus saw with amazement the Magian priests armed with weapons and engaged in slaying these animals as a "pious pastime." Agriculture was a sacred calling, for the husbandman was reclaiming the ground from the curse of the Dark Spirit. Thus men might become co-workers with Ormazd in the mighty work of overthrowing and destroying the kingdom of the wicked Ahriman.

The evil man was he who allowed vice and degrading passions to find a place in his own soul, and neglected to exterminate nox-

ious animals and weeds, and to help redeem the earth from the barrenness and sterility created by the enemy of Ormazd.

After death the souls of the good and bad alike must pass over a narrow bridge : the good soul crosses in safety, and is admitted to the presence of Ahura Mazda ; while the evil soul is sure to fall from the path, sharp as the edge of a scimitar, into a pit of woe, the dwelling-place of Ahriman.

Zoroastrianism Influenced by Magianism. — Zoroastrianism was also deeply influenced by the religion of the ancient people with which the Aryans-blended, especially in the Median provinces. There, among the mountains of the Zagros region, flourished a sort of sensuous nature-worship, called Magianism, in which the elements — fire, air, earth, and water — were esteemed sacred and were made objects of worship.¹ Fire was regarded with special veneration, as the purest symbol of the Supreme Being. This religion was really but a modified form of the Sabæism of the early Chaldeans. The lofty summits of the mountains were crowned with altars, upon which the Magian fires burned continually from generation to generation. The system possessed a venerable priesthood, and a ceremonial of worship that appealed to the grosser senses.

Zoroastrianism, too refined and spiritual to maintain its hold upon a semi-barbarous people, naturally became corrupted by the sensuous worship of the Magians, just as the Hebrew religion became corrupted by the idolatries of the Canaanites. The two religions blended ; yet the faith of the conquering Aryans ever

¹ After the Zoroastrians had added to their creed the Magian belief in the sacredness of the elements, — earth, water, fire, and air, — there arose a difficulty in regard to the disposal of dead bodies. They could neither be burned, buried, thrown into the water, or left to decay in a sepulchral chamber or in the open air without polluting one or another of the sacred elements. So they were given to the birds and wild beasts, being exposed on lofty towers or in desert places. Those whose feelings would not allow them thus to dispose of their dead, were permitted to bury them, provided they first encased the body in wax to preserve the ground from contamination. The modern Parsees, or Fire-worshippers, give their dead bodies to the birds.

retained the most prominent place in the new worship. The form was Magian, but its spirit was Zoroastrian. It never became a really idolatrous worship, and was, in all its stages, the purest and most spiritual religion held by any people of antiquity, save that professed by the ancient Hebrews.

Between the Persians and the Hebrews, indeed, there existed a bond of sympathy in their religious faith. Cyrus restored the captive Jews to Jerusalem and aided them in the restoration of their temple, in which, as in the case of the Persian sanctuary, appeared no statue of the object of worship. Xerxes burned the temples of the Greeks, an act prompted by that same hatred of idolatry, and by that same zeal for the spiritual worship of the Eternal Unseen, that led the Israelites to overturn the altars, cut down the groves, and slay the priests of the idolatrous Canaanites.

Persian Architecture. — The ancient Persians did little or nothing in science and philosophy, but in architecture they originated an order superior to any that the nations which preceded them had produced. But notwithstanding that Persian structural art was home-born, it was greatly influenced and modified by both that of Assyria and of Egypt.

The simple religious faith of the Persians discouraged (though it did not prohibit) the erection of temples: their sacred architecture scarcely included more than an altar and its pedestal. The palace of the monarch was the structure that absorbed the best efforts of the Persian artist.

The first steps in royal architecture were taken by the Medes, who, living in a mountainous and woody country, built wooden structures for their palaces. In such edifices, the column, formed of a tree-trunk, was naturally a prominent feature. When the Persians gained supremacy in the state, they borrowed the architecture of the Medes; but, living in a country where wood was scarce and stone abundant, they reproduced the wooden residences of the Median kings in the latter material.

In imitation of the inhabitants of the valley of the Euphrates, they raised the royal residence on a lofty terrace, or platform.



THE RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS

Here again they transformed the mud-built palace-mound of Assyrians into stone, and at Persepolis raised, for the substructure of their palaces, an immense platform of massive masonry, which is one of the most wonderful monuments of the world's ancient builders. This terrace, which is uninjured by the 2300 years



THE KING IN COMBAT WITH A MONSTER. (From Persepolis.)

have passed since its erection, is about 1500 feet long, 1000 wide, and 40 feet high. The summit is reached by broad stairways of stone, pronounced by Niebuhr and Fergusson the finest work of the kind that the ancient or even the modern world can boast.

Remains of the Persian Palaces. — Surmounting this platform are the ruins of the palaces of several of the Persian monarchs, from Cyrus the Great to Artaxerxes Ochus. These ruins consist chiefly of walls, and great monolithic door- and window-frames. The whole mass of buildings is supposed to have been burned by Alexander during a drunken frolic. Thirteen lofty columns, sixty feet in height, mark the site of the Hall of Xerxes — the audience chamber, or throne-room, of the Great King, beneath which he sat to hear and judge the matters of his subjects. Colossal winged bulls, copied from the Assyrians, stand as wardens at the gateway of the ruined palaces.

Numerous sculptures in bas-relief decorate the faces of the walls, and these throw much light upon the manners and customs of the ancient Persian kings. The successive palaces increase, not only in size, but in sumptuousness of adornment, thus registering those changes which we have been tracing in the national history. The residence of Cyrus was small and modest, while that of Artaxerxes Ochus equalled in size the great palace of the Assyrian Sargon.

Again, the sculptures that adorn the residences of the earlier kings, Cyrus and Darius, represent the monarch engaged in bold and manly combat with lions and other monsters; while in the halls and chambers of the palace of Xerxes these give place to representations of servants bearing articles of luxury intended for royal use. "A tone of mere sensual enjoyment is thus given to the later edifice which is far from characterizing the earlier; and the decline at the court, which history indicates as rapid about this period, is seen to have stamped itself, as such changes usually do, upon the national architecture."¹

¹ Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. III. p. 295.

SECTION II. — GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE.

Divisions of Greece. — Long arms of the sea divide the Grecian peninsula into three parts, called Northern, Central, and Southern Greece. The southern portion, joined to the mainland by the Isthmus of Corinth, and now generally known as the Morea, was called by the ancients the Peloponnesus; that is, the Island of Pelops, from its fabled colonizer.

Northern Greece included the ancient districts of Thessaly and Epirus. Thessaly consists mainly of a large and beautiful valley, walled in on all sides by rugged mountains. It was celebrated far and wide for the variety and beauty of its scenery. On its northern edge, between Olympus and Ossa, lay a beautiful glen, called the Vale of Tempe, the only pass by which the plain of Thessaly could be entered from the north. The district of Epirus stretched along the Ionian Sea on the west. In the gloomy recesses of its forests of oak was situated the renowned Dodonean oracle of Zeus.

Central Greece was divided into eleven districts. The most important of these were Acarnania, Ætolia, Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica. In Phocis was the city of Delphi, famous for its oracle and temple; in Bœotia, the city of Thebes; and in Attica was the brilliant Athens.

Southern Greece, or the Peloponnesus, was also divided into eleven provinces, of which the more important were Arcadia, embracing the central part of the peninsula; Achaia, the northern

part; Argolis, the eastern; and Messenia and Laconia, the southern. The last district was ruled by the city of Sparta, the great rival of Athens.

Mountains.—The Cambunian Mountains form a lofty wall along a considerable reach of the northern frontier of Greece, shutting out at once the cold winds and hostile races from the north. Branching off at right angles to these mountains is the Pindus range, which runs south into Central Greece.

In Northern Thessaly is Mount Olympus, the most celebrated mountain of the peninsula. The ancient Greeks thought it the highest mountain in the world (it is 9700 feet in height), and believed that its cloudy summit was the abode of the celestials.

South of Olympus, close by the sea, are Ossa and Pelion, celebrated in fable as the mountains which the giants, in their war against the gods, piled one upon another, in order to scale Olympus.

Parnassus and Helicon, in Central Greece,—beautiful mountains clad with trees and vines and filled with fountains,—were believed to be the favorite haunts of the Muses. Near Athens are Hymettus, praised for its honey, and Pentelicus, renowned for its marbles.

The Peloponnesus is rugged with mountains that radiate in all directions from the central country of Arcadia,—“the Switzerland of Greece.”

Islands about Greece.—Very much of the history of Greece is intertwined with the islands that lie about the mainland. On the east, in the Ægean Sea, are the Cyclades, so called because they form an irregular circle about the sacred isle of Delos, where was a very celebrated shrine of Apollo. Between the Cyclades and Asia Minor lie the Sporades, which islands, as the name implies, are sown irregularly over that portion of the Ægean.

Just off the coast of Attica is a large island called by the ancients Eubœa, but known to us as Negropont. Close to the Asian shores are the large islands of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes. Chios was widely known as being the home of the

alleged descendants of Homer, called the Homerides. Samos was the birthplace of some of the most distinguished artists and philosophers that the Greek race produced. Rhodes was noted for its schools of oratory and sculpture, and its commercial activity.

To the west of Greece lie the Ionian Islands, the largest of which was called Corcyra, now Corfu. The rugged island of Ithaca was the birthplace of Ulysses, the hero of the *Odyssey*. Cythera, just south of the Peloponnesus, was sacred to Aphrodite (Venus), as it was here fable said she rose from the sea-foam. Beyond Cythera, in the Mediterranean, midway between Greece and Egypt, is the large island of Crete, noted in legend for its Labyrinth and its legislator Minos.

Other Lands peopled by the Greeks. — Under the name of Hellas (see p. 155) the ancient Greeks included not only Greece proper and the islands of the adjoining seas, but also the Hellenic cities in Asia Minor, in Southern Italy, and in Sicily, besides many other Grecian colonies scattered up and down the Mediterranean and along the shores of the Propontis and of the Euxine. "Wherever were Hellenes there was Hellas."

In the Western Mediterranean the Greeks came in contact with a sea-going and colony-planting people like themselves, — the Phœnicians, — and hence in this quarter they were prevented from establishing their colonies as thickly as they otherwise would have done.

During the later periods of Greek dominance, many magnificent cities, filled with Greek citizens, and characterized by Hellenic manners, language, and religion, were sprinkled thickly over the different countries of Asia as far as the Indus.

Influence of Country. — The nature and position of a country, as we have already seen illustrated in the case of Phœnicia, have much to do with the moulding of the character and the shaping of the history of its people. Mountains, isolating neighboring communities and shutting out conquering races, foster the spirit of local patriotism and preserve freedom; the sea, inviting abroad, and rendering intercourse with distant countries easy, awakens the spirit of adventure and develops commercial enterprise.

Now, Greece is at once a mountainous and a maritime country. Abrupt mountain-walls fence it off into a great number of isolated districts, each of which in ancient times became the seat of a distinct community, or state. Hence the fragmentary character of its political history. The Hellenic states never coalesced to form a single nation.

The peninsula is, moreover, by reason of deep arms and bays of the sea, converted into what is in effect an archipelago. (No spot in Greece is forty miles from the sea.) Hence its people were early tempted to a sea-faring life. The shores of the Mediterranean and the Euxine were dotted with Hellenic colonies. Intercourse with the old civilizations of Egypt and Phœnicia stirred the naturally quick and versatile Greek intellect to early and vigorous thought. The islands strewn with seeming carelessness through the Ægean Sea were "stepping-stones" which invited the earliest settlers of Greece to the delightful coast countries of Asia Minor, and thus blended the life and history of the opposite shores.

Again, the beauty of Grecian scenery inspired many of the most striking passages of her poets; and it is thought that the exhilarating atmosphere and brilliant skies of Attica were not unrelated to the lofty achievements of the Athenian intellect. Indeed, we may almost assert that the wonderful civilization of Greece was the product of a land of incomparable and varied beauties acting upon a people singularly sensitive to the influences of nature (see p. 159).

The Pelasgians. — The historic inhabitants of the land we have described were called by the Romans Greeks, but they called themselves Hellenes, from their fabled ancestor Hellen.

But the Hellenes, according to their own account, were not the original inhabitants of the country. They were preceded by a people whom they called Pelasgians. Who these folk were, or what was their relation to the later historic Greeks, is a matter of debate. Some think they were the Aryan pioneers in this part of Europe, and stood in some such relation to the Greeks as the Celts in Western Europe sustained to the Teutons. Others regard them

as being simply the prehistoric ancestors of the Hellenes, or of a part of the Hellenes, just as the Angles and Saxons were the progenitors of the English of to-day. Still others think that the Pelasgians and Hellenes were kindred tribes, but that the Hellenes, possessing superior qualities, gradually acquired ascendancy over the Pelasgians and finally absorbed them.

The Pelasgians, whoever they may have been, evidently were a people somewhat advanced beyond the savage state. They cultivated the ground, and protected their cities with walls. Remnants of their rude but massive masonry still encumber in places the soil of Greece. Their chief deity was the Dodonean Zeus, so called from his sanctuary of Dodona, in Epirus. He was essentially the same divinity as the Olympian Zeus of the Greeks.

The Hellenes. — The Hellenes were divided into four families, or tribes: namely, the Ionians, the Dorians, the Achæans, and the Æolians.

The Ionians were a many-sided, imaginative people, singularly open to the influences of the outer world. They developed every part of their nature, and attained unsurpassed excellence in art, literature, and philosophy. The most noted Ionian city was Athens, whose story is a large part of the history of Hellas.

The Dorians were a practical, unimaginative race. Their speech and their art were both alike without ornament. They developed the body rather than the mind. Their education was almost wholly gymnastic and military. They were unexcelled as warriors. The most important city founded by them was Sparta, the rival of Athens.

In the different aptitudes and contrasted tendencies of these two great Hellenic families, lay, in the words of the historian Ranke, "the fate of Greece." They divided Hellas into two rival parties, which through their jealousies and contentions finally brought to utter ruin all the political hopes and promises of the Hellenic race.

The Achæans are represented by the Greek legends as being the predominant race in the Peloponnesus during the Heroic Age.

They then overshadowed to such a degree all the other tribes as to cause their name to be frequently used for the Greeks in general.

The Æolians formed a rather ill-defined division. In historic times the name is often made to include all Hellenes not enumerated as Ionians or Dorians.

When the mists of antiquity are first lifted from Greece, about the beginning of the eighth century B.C., we discover the several families of the Hellenic race in possession of Greece proper, of the islands of the Ægean, and of the western coasts of Asia Minor. Respecting their prehistoric migrations and settlements, we have little or no certain knowledge. We do know, however, through the testimony of language, that they belonged to the great Aryan family; that their ancestors and those of the Romans, after they had separated from the other Aryan peoples, lived together a considerable time before they parted company; and finally, that after this separation all the ancestors of the several divisions, or tribes, of the Hellenes dwelt together for some time as a single community before they separated to form the different branches of the Hellenic family.

What region was the abode of the Hellenes while they still constituted an undivided family, we can only conjecture. Some think that it was Phrygia, in the northwest corner of Asia Minor, and that from that station successive bands of emigrants gradually spread themselves over Greece and the shores and islands of the Ægean.

The last companies to leave the Phrygian home appear to have been the ancestors of the Ionians and Dorians. In the opinion of some, the Ionians followed the course of the Phrygian rivers to the coast, and, after having there developed into a sea-loving people, passed over to continental Greece by way of the Ægean islands; while the Dorians crossed the Hellespont into Europe, and, after living for a while as farmers and shepherds in the hilly regions of Macedonia or Northern Greece, pushed southward, in time establishing themselves as the dominant race in the Peloponnesus.

Others, however, are inclined to believe that all the Hellenes entered Greece by the way of Thrace.

Oriental Immigrants.—According to their own traditions the early growth of civilization among the European Hellenes was promoted by the settlement among them of Oriental immigrants, who brought with them the arts and culture of the different countries of the East.

From Egypt, legend affirms, came Cecrops, bringing with him the arts, learning, and priestly wisdom of the Nile valley. He is represented as the builder of the citadel (the *Cecropia*) of what was afterwards the illustrious city of Athens. From the same land Danaus is also said to have come with his fifty daughters, and to have built the citadel of Argos. From Phœnicia Cadmus brought the letters of the alphabet, and founded the city of Thebes. The Phrygian Pelops, the progenitor of the renowned heroes Agamemnon and Menelaus, settled in the southern peninsula, which was called after him the Peloponnesus (the Island of Pelops).

The nucleus of fact in all these legends is probably this,—That the European Greeks received the primary elements of their culture from the East through their Asiatic kinsmen. That they did in this manner receive at least many of the rudiments of their civilization does not admit of doubt. For at the very time that the Ionian Greeks were spreading themselves over the western coast of Asia Minor and the islands of the Archipelago, the Phœnicians were establishing their colonies in Crete and along the Asian shores, and carrying with them the arts and culture of Egypt and Babylonia. At the same time the Hittites also, having extended their power throughout Asia Minor, were spreading the civilization of the Euphrates to the shores of the Ægean.

Thus the Asiatic Greeks were early brought into contact with the civilization of the East; that they profited by the contact is shown by the fact that among them appeared the first-fruits of Hellenic art and thought. These new germs of culture, vitalized by their own quickening genius, the Oriental Greeks transmitted to their kinsmen in Europe, where they were destined, in the favor-

ing soil of Attica, to produce the crowning flower of Hellenic civilization.

The Greek Genius. — That what has just been said respecting the transmission of the primary elements of Greek culture from the Orient, may not leave a wrong impression upon the mind of the student, — leading him to suppose that in the old civilizations of the East he has found the chief sources of Hellenic civilization, — we must here say, that the most profound students of Greek history believe that the chief factor after all in the wonderful product we call Greek civilization, was the Greek genius itself.

For it is with races as with individuals. Men of an extraordinary personality are not the product of education or of circumstances. They are born, not made. It is the mental aptitudes of the Hellenes, that original, versatile, imaginative genius, that love of the beautiful and sense of proportion, that sensitiveness to the influences of nature which we have already mentioned as characterizing the Ionian Greeks above all others, — it is these rare mental qualities, gained we know not how, which the Greeks possessed when they entered the lands they occupied in historic times, that afford the only satisfactory explanation of their wonderful achievements in art, in literature, and in philosophy. Without the quickening power of the Greek genius, the germs of culture transmitted to the West from the East would have lain dormant, or have developed into less perfect and less admirable forms. It was a case of good seed falling into good ground — and it brought forth a hundred-fold.

Local Patriotism of the Greeks: the City the Political Unit.

—The narrow political sympathies of the ancient Greeks prevented their ever uniting to form a single nation. The city was with them the political unit. It was regarded as a distinct, self-governing state, just like a modern nation. A citizen of one city was an alien in any other: he could not marry a woman of a city not his own, nor hold property in houses or lands within its territory.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE.

The Greek idea of a city was quite different from ours. An ancient Greek city included primarily nothing more than a territorial area, or district. Thus the districts, or townships, of Arcadia had applied to them the Greek word (*πόλις*) for city.

However, a district sprinkled with isolated dwellings or unprotected villages did not constitute an *ideal* city. There must be included in the district a walled town, containing public buildings, such as theatres, temples, agoras, and gymnasia. Often the city consisted simply of a walled town, with a few surrounding farms, a strip of sea-coast, or a small mountain-encircled valley or plain. In other cases, the city embraced, besides the central town, a large number of smaller places. Thus the city of Athens, in its most prosperous days, included all Attica with its one hundred and seventy-four villages and towns, some of which were walled places. Each of these villages, politically speaking, was an integral part of Athens, and those of their inhabitants who enjoyed the privilege of voting in the public assembly at the capital were Athenian citizens.

According to the Greek conception, again, the model city (or *state*, as we should say) must not be over large. In this, as in everything else, the ancient Greeks applied the Delphian rule — "Measure in all things." "A small city," says one of their poets, "set upon a rock and well governed, is better than all foolish Nineveh." Aristotle thought that the ideal city should not have more than ten thousand citizens. According to this, Athens was too large for a model city, as its list of citizens numbered at one time somewhere between twenty and thirty thousand.

Hellenes and Barbarians. — While the narrow political sympathies of the ancient Greeks separated them into numerous petty city-states, and prevented the various Hellenic tribes from ever coalescing into a real nation, still the bonds of race, of language, and of religion tended to draw them all together into a sort of fraternal union, or brotherhood. They always regarded themselves as *members of a single family*: all were descended, according to

their fabled genealogy, from the common progenitor Hellen.¹ All non-Hellenic peoples they called *Barbarians*. At first this term scarcely meant more than "unintelligible folk," carrying with it no intimation of lack of culture in the people to whom it was applied. But later, when the Greeks became conscious of their intellectual superiority to their neighbors, it came to express not simply aversion to a foreign tongue, but contempt founded upon inferiority.

¹ According to the mythical genealogy of the Greeks, Hellen (son of Deucalion, the Grecian Noah) had three sons, Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus. Æolus and Dorus were the ancestors respectively of the Æolians and Dorians. Xuthus had two sons, Ion and Achæus, the first the progenitor of the Ionians, and the second of the Achæans.

CHAPTER II.

THE LEGENDARY OR HEROIC AGE.

(From the earliest times to 776 B.C.)

Character of the Legendary Age. — The real history of the Greeks does not begin before the eighth century B.C. All that lies back of that date is an inseparable mixture of myth, legend, and fact. Yet this shadowy period forms the background of Grecian history, and we cannot understand the ideas and acts of the Greeks of historic times without some knowledge, at least, of what they believed their ancestors did and experienced in those prehistoric ages.

So, as a sort of prelude to the story we have to tell, we shall repeat some of the legends of the Greeks respecting their national heroes and their great labors and undertakings. But it must be carefully borne in mind that these legends are not history. Where, however, there seems to be sufficient ground to justify an opinion, we shall suggest what may be the grain of truth in any particular legend, or what part of it may be a dim though confused remembrance of actual events.

The Heroes: Heracles, Theseus, and Minos. — The Greeks believed that their ancestors were a race of heroes of divine or semi-divine lineage. Every tribe, district, city, and village even, preserved traditions of its heroes, whose wonderful exploits were commemorated in song and story. Many of these personages acquired national renown, and became the revered heroes of the whole Greek race.

The heroes were doubtless, in some cases, historical persons, but so much of myth and fable has gathered about their names

that it is impossible to separate that which is really historical from what is purely fabulous.

Among the most noted of the heroes are Heracles (commonly called Hercules), Theseus, and Minos.

Heracles, who sprang from the royal line established at Argos by Danaus (see p. 158), was the greatest of the national heroes of the Greeks. He is represented as performing, besides various other exploits, twelve superhuman labors, — among which were the slaying of the Nemean lion, the destruction of the Lernæan hydra, the cleansing of the stables of Augeas, and the bringing of Cerberus from the infernal regions, — and as being at last translated from a blazing pyre to a place among the immortal gods.

The myth of Heracles is made up mainly of the very same fables that were told of the Chaldæan solar hero Izdubar (see p. 73). Through the Phœnicians and the peoples of Asia Minor, these stories found their way to the Greeks, who ascribed to their own Heracles the deeds of the Chaldæan sun-god. Like the Babylonian Izdubar, Heracles was at first a solar divinity; but, transformed and idealized by the Greek imagination, he became at last the personification and ideal type of the lofty moral qualities of heroism, self-sacrifice, and endurance, as well as the symbol of the bravery, sufferings, and achievements of the pioneers of Greek civilization.

Theseus, a descendant of Cecrops, was the favorite hero of the Athenians, being one of their legendary kings. Among his great works were the clearing of the Isthmian highways of robbers, the slaying of the Minotaur, — a monster which Minos, king of Crete, kept in a labyrinth, and fed upon youths and maidens sent from Athens as a forced tribute, — the defeat of the Amazons, and the consolidation of the twelve boroughs, or cantons, of Attica into a single state.

The legend of Theseus doubtless contains a substantial kernel of history. The consolidation of Attica and the founding of Athens were certainly historical events, while the slaying of the Minotaur may be taken to symbolize the freeing of the Athenians

from a tribute paid to the Phœnicians of Crete, whose custom of sacrificing children to Moloch probably lent to the myth its peculiar form.

Minos, who has already been mentioned as the king of Crete, was one of the great tribal heroes of the Dorians. Legend makes him a legislator of divine wisdom, the suppressor of piracy in the Grecian seas, and the founder of the first great maritime state of Hellas.

Associated Undertakings of the Heroes. — Besides the labors and exploits of single heroes, such as we have been naming, the legends of the Greeks tell of three especially memorable enterprises which were conducted by bands of heroes. These were the Argonautic Expedition, the Seven against Thebes, and the Siege of Troy.

The Argonautic Expedition. — The tale of this enterprise is told with many variations in the legends of the Greeks. Jason, a prince of Thessaly, with fifty companion heroes, among whom were Heracles, Theseus, and Orpheus, the latter a musician of super-human skill, the music of whose lyre moved brutes and stones, set sail in "a fifty-oared galley," called the *Argo* (hence the name *Argonauts*, given to the heroes), in search of a "golden fleece" which was fabled to be nailed to a tree and watched by a dragon, in the Grove of Ares, on the eastern shores of the Fuxine, an inhospitable region of unknown terrors. The expedition is successful, and, after many wonderful adventures, the heroes return in triumph with the sacred relic.

Different meanings have been given to this tale. In its primitive form it was doubtless a pure myth of the rain-clouds; but in its later forms we may believe it to symbolize the maritime explorations in the eastern seas, of some of the tribes (conjecturally the Minyans, of Orchomenus in Bœotia) of Pelasgian Greece.

The Seven against Thebes. — The story of the War of the Seven against Thebes is second in interest and importance only to that of the Siege of Troy. The tale begins with Laius, king of Thebes, — the third in descent from Cadmus, — who, having been

warned by an oracle that he would be slain by his own son, should one be born to him, thought to prevent the fulfilment of the prediction by causing his infant child to be exposed on Mount Cithæron. The child was rescued by a herdsman, and brought up by the king of Corinth, having been given the name of Œdipus.

Upon reaching manhood, Œdipus went to the oracle at Delphi to make inquiry respecting his parentage. The only answer he received was a warning not to return to his native country, or else he would kill his father and become the husband of his own mother. Therefore, avoiding Corinth, Œdipus turned towards Thebes, but on the way met Laius with an attendant, and in a quarrel which arose killed the king, not knowing him to be his father.

Shortly after this event the Thebans were distressed by a woman-headed monster, called the Sphinx, who proposed a riddle¹ to them, and, as often as they failed in their answers, seized and devoured one of the inhabitants of the city. The crown of Thebes and the hand of the widow (Jocasta) of Laius were offered to any one who should solve the riddle. Œdipus interpreted the riddle, and became king of Thebes and the husband of Jocasta. Thus the oracle was fulfilled.

Because of the unwitting crime, a terrible doom overhangs the royal house. The truth finally becomes known. Jocasta hangs herself. Œdipus, in a frenzy of agony, tears out his own eyes. His sons, Eteocles, and Polynices drive him from Thebes, and upon them he invokes the curses of Heaven. The unhappy king is accompanied in his exile by his daughters Antigone and Ismene.

The brothers now quarrel respecting the throne. Polynices flees to Argos, and seeks aid of Adrastus, king of that city. With five chiefs besides himself and Polynices, Adrastus makes war upon Thebes. All the heroes except Adrastus are killed (if we may thus speak of one, Amphiaraus, whom the opening earth received

¹ "What animal walks on four legs in the morning, on two at noon, and on three at night?" Answer: *man*, who creeps in infancy, walks upright in manhood, and supports his steps with a staff in old age.

unharmd into the world of shades), while the two unnatural brothers also fall, each by the hand of the other.

Kreon, the new king of Thebes, refuses to allow Adrastus to bury or burn the bodies of his fallen companions. In his distress, Adrastus supplicates Theseus, king of Athens, to avenge the wrong, — for a denial of the rites of sepulture was considered by the Greeks a most impious act. Theseus makes war upon the king of Thebes, overcomes him, and secures burial honors for the bodies of the slain heroes.

Ten years after the unsuccessful attempt of the seven chieftains, the sons of those who were lost, headed, according to one account, by Adrastus, and, according to others, by Thersander, the son of Polynices, waged a second war against Thebes, to avenge the death of their fathers. They took the city and destroyed it. This expedition was known as the War of the Descendants (Epigoni).

This legend branches out into a hundred tales, which form the basis of many of the greatest productions of the Greek tragic poets.

The Trojan War (legendary date 1194–1184 B.C.). — The Trojan War was an event about which gathered a great circle of tales and poems, all full of an undying interest and fascination. Homer, in his great epic of the *Iliad*, and a host of succeeding writers called the cyclic poets, rehearsed, with a charm of language and beauty of imagery never surpassed, the feats of the struggling heroes, Greek and Trojan, beneath the walls of Ilios.

Ilios, or Troy, was the capital of a strong empire, represented as Grecian in race and language, which had grown up in Asia Minor, along the shores of the Hellespont. The traditions tell how Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, visited the Spartan king Menelaus, and ungenerously requited his hospitality by secretly bearing away to Troy his wife Helen, famous for her rare beauty.

All the heroes of Greece flew to arms to avenge the wrong. A host of one hundred thousand warriors was speedily gathered. Agamemnon, brother of Menelaus and "king of men," was chosen leader of the expedition. Under him were the "lion-hearted

Achilles," of Thessaly, the "crafty Ulysses" (Odysseus), king of Ithaca, Ajax, "the swift son of Oïleus," the Telemonian Ajax, the aged Nestor, and many more—the most valiant heroes of all Hellas. Twelve hundred galleys bore the gathered clans from Aulis, in Greece, across the Ægean to the Trojan shores.

For ten years the Greeks and their allies hold in close siege the city of Priam. The Trojans have as allies many of the states of Asia Minor, as well as warriors from more remote lands. On the plains beneath the walls of the capital, the warriors of the two armies fight in general battle, or contend in single encounter. At first, Achilles is foremost in every fight; but a fair-faced maiden, who fell to him as a prize, having been taken from him by his chief, Agamemnon, he is filled with wrath, and sulks in his tent. Though the Greeks are often sorely pressed, still the angered hero refuses them his aid. At last, however, his friend Patroclus is killed by Hector, eldest son of Priam, and then Achilles goes forth to avenge his death. In a fierce combat he slays Hector, fastens his body to his chariot wheels, and drags it thrice around the walls of Troy.

These latter events, beginning with the wrath of Achilles and ending with the funeral rites of Patroclus and Hector, form the subject of the *Iliad* of Homer.

The city is at last taken through a device of the "crafty Ulysses." Upon the plain in sight of the walls is built a wooden statue of a horse, in the body of which are hidden several Grecian warriors. Then the Greeks retire to their ships, as though about to abandon the siege. The Trojans issue from their gates and gather in wondering crowds about the image. They believe it to be an offering sacred to Athena, and so dare not destroy it; but, on the other hand, misled by certain omens and by a lying Greek named Sinon, they level a place in the walls of their city, and drag the statue within. At night the concealed warriors issue from the horse, open the gates of the city to the Grecians, and Troy is sacked and burned to the ground. The aged Priam is slain, after having seen his sons and many of his warriors perish before his

fact. Aeneas, with his aged father Anchises, and a few devoted followers, escapes, and, after long wanderings by land and by sea, becomes the fabled founder of the Roman race in Italy.

It is a matter of difficulty to point out the nucleus of fact in this the most elaborate and interesting of the Grecian legends. Some believe it to be the dim recollection of a prehistoric conflict between the Greeks and the natives of Asia Minor, arising from the attempt of the former to secure a foothold upon the coast. As, at the time of the composition of the *Iliad*, the coast was in the possession of Greeks, the Trojans are represented as Greeks, in order that the descriptions may correspond to the then existing state of things.

That there really existed in prehistoric times such a city as Troy, or Ilios, has been placed beyond doubt by the excavations and discoveries of Dr. Schliemann.¹

Return of the Grecian Chieftains. — After the fall of Troy, the Grecian chieftains and princes returned home. The poets represent the gods as withdrawing their protection from the hitherto favored heroes, because they had not spared the altars of the Trojans. So, many of them were driven in endless wanderings over sea and land. Homer's *Odyssey* portrays the sufferings of the "much-enduring" Ulysses, impelled by divine wrath to long journeyings through strange seas.

In some cases, according to the tradition, advantage had been taken of the absence of the princes, and their thrones had been usurped. Thus at Argos, Ægisthus had won the unholy love of Clytemnestra, wife and queen of Agamemnon, who on his return was murdered by the guilty couple. In pleasing contrast with this we have exhibited to us the constancy of Penelope, although sought by many suitors during the absence of her husband Ulysses.

The Dorian Invasion, or the Return of the Heraclidæ (legendary date 1104 B.C.). — We set the tradition of the return of the Heraclidæ apart from the legends of the three enterprises just detailed, for the reason that it undoubtedly contains quite a large

¹ See his *Ilios* and *Troja*.

historical element. It seems to be a remembrance, though a confused one, of a real migration and conquest, and of a resulting shifting of the population of prehistoric Greece.

The traditions of the Greeks tell how Heracles, an Achæan, in the times before the Trojan War, ruled over the Peloponnesian Achæans. Just before that event his children were driven from the land. Eighty years after the war, the hundred years of exile appointed by the fates having expired, the descendants of the hero, at the head of the Dorians from Northern Greece, returned, and with their aid effected the conquest of the greater part of the Peloponnesus, and established themselves as conquerors and masters in the land that had formerly been ruled by their semi-divine ancestor.

This return of the descendants of Heracles to the land of their fathers has been likened to the return of the children of Israel to Palestine, and the conquest of that land by them on the ground of an ancient claim to the country through their ancestor Abraham. -

The nucleus of fact in this legend of the return of the Heraclidæ, as we have already said, is doubtless a prehistoric invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians from the north of Greece, and the expulsion or subjugation of the native inhabitants of the peninsula. The entire movement probably occupied several centuries.

The Dorians established in the different districts of which they took possession aristocratic and military governments, and developed, generally, social and political systems characterized by austere and martial discipline.

Towards their conquerors, the subjected Achæans cherished an inextinguishable hatred, save in some parts where the two races appear to have quietly blended, and the distinctive relation of conqueror and conquered seems to have been almost wholly obliterated. Some of the dispossessed Achæans, crowding towards the north of the Peloponnesus, drove out the Ionians who occupied the southern shore of the Corinthian Gulf, and settling there, gave the name *Achaia* to all that region.

Arcadia, in the center of the Peloponnesus, was another district

which did not fall into the hands of the Dorians. The people here, even down to the latest times, retained their primitive customs and country mode of life; hence *Arcadian* came to mean rustic and artless.

Migrations to Asia Minor. — The Greek legends represent that the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus resulted in three distinct migrations from the mother land to the shores of Asia Minor and the adjoining islands.

The northwestern shore of Asia Minor was settled by Æolian emigrants from Bœotia, among whom were many Achæan refugees from the Peloponnesus.¹ The neighboring island of Lesbos became the home and center of Æolian culture in poetry and music.

The coast to the south of the Æolians was occupied by Ionian emigrants from the neighborhood of the Corinthian Gulf, who, uniting with their Ionian kinsmen already settled upon that shore, built up twelve splendid cities (Ephesus, Miletus, etc.), which finally united to form the celebrated Ionian confederacy.

South of the Ionians, all along the southwestern shore of Asia Minor, the Dorians established their colonies. They also settled the important islands of Cos and Rhodes, and conquered and colonized Crete.

The traditions relating to these various settlements represent them as having been effected in a very short period; but it is probable that the movement embraced several centuries, — possibly a longer time than has been occupied by the English race in colonizing the different lands of the Western World.

With the migrations of the Æolians, Ionians, and Dorians to the Asiatic shores, the Legendary Age of Greece comes to an end. From this time forward we tread upon fairly firm historic ground.

¹ Curtius believes that the struggle which must inevitably have arisen between these emigrants and the inhabitants of the Asiatic coast may have been the basis of the story of the Trojan War. "We are justified," he says, "in transferring this war out of its isolation, in which it remains incomprehensible, into a wider connection of events, and out of the poetic times, whither it was carried by song, into its actual period."

Society in the Heroic Age. — While it is true that the legendary stories and poems of the Greeks cannot be received as reliable accounts of real events, still they may be regarded as reflecting with very great accuracy the manners, customs, and general culture of the time in which they had their origin. The poems of Homer, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which were composed probably as early as the eighth or ninth century B.C., are the chief sources whence are drawn the materials from which historians venture to form a picture of Greek society in the Heroic Age. It remains for us to add a few words upon this subject to complete our sketch of legendary Greece.

In Homeric times the Greeks were ruled by hereditary kings, who were believed to be of divine or superhuman lineage. The king was at once the lawgiver, the judge, and the military leader of his people. He was expected to prove his divine right to rule, by his courage, strength, wisdom, and eloquence. When he ceased to display these qualities, "the sceptre departed from him."

The king was surrounded by a council (*boulê*) of chiefs or nobles. This council, however, was simply an advisory body. The king listened to what the nobles had to say upon any measure he might propose, and then acted according to his own will or judgment, restrained only by the time-honored customs of the community.

Next to the council of the chiefs, there was a general assembly, called the *Agora*, made up of all the common freemen. The members of this body could not take part in any debate, nor could they vote upon any question. They were called together to hear matters discussed by the king and his chiefs, that they might know what was resolved upon, and perhaps learn the arguments for and against the resolution. This body, so devoid seemingly of all authority in the Homeric age, was destined to become the all-powerful popular assembly in the democratic cities of historic Greece.

Of the condition of the common freemen we know but little: the legendary tales were concerned chiefly with the kings and

nobles. We are certain, however, that the well-to-do class owned their farms, and cultivated them with their own hands; and that the poorer class labored for hire on the estates of the nobles. Slavery existed, but the slaves did not constitute as numerous a class as they became in historic times, nor do they seem in general to have been treated harshly.

In the family, the wife holds a much more dignified and honored position than she occupied in later times. The charming story of the constant Penelope, which we find in the *Odyssey*, assures us that the Homeric age cherished a chivalric feeling for woman.

In all ranks of society life was marked by a sort of patriarchal simplicity. Manual labor was not yet thought to be degrading. Ulysses constructs his own house and raft, and boasts of his skill in swinging the scythe and guiding the plow. Spinning and weaving were the chief occupation of the women of all classes.

One pleasing and prominent virtue of the age was hospitality. There were no public inns in those times, hence a sort of gentle necessity forced to the entertainment of wayfarers. The hospitality accorded was the same free and impulsive welcome that the Arab sheik of to-day extends to the traveller whom chance brings to his tent. The belief, too, that the gods sometimes visited the earth in the guise of men also prompted, in early times, the kindly reception of strangers, since thereby angels might haply be entertained unawares. The very best the house afforded was set before the wayfarer, and not till he had refreshed himself was he asked as to his journey and its object. When thus by chance a person, even though of another race, became the guest of a Greek, this circumstance made him, as it were, a kinsman, and henceforth a new relation subsisted between those thus casually brought together. One seeking a favor of another might claim that their ancestors had broken bread together, and the appeal was sacred, and seldom made in vain.

But while hospitable, the nobles of the heroic age were often cruel, violent, and treacherous. Homer represents his heroes as committing without a blush all sorts of frauds and villanies.

Piracy was considered an honorable occupation. "It was customary in welcoming a stranger to ask him whether his object in travelling was to enrich himself by piracy, just as we might to-day ask a person whether his object be to enrich himself by mercantile speculation."

Art and architecture were in a rudimentary state. Yet some advance had been made. The cities were walled, and the palaces of the kings possessed a certain barbaric splendor. Coined money was unknown; wealth was reckoned chiefly in flocks and herds, and in uncoined metals. The art of writing was probably unknown, at least there is no certain mention of it; and sculpture could not have been in an advanced state, as the Homeric poems make no mention of statues. Commerce was yet in its infancy. Although the Greeks were to become a great maritime people, still in the Homeric age they had evidently explored the sea but little. The Phœnicians then ruled the waves, and were the intermediaries of the Mediterranean world. The Greeks in those early times knew but little of the world beyond Greece proper and the neighboring islands and shores. Scarcely an echo of the din of life from the then ancient and mighty cities of Egypt and Chaldæa seems to have reached their ears.

CHAPTER III.

RELIGION OF THE GREEKS.

Introductory. — Without at least some little knowledge of the religious ideas and institutions of the ancient Greeks, we should find very many passages of their history wholly unintelligible. Hence a few remarks in regard to these matters will be here in place. We shall begin with a word respecting the cosmography of the Greeks, or their ideas of the figure and relation of the different parts of the universe.

Cosmography of the Greeks. — The Greeks supposed the earth to be, as it appears, a plane, round in form like a shield. Around it flowed the "mighty strength of the ocean river," a stream broad and deep, beyond which on all sides lay realms of Cimmerian darkness and terror. From this encircling ocean stream, all the rivers and seas of the earth drew their waters. The heavens were a solid vault, or dome, whose edge shut down close upon the earth.

Beneath the earth, reached by subterranean passages, was Hades, a vast region, the realm of departed shades. Still beneath this was Tartarus, a pit deep and dark, made fast by strong gates of brass and iron. This awful prison-house of the Titans was as far beneath the earth as the heavens were above; and of the latter distance we are left to conjecture from the fact that when Zeus, in a fit of anger, hurled Hephæstus from the heavens to earth, he fell "from morn to noon, from noon to dewy eve." Sometimes the poets represent the gloomy regions beyond the ocean stream, as the cheerless abode of the dead.¹

¹ These conceptions belong to the early period of Greek mythology. Later, when the geographical ideas of the Greeks had become more expanded, and their moral feelings had grown stronger, the topography of the under-world

The sun was an archer-god, borne in a fiery chariot up and down the steep pathway of the skies. Awaiting the god in the west, on the ocean stream, was a winged couch, in which he sank to rest while gentle winds wafted the golden vessel over the waters round to the east, where a new chariot and fresh steeds awaited him. Naturally it was imagined that the regions in the extreme east and west, which were bathed in the near splendors of the sunrise and the sunset, were lands of delight and plenty. The eastern was the favored country of the Ethiopians, a land which even Zeus himself so loved to visit that often he was found absent from Olympus when sought by suppliants. The western region, adjoining the ocean stream, was the delightful Garden of the Hesperides. Here, too, were the Islands of the Blest (Elysium), the abodes of the shades of heroes and poets.

The Olympian Council. — There were twelve members of the celestial council, six gods and as many goddesses. The male deities were Zeus, the father and ruler of gods and men, and the wielder of the thunderbolts; Poseidon, ruler of the sea; Apollo, or Phœbus, the god of light, of music, of healing, of poetry, and of prophecy; Ares, the god of war; Hephæstus, the deformed god of fire, and the patron of the useful arts dependent upon it, the forger of the thunderbolts of Zeus, and the fashioner of arms and of all sorts of metal work for the heroes and the gods; Hermes, the wing-footed herald of the celestials, the god of invention and of commerce, himself a thief and the patron of thieves.

The female divinities were Hera, the proud and rightly jealous queen of Zeus; Athena, or Pallas, — who sprang full-grown from

was considerably modified. Hades (at first called Erebus) was now conceived as consisting of two vast regions, Tartarus and Elysium, the former having been brought up from beneath and made the place of punishment for the souls of evil men, and the latter having been taken down from the western region of the earth (see above), and made the happy abode of all the righteous. See Keightley's *Mythology of Ancient Greece and Italy*, pp. 80, 81, fourth edition.

the forehead of Zeus, — the goddess of wisdom, and the patroness of the domestic arts ; Artemis, the goddess of the chase ; Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty, born of the sea-foam ; Hestia, the goddess of the hearth ; Demeter, the earth-mother, the goddess of grains and harvests.¹

Lesser Deities and Monsters. — Besides the great gods and goddesses that constituted the Olympian Council, there was an almost infinite number of other deities, celestial personages, and monsters neither human nor divine.

Hades (Pluto) ruled over the lower realms ; Dionysus (Bacchus) was the god of wine ; Eros (Cupid), of love ; Iris was the goddess of the rainbow, and the special messenger of Zeus ; Hebe (goddess) was the cupbearer of the celestials ; the goddess Nemesis was the punisher of crime, and particularly the queller of the proud and arrogant ; Æolus was the ruler of the winds, which he confined in a cave secured by mighty gates.

There were nine Muses, inspirers of art and song. The Nymphs (Naiads, Nereids, Dryads, Hamadryads, etc.) were beautiful maidens, who peopled the woods, the fields, the rivers, the lakes, and the ocean. Three Fates allotted life and death, and three Furies (Eumenides, or Erinnyes) avenged crime, especially murder and unnatural crimes. The Harpies were terrible monsters with female faces and the bodies and claws of birds. They were sisters, three in number, and lived on the Strophades, in the Ionian Sea. They tore and devoured their prey with greedy voracity. The Gorgons were also three sisters, with hair entwined with serpents. A single gaze upon them chilled the beholder to

¹ The Latin names of these divinities are as follows: Zeus = Jupiter ; Poseidon = Neptune ; Apollo = Apollo ; Ares = Mars ; Hephaestus = Vulcan ; Hermes = Mercury ; Hera = Juno ; Athena = Minerva ; Artemis = Diana ; Aphrodite = Venus ; Hestia = Vesta ; Demeter = Ceres.

These Latin names, however, are not the equivalents of the Greek names, and should not be used as such. The mythologies of the Hellenes and Romans were as distinct as their languages. Consult Rawlinson's *Religions of the Ancient World*.

stone. The Chimæra was a monster with "the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent, and vomited forth fire." (From this impossible monster we have come to call any improbable thing a "chimera.") Besides these there were the Dragon, which guarded the golden apples of the Hesperides; Cerberus, the watch-dog of Hades; Scylla and Charybdis, sea-monsters that made perilous the passage of the Sicilian Straits; the Centaurs, the Cyclops, the Sphinx, and a thousand others.

Explanations of the Mythological Monsters.—Many at least of these monsters were simply personifications of the human passions or of the malign and destructive powers of nature. Thus, according to some interpreters, the Furies were the embodiment of an aroused and accusing conscience; the Harpies were the swift storms, that tear to pieces and engulf the vessel of the mariner; the Gorgons were also tempests, which lash the sea into a fury that paralyzes the affrighted sailor; the Chimæra was a volcano in Lycia, whose foot and slopes abounded in different animals (the Chimæra flame is still seen issuing from a mountain opposite Olympus); Scylla and Charybdis were dangerous whirlpools off the coast of Sicily.

The fact that these monsters were merely personifications of human feelings or of the evil and terrifying powers or aspects of nature was, indeed, forgotten, or not understood at all, by the common people; they believed them to be real creatures, with all the parts and habits given them by the poets,—and often the poets themselves seemed possessed of the same idea.

Nature of the Gods.—The great gods and goddesses were simply magnified human beings, possessing all their virtues, and often their weaknesses. They give way to fits of anger and jealousy. "Zeus deceives, and Hera (Juno) is constantly practising her wiles." All the celestial council, at the sight of Hephæstus limping across the palace floor, burst into "inextinguishable laughter"; and Aphrodite, weeping, moves all to tears. They surpass mortals rather in power, than in size of body. They can render themselves visible or invisible to human eyes. Their food is am-

brosia and nectar ; their movements are swift as light. They may suffer pain ; but death can never come to them, for they are immortal. Their abode is Mount Olympus and the airy regions above the earth.

Modes of Divine Communication. — In the early ages the gods were wont, it was believed, to visit the earth and mingle with men. But even in Homer's time this familiar intercourse was a thing of the past — a tradition of a golden age that had passed away. Their forms were no longer seen, their voices no longer heard. In these later and more degenerate times the recognized modes of divine communication with men were by oracles, and by casual and unusual sights and sounds, as thunder and lightning, a sudden tempest, an eclipse, a flight of birds, — particularly of birds that mount to a great height, as these were supposed to know the secrets of the heavens, — the appearance or action of the sacrificial victims, or any strange coincidence.

The art of interpreting these signs or omens was called the art of divination. It is probable that this art was introduced into Greece from Chaldæa by the way of Egypt and the coast countries of Asia Minor.

Oracles. — But though the gods often revealed their will and intentions through signs and portents, still they granted a more special communication of counsel through what were known as *oracles*.¹ These communications, it was believed, were made by Zeus, and especially by Apollo, who was the god of prophecy, the Revealer.

Not everywhere, but only in chosen places, did these gods manifest their presence and communicate the divine will. These

¹ We should perhaps add that prophets were not unknown among the Greeks. These were persons who, like the Hebrew prophets, were believed to have a supernatural insight into the future. Sometimes this gift was hereditary, and then a family or house came to be regarded as set apart from ordinary men. Among the most noted of the Greek prophets were Tiresias, the blind soothsayer of Thebes, and Calchas, the adviser of the Grecians at the siege of Troy.

avored spots were called oracles, as were also the responses there received. There were twenty-two oracles of Apollo in different parts of the Grecian world, but a much smaller number of those of Zeus. These were usually situated in wild and desolate spots—in dark forests or among gloomy mountains.

The most renowned of the oracles were that of the Pelasgian Zeus at Dodona, in Epirus, and that of Apollo at Delphi, in Phocis. At Dodona the priests listened in the dark forests for the voice of Zeus in the rustling leaves of the sacred oak. At Delphi there was a deep fissure in the ground, which emitted stupefying vapors, that were thought to be the inspiring breath of Apollo. Over the spot was erected a splendid temple, in honor of the oracle. The revelation was generally received by the Pythia, or priestess,¹ seated upon a tripod placed over the orifice. As she became overpowered by the influence of the prophetic exhalations, she uttered the message of the god. These mutterings of the Pythia were taken down by attendant priests, interpreted, and written in hexameter verse. Sometimes the will of Zeus was communicated to the pious seeker by dreams and visions granted to him while sleeping in the temple of the oracle.

The oracle of Delphi gained a celebrity wide as the world: it was often consulted by the monarchs of Asia and the people of Rome in time of extreme danger and perplexity. Among the Greeks scarcely any undertaking was entered upon without the will and sanction of the oracle being first sought.

Especially true was this in the founding of colonies. Apollo was believed "to take delight in the foundation of new cities." No colony could prosper that had not been established under the superintendence of the Delphian god.²

¹ "Apollo speaks through the mouth of feeble girls and women, as a sign that it is no human wisdom and art which reveals the divine will."—CURTIUS.

² The priests of the sanctuary kept themselves perfectly informed respecting the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, and thus were able intelligently to direct these great undertakings. It was in its superintendence of Greek colonization that, in the estimation of Curtius, the Delphian oracle rendered its greatest and most permanent service to civilization.

Some of the responses of the oracle contained plain and wholesome advice ; but very many of them, particularly those that implied a knowledge of the future, were obscure and ingeniously ambiguous, so that they might correspond with the event however affairs should turn, and thus the credit of the oracle be unimpaired. Thus, Cræsus is told that, if he undertake his expedition against Persia, he will destroy a great empire. He did, indeed ; — but the empire was his own. Again, the Spartans, seeking to know whether they will be successful in a contemplated war against the Athenians, are told that they " will gain the victory, if they will fight with all their might."

While it doubtless is true that the oracles owed their origin to a misinterpretation — by an age entertaining childlike conceptions of the divine government of the world — of certain psychical phenomena, such as those upon which modern spiritualism is based, still they in a great measure owed their perpetuation, as has already been intimated, to deceit and fraud. The priestly colleges that controlled the sanctuaries became corrupt, and sold their influence to designing politicians, who by bribes secured such responses as would further their ends.

The Delphian oracle was at the height of its fame before the Persian War ; in that crisis it did not take a bold or patriotic stand, and its reputation was sensibly impaired.

Ideas of the Future. — To the Greeks life was so bright and joyous a thing that they looked upon death as a great calamity. They therefore pictured life after death, except in the case of a favored few, as being hopeless and aimless.¹ The Elysian Fields, away in the land of sunset, were, indeed, filled with every delight ; but these were the abode only of the great heroes and benefactors of the race. The great mass of mankind were doomed to Hades,

¹ Homer makes the shade of the great Achilles in Hades to say : —

" I would be
A laborer on earth, and serve for hire
Some man of mean estate, who makes scant cheer,
Rather than reign o'er all who have gone down
To death." — *Od.* XI. 489-90 [Bryant's Trans.].

where the spirit existed as "a feeble, joyless phantom." While we believe that the soul, freed from the body by the event of death, becomes stronger and more active, the Greeks thought that without the body it became but a feeble image of its former self. So long as the body remained unburied, the shade wandered restless in Hades; hence the sacredness of the rites of sepulture.

The Sacred Games.—The celebrated games of the Greeks had their origin in the belief of their Aryan ancestors that the shades of the dead were gratified or appeased by such spectacles as delighted them during their earthly life. During the Heroic Age these festivals were simply sacrifices or games performed at the tomb, or about the pyre of the dead. Gradually these grew into religious festivals observed by an entire city or community, and were celebrated near the oracle or shrine of the god in whose honor they were instituted; the idea now being that the gods were present at the festival, and took delight in the various contests and exercises. It was this sentiment and belief of the Greeks which lent such sanctity and importance to these festivals.

By the sixth century B.C. they had lost their local and assumed a national character. Among these festivals, four acquired a world-wide celebrity. These were the Olympian, celebrated in honor of Zeus, at Olympia, in the Peloponnesus; the Pythian, in honor of Apollo, near his shrine and oracle at Delphi; the Nemean, in honor of Zeus, at Nemea; and the Isthmian, held in honor of Poseidon, on the narrow isthmus of Corinth.

The Olympian Games.—Of these four national festivals the Olympian secured the greatest renown. In 776 B.C. Coræbus was victor in the foot-race at Olympia, and as from that time the names of the victors were carefully registered, that year came to be used by the Greeks as the starting-point in their chronology. The games were held every fourth year, and the intervals between two successive festivals was known as an Olympiad. The date of an occurrence was given by saying that it happened in the first, second, third, or fourth year of such an Olympiad—the first, second, or third, etc.

The contests consisted of foot-races, boxing, wrestling, and other athletic games. Later, chariot-racing was introduced, and became the most popular of all the contests. The competitors must be of the Hellenic race ; must have undergone ten months' training in the gymnasium ; and must, moreover, be unblemished by any crime against the state or sin against the gods. Spectators from all parts of the world crowded to the festival. The deputies of the different states vied with one another in the richness and splendor of their chariots and equipments, and in the magnificence of their retinues.

The victor was crowned with a garland of wild olives ; heralds proclaimed his name abroad ; his native city received him as a conqueror, sometimes through a breach made in the city walls ; his statues, executed by eminent artists, were erected at Olympia and in his own city ; sometimes even divine honor and worship were accorded to him ; and poets and orators vied with the artist in perpetuating the name and deeds of him who had reflected undying honor upon his native state.

Influence of the Grecian Games. — For more than a thousand years these national festivals exerted an immense influence upon the social, religious, and literary life of Hellas. They enkindled among the widely scattered Hellenic states and colonies a common literary taste and enthusiasm ; for into all the four great festivals, excepting the Olympian, were introduced, sooner or later, contests in poetry, oratory, and history. During the festivals, poets and historians read their choicest productions, and artists exhibited their masterpieces. The extraordinary honors accorded to the victors stimulated the contestants to the utmost, and strung to the highest tension every power of body and mind. To this fact we owe some of the grandest productions of the Greek race.

They moreover promoted intercourse and trade ; for the festivals naturally became great centres of traffic and exchange during the continuance of the games. They softened, too, the manners of the people, turning their thoughts from martial exploits and giving the states respite from war ; for during the month in which

the religious games were held it was sacrilegious to engage in military expeditions.

They also promoted intercourse between the different Grecian cities, or states, and kept alive common Hellenic feelings and sentiments. In all these ways, though they never drew the states into a common political union, still they did impress a common character upon their social, intellectual, and religious life.

The Amphictyonic Council. — Closely connected with the religious festivals were the so-called Amphictyonies, or "leagues of neighbors." These were associations of a number of cities or tribes for the celebration of religious rites at some shrine, or for the protection of some particular temple.

Pre-eminent among all such unions was that known as the Delphic Amphictyony, or simply The Amphictyony. This was a league of twelve of the sub-tribes of Hellas, whose main object was the protection of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Another of its purposes was, by humane regulations, to mitigate the cruelties of war. This was one of the first steps taken in the practice of international law. The following oath was taken by the members of the league: "We will not destroy any Amphictyonic town, nor cut it off from running water, in war or in peace; if any one shall do so, we will march against him and destroy his city. If any one shall plunder the property of the god, or shall be cognizant thereof, or shall take treacherous counsel against the things in his temple at Delphi, we will punish him with foot and hand and voice, and by every means in our power."

Another duty of the Amphictyonic tribes was to keep in repair the roads leading to the Delphian sanctuary. These were carefully levelled, and in rocky places smooth grooves of uniform gauge¹ were cut for the wheels of the chariots and gayly decorated cars which went up in a sort of festival procession to the games.

The so-called First Sacred War was a crusade of ten years car-

¹ "Throughout the territories of the Amphictyons in Central Greece and the Peloponnesus, these tracks had a uniform width of five feet and four inches."

— CURTIUS.

ried on by the Amphictyons against the cities of Crissa and Cirrha for their robbery of the treasures of the Delphian temple. The cities were finally taken, levelled to the ground, and the wrath of the gods invoked upon any one who should dare to rebuild them. This contest occurred in the first part of the sixth century B.C. (600-590). The spoils of the war were devoted to the establishment of musical contests in honor of the Delphian Apollo. Thus originated the renowned Pythian festivals, to which allusion has already been made (see p. 181).

Doctrine of the Divine Jealousy.—One notion which the Greeks entertained concerning their gods colored so deeply all their conceptions of life that we must not fail to make mention of it here.

They were impressed, as all peoples and generations have been, with the mutations of fortune and the vicissitudes of life. Their observation and experience had taught them that long-continued good fortune and unusual prosperity often issue at last in sudden and overwhelming calamity. They attributed this to the jealousy of the gods, who, they imagined, were envious of mortals that through such prosperity seemed to have become too much like one of themselves. Thus the Greeks believed the downfall of Croesus, after his extraordinary course of uninterrupted prosperity, to have been brought about by the envy of the celestials, and they colored the story to bear out this version of the matter.

Later, this idea of the divine *envy* was moralized into a conception of the righteous *indignation* of the gods, aroused by the insolence and presumptuous pride so inevitably engendered by over-great prosperity (see p. 312).

The Suppliant.—Whoso hardened his heart against the appeal of the suppliant, him the Furies pursued with undying vengeance. But only through certain formalities could one avail himself of the rights of a suppliant. Should one, upon the commission of a crime, flee to a temple, he became a suppliant of the god to whose altar he clung, and to harm him there was a most awful desecration of the shrine. The gods punished with dreadful severity

such impiety, and an inexpiable curse rested upon the house of the offender, while awful calamities were sure to fall upon the city or community that tolerated the presence of the accursed. Time and again the entire course of events in Greece was completely changed by the public feeling of aversion and anger aroused against some powerful family on account of some act of the nature of that mentioned, committed by one or more of its members (see pp. 202, 233).

To sit or kneel at the hearth of an enemy was also a most solemn form of supplication. An olive branch borne in the hand was still another form of supplication, which rendered especially sacred and inviolable the person of him who thus appealed for clemency.

We must here add, in order to anticipate the perplexity that might otherwise trouble the reader, that the harsh doctrine mentioned above of the inexpiable and hereditary character of certain crimes, was finally, like the idea of the Divine Jealousy, softened and moralized, and that it came to be believed that by certain rites of purification full atonement might be made for personal or ancestral guilt, and thus the workings of the original curse be stayed.

CHAPTER IV.

AGE OF CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES AND OF COLONIZATION:
GROWTH OF SPARTA AND OF ATHENS.

(776-500 B.C.)

I. GENERAL FEATURES OF THE PERIOD.

Introductory. — A hasty sketch, such as we propose to give in this section, of the general features of the period upon which we now enter, — the period embraced between the close of the Legendary Age and the beginning of the Persian Wars, — will serve as a sort of introduction to the history during this same time of Sparta and Athens, the representative cities of Greece. On the other hand, the story of the early growth of these cities, which we shall give in the two following sections, will in turn illustrate what we shall here have to say respecting Hellenic affairs in general during this formative period of Greek history.

The Homeric Monarchies give Place to Oligarchies. — We have seen that in the Heroic Age the preferred form of government was a patriarchal monarchy. The *Iliad* says, "The rule of many is not a good thing: let us have one ruler only, — one king, — him to whom Zeus has given the sceptre and the tutelary sanctions."¹

But by the dawn of the historic period, the patriarchal monarchies of the Achæan age had given place, in almost all the Grecian cities, to oligarchies or aristocracies. The power of the "Zeus-born" kings had passed into the hands of the nobles of his council. In Sparta, however, the monarchy was not actually abolished, though the kings — there were two — were, as we shall learn, robbed of so much of their power that they remained scarcely more than shadow-sovereigns.

¹ 11. 203-206.

The Oligarchies give Way to Tyrannies.—As the Homeric monarchies were superseded by oligarchies, so these in turn were superseded by tyrannies.

The nobles into whose hands the ancient royal authority had passed were often divided among themselves, and invariably opposed by the common freemen, who, as they grew in intelligence and wealth, naturally aspired to a place in the government. The issue of long contentions was the overthrow almost everywhere of oligarchical government and the establishment of the rule of a single person.

Usually this person was one of the nobility, who held himself out as the champion of the people, and who with their help usurped the government. One who had thus seized the government was called a 'Tyrant (*tyrannos*)'. By this term the Greeks did not mean one who rules harshly, but simply one who holds the supreme authority in the state illegally. Some of the Greek Tyrants were mild and beneficent rulers, though too often they were all that the name implies among us. Sparta was almost the only important state that did not fall into the hands of a Tyrant.

The so-called Age of the Tyrants lasted from 650 to 500 B.C. As is usual with usurpers, the Greek Tyrants exerted themselves to make their rule attractive by making it splendid. They instituted religious festivals, undertook great public works, and often gave a magnificent patronage to artists and poets. Hence the age of the Tyrannies was an important one in the history of Hellenic art and culture.

But the Tyrants sat upon very unstable thrones. The Greeks always had an inextinguishable hatred of arbitrary rule; and of course the nobles who were excluded from the government were continually plotting against the power of the usurper. Consequently the Tyrannies were, as a rule, short-lived, rarely lasting longer than three generations. They were usually violently overthrown, and the old oligarchies re-established, or democracies set up in their place. As a rule, the Dorian cities preferred oligarchical, and the Ionian cities democratical, government.

Sparta, which, as has been noted, never fell into the hands of a despot, was very active in aiding those cities that had been so unfortunate as to have their governments usurped by tyrants, to drive out the usurpers, and to re-establish their aristocratical constitutions. Athens, as we shall see, became the champion of democracy.

Among the most noted of the Tyrants were the Pisistratidæ, at Athens, of whom we shall speak hereafter; Periander, at Corinth (625-585 B.C.), who was a most cruel ruler, yet so generous a patron of artists and literary men that he was thought worthy of a place among the Seven Sages; and Polycrates, Tyrant of Samos (545-522 B.C.), who, with that island as a stronghold, and with a fleet of a hundred war-galleys, built up a sort of maritime kingdom in the Ægean, and for the space of more than a decade enjoyed such astonishing and uninterrupted prosperity, that it was believed his sudden downfall and death — he was allured to the Asian shore by a Persian satrap, and crucified — were brought about by the envy of the gods.¹

The Lawgivers. — This period of political strife and constitutional changes gave birth in the Greek cities to numerous statesmen of great political discernment and sagacity, like Moses among the Hebrews, who drew up codes of laws and constitutions that formed the basis of the aristocratical and democratical governments to which we have alluded.

Among the most noted of these lawgivers were Lycurgus, to whom tradition assigns the framing of the Spartan constitution, and Solon and Cleisthenes, who established the democratical

¹ Herodotus tells how Amasis of Egypt, the friend and ally of the Tyrant, becoming alarmed at his extraordinary course of good fortune, wrote him, begging him to interrupt it and disarm the envy of the gods by sacrificing his most valued possession. Polycrates, acting upon the advice, threw into the sea a precious ring, which he highly prized; but soon afterwards the jewel was found by his servants in a fish that a fisherman had brought to the palace as a present for Polycrates. When Amasis heard of this, he at once broke off his alliance with the Tyrant, feeling sure that he was fated to suffer some terrible reverse of fortune. The event justified his worst fears.

constitution of Athens. Of these great lawgivers we shall have much to say in the following sections.

The Founding of Colonies. — This same age of political strife and of tyranny also coincides with the era of greatest activity in the founding of new colonies. Thousands, driven from their homes, like the Puritans in the time of the Stuart tyranny in England, fled over the seas, and, under the direction of the Delphian Apollo, laid upon remote and widely separated shores the basis of "Dispersed Hellas." The overcrowding of population and the Greek love of enterprise and adventure, as well as civil dissensions, also contributed to swell the number of emigrants.¹

During this colonizing era Southern Italy became so thickly set with Greek cities as to become known as *Magna Græcia*, "Great Greece." Here were founded during the latter part of the eighth century B.C. the important Dorian city of Tarentum; the wealthy and luxurious Æolian city of Sybaris (whence the term *Sybarite*, meaning a voluptuary); the great Croton, — the destroyer of Sybaris, — distinguished for its schools of philosophy and its victors in the Olympian games; and Rhegium, the mother of statesmen, historians, poets, and artists.²

¹ That Greek feeling of local patriotism of which we have already spoken (see p. 159) lent a peculiar character to Greek colonization. The Hellenic colonies, unlike those of modern times, were, as a rule, politically independent of the mother city. Each colony formed a distinct, self-governing state. Its relations to its mother city were simply those of filial piety, and of a common worship. This was symbolized by the embers which the emigrants carried with them from the hearth of the mother city, with which to kindle the altar fires of the new home.

Besides these independent colonies, however, which were united to the mother city by the ties of friendship and reverence alone, there was another class of colonies known as *kleruchies*. The settlers in these did not lose their rights of citizenship in the mother city, which retained full control of their affairs. Such settlements, however, were more properly garrisons than colonies, and were few in number, compared with the independent communities.

² Kyme (Cumæ), famed throughout the Grecian and the Roman world on account of its oracle and Sibyl, is said to have been founded as early as 1050 B.C.

Upon the island of Sicily was planted by the Dorian Corinthians the city of Syracuse (734 B.C.), which, before Rome had become great, waged war on equal terms with Carthage. Here also were established the Dorian Agrigentum, — the scene of the incredible cruelties of the Tyrant Phalaris, — and a long list of large and flourishing colonies.

In the Gulf of Lyons was established about 600 B.C. the important Ionian city of Massalia (Marseilles), the radiating point of long routes of travel and trade.

On the African coast was founded the great Dorian city of Cyrene (630 B.C.), and probably about the same time was established in the Nile delta the city of Naucratis (see p. 29, *note*), through which the civilization of Egypt flowed into Greece.

The tide of emigration flowed not only to the west and south, but to the north as well. The northern shores of the *Ægean* and those of the Hellespont and the Propontis were fringed with colonies. The Argonautic terrors of the Black Sea were forgotten or unheeded, and even those remote shores received their emigrants. Many of the settlements in that quarter were established by the Ionian city of Miletus, which, swarming like a hive, became the mother of more than eighty colonies.

Through this wonderful colonizing movement Greece came to hold somewhat the same place in the ancient Mediterranean world that England as a colonizer occupies in the world of to-day. Many of these colonies not only reflected honor upon the mother-land through the just renown of their citizens, but through their singularly free, active, and progressive life, exerted upon her a most healthful and stimulating influence. The earliest poets, artists, and philosophers of Hellas were natives of the Asiatic or European colonial cities.

II. THE GROWTH OF SPARTA.

Gradual Rise of Sparta. — Sparta was one of the cities of the Peloponnesus which owed their origin or importance to the









Dorian Invasion (see p. 168). It was situated in the deep valley of the Eurotas, in Laconia, and took its name Sparta (sown land) from the circumstance that it was built upon tillable ground, whereas the heart and centre of most Greek cities consisted of a lofty rock (the citadel, or acropolis). It was also called Lacedæmon, after an early legendary king.

At first, Sparta was overshadowed by the city of Argos, — since the return of the Heraclidæ, in Dorian hands, — but gradually she rose to the place of pre-eminence among all the cities of the peninsula. Her power was largely the outgrowth of her peculiar political constitution, one of the most remarkable ever framed by any state. It is this constitution, with which Sparta presents herself to us in the light of the historic period, that we must now examine.

Classes in the Spartan State.—In order to understand the social and political institutions of the Spartans, we must first notice the three classes — Spartans (*Spartiatæ*), *Periœci*, and *Helots*—into which the population of Laconia was divided.

The Spartans proper were the descendants of the conquerors of the country, and were Dorian in race and language. They composed but a small fraction of the entire population. Their relations to the conquered people were those of an army of occupation. Sparta, their capital, was simply a vast camp, unprotected by any walls until later and degenerate times. The martial valor of its citizens was thought its only proper defence.

The *Periœci* (dwellers around) who constituted the second class, were the subjugated Achæans. They were allowed to retain possession of their lands, but were forced to pay tribute, and, in times of war, to fight for the glory and interest of their Spartan masters.

The third and lowest class was composed of slaves, or serfs, called *Helots*. The larger number of these were laborers upon the estates of the Spartans. They were the property of the state, and not of the individual Spartan lords, among whom they were distributed by lot.

These *Helots* practically had no rights which their Spartan

masters felt bound to respect. If one of their number displayed unusual powers of body or mind, he was secretly assassinated, as it was deemed unsafe to allow such qualities to be fostered in this servile class. It is affirmed that when the Helots grew too numerous for the safety of the state, their numbers were thinned by a deliberate massacre of the surplus population.¹

Origin of the Spartan Institutions.—The laws and customs of the Spartans have excited more interest, perhaps, than any similar institutions of the ancient world. A mystery and halo were thrown about them by their being attributed to the creative genius of a single lawgiver, Lycurgus.

But it is a proverb that constitutions grow, and are not made. Circumstances were the real creator of those strange institutions—the circumstances which surrounded a small band of conquerors in the midst of a large and subject population. Nor were they the creation of an hour—the fruit of a happy inspiration. All the events of the early conquest, all the toils, dangers, and hardships which the Dorian warriors endured in the subjugation of the land, and all the prudence and watchfulness necessary to the maintaining of themselves in the position of conquerors, helped to determine the unusual and harsh character of the laws and regulations of the Spartan state.

The work of Lycurgus, then, was not that of a new creation.

¹ In his history of the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides makes the following statement: "Dreading the youth and number of their slaves, the Lacedæmonians, who have ever put in practice many precautions to curb and awe their Helots, made public proclamation, that so many of them as could claim the merit of having done signal services to the Lacedæmonians in the present war should enter their claims, and be rewarded with freedom. The view in this was, to sound them, it being thought that such as had the greatness of spirit to claim their freedom in requital of their merit, must be also the ripest for rebellion. About two thousand claimants were adjudged worthy of freedom, and accordingly were led about in solemn procession to the temple, crowned with garlands, as men honored with their liberty. But, in no long time after, they made away with them all; nor has the world been able to discover in what manner they were thus to a man destroyed."

Back of him lay a long period of growth and development. His labor was that of a wise and far-seeing statesman, whose work it is to "modify and shape already-existing habits and customs into rule and law"; to make additions and improvements; to anticipate growing tastes and tendencies. The very fact that the legislation of Lycurgus was adopted and became the system of a state, shows that it must have been simply the outgrowth of customs and regulations already familiar and consequently acceptable to at least a large party among the Spartans.

The Legend of Lycurgus. — Lycurgus, according to tradition, lived and did his work about the ninth century B.C. Many of the best years of his life were spent in exile. He is represented as acquainting himself with the laws and institutions of different lands, by converse with their priests and sages. He is said to have studied with great zeal the laws of Minos, the legendary lawgiver of the Cretans. Like the great legislator Moses, he became learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. Legend tells, too, how he journeyed as far as India, and became a disciple of the Brahmins.

The prime of life was almost passed when he returned to his native Sparta. So great was his reputation for learning and wisdom that he soon became the leader of a strong party. After much opposition, a system of laws and regulations drawn up by him was adopted by the Spartan people. Then, binding his countrymen by a solemn oath that they would carefully observe his laws during his absence, he set out on a pilgrimage to Delphi. In response to his inquiry, the oracle assured him that Sparta would endure and prosper as long as the people obeyed the laws he had given them. Lycurgus caused this answer to be carried to his countrymen; and then, that they might remain bound by the oath they had taken, he resolved never to return. He went into an unknown exile. Three lands claimed to hold his dust; and the Spartans in after years perpetuated his memory and their own gratitude by temples and sacrifices in his honor.¹

¹ "The legend symbolizes the inviolability of the Constitution." — RANKE.

The Kings, the Senate, and the Popular Assembly. — The so-called Constitution of Lycurgus provided for two joint kings, a Senate of Elders, and a Popular Assembly.

The two kings corresponded in some respects to the two Consuls in the later Roman republic. One served as a check upon the other. This double sovereignty worked admirably; for five centuries there were no attempts on the part of the Spartan kings to subvert the constitution. The power of the joint kings, it should be added, was rather nominal than real (save in time of war); so that while the Spartan government was monarchical in form, it in reality was an aristocracy, the Spartans corresponding very closely to the feudal lords of Mediæval Europe.

The Senate (*gerousia*) consisted of twenty-eight elders. The two co-ordinate kings were also members, thus raising the number to thirty. This body existed long before the time of Lycurgus. He probably simply modified, or added to, its powers and duties. No one could become a member of this body until he had reached the age of sixty. The mode of election was peculiar. The committee who were to decide between the candidates were confined in a chamber near the public assembling-place, where, without seeing what was going on, they might hear the clamor of the people. Then the candidates were presented to the meeting, one by one, and the partisans of each greeted their favorite with great and prolonged applause. It was the duty of the committee to decide which candidate had been received with the greatest enthusiasm and clamor, and he was declared the people's choice. The proceedings in our own political conventions are not very dissimilar to this usage of the Spartan assembly.

The powers of the Senate were at first almost unlimited, extending to matters of life and death. After a time there was established the office of *ephor*. The ephors, who were five in number and elected by the Popular Assembly, gradually absorbed the powers and functions of the Senate, as well as the authority of the two associate kings.

The Popular Assembly was composed of all the citizens of

Sparta over thirty years of age. By this body laws were made, and questions of peace and war decided; but nothing could be brought before it save such matters as the Senate had previously decided might be entertained by it. It was by this assembly that the senators were elected in the manner above described.

In striking contrast to what was the custom at Athens, all matters were decided without debate. The Spartans were fighters, not talkers; they hated discussion. As in the case of the elections, the decision of the assembly respecting a measure was generally made known by acclamation. Sometimes, however, very important measures were decided by vote.

Regulations as to Lands and Money.—At the time of Lycurgus the lands of Laconia had become absorbed by the rich, leaving the masses in poverty and distress. It is certain that the lawgiver did much to remedy this ruinous state of affairs. Tradition says that all the lands were redistributed, an equal portion being assigned to each of the nine thousand Spartan citizens, and a smaller and less desirable portion to each of the thirty thousand Perioeci,—but it is not probable that there was any such exact equalization of property.

The Spartans were forbidden to engage in trade; all their time must be passed in the chase, or in gymnastic and martial exercise. Iron was made the sole money of the state. This, according to Plutarch, “was of great size and weight, and of small value, so that the equivalent for ten minæ (about \$140) required a great room for its stowage, and a yoke of oxen to draw it.” The object of this, he tells us, was to prevent its being used for the purchase of “foreign trumpery.”¹

¹ The real truth about this iron money is simply this: The conservative, non-trading Spartans retained longer than the other Grecian states the use of a primitive medium of exchange. Gold and silver money was not introduced into Sparta until about the close of the fifth century B.C., when the great expansion of her interests rendered a change in her money-system absolutely necessary. In referring the establishment of the early currency to Lycurgus, the Spartans simply did in this case just what they did in regard to their other usages.

The Public Tables. — The most peculiar, perhaps, of the Lyscurgean institutions were the public meals (*syssitia*). In order to correct the extravagance with which the tables of the rich were often spread, Lyscurgus ordered that all the Spartan citizens should eat at public and common tables. Each person was required to contribute to these a certain amount of flour, fruit, game, or pieces from the sacrifices; if any one failed to pay his contribution, he was degraded and disfranchised. Excepting the ephors, none, not even the kings, were excused from sitting at the common mess. One of the kings, returning from a long expedition, presumed to dine privately with his wife, but received therefor a severe reproof.

A luxury-loving Athenian, once visiting Sparta and seeing the coarse fare of the citizens, is reported to have declared that now he understood the Spartan disregard of life in battle. "Any one," said he, "must naturally prefer death to life on such fare as this."

Education of the Youth. — Children were considered as belonging to the state. Every infant was brought before the Council of Elders; and if it did not seem likely to become a robust and useful citizen, it was exposed in a mountain glen. At seven the education and training of the youth were committed to the charge of public officers, called boy-trainers. The aim of the entire course, as to the boys, was to make a nation of soldiers who should despise toil and danger and prefer death to military dishonor. The mind was cultivated only so far as might contribute to the main object of the system. Reading and writing were untaught, and the art of rhetoric was despised. Only martial poems were recited. The Spartans had a profound contempt for the subtleties and literary acquirements of the Athenians. Spartan brevity was a proverb, whence our word *laconic*,¹ implying a concise and pithy mode of expression. Boys were taught to respond in the fewest words possible. At the public tables they were not permitted to speak until questioned: they sat "silent as statues."

¹ From Laconia, the name of the district taken possession of by the Spartans.

As Plutarch puts it, "Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value ; and the language, on the contrary, very pithy and short, and a great deal of sense compressed in a few words."

But while the mind was neglected, the body was carefully trained. In leaping, wrestling, and in hurling the spear the Spartans acquired the most surprising nimbleness and dexterity.

But before all things else was the Spartan youth taught to bear pain unflinchingly. He was inured to the cold of winter by being forced to pass through that season with only the light dress of summer. His bed was a bundle of river reeds. Sometimes he was placed before the altar of Artemis, and scourged just for the purpose of accustoming his body to pain. Frequently, it is said, boys died under the lash, without betraying their suffering by look or moan.

Another custom tended to the same end as the foregoing usage. The boys were at times compelled to forage for their food. If detected, they were severely punished for having been so unskilful as not to get safely away with their booty. This custom, as well as the fortitude of the Spartan youth, is familiar to all through the story of the boy who, having stolen a young fox and concealed it beneath his tunic, allowed the animal to tear out his vitals, without betraying himself by the movement of a muscle.

The Cryptia, which has generally been represented as an organization of young Spartans who were allowed, as a means of rendering themselves ready and expert in war, to hunt and kill the Helots, seems in reality to have been a sort of police institution, designed to guard against uprisings of the serfs.

Estimate of the Spartan Institutions.—That the laws and regulations of the Spartan constitution were admirably adapted to the end in view,—the rearing of a nation of skilful and resolute warriors,—the long military supremacy of Sparta among the states of Greece abundantly attests. But when we consider the aim and object of the Spartan institutions, we must pronounce them low and unworthy. The true order of things was just reversed among

the Lacedæmonians. Government exists for the individual: at Sparta the individual lived for the state. The body is intended to be the instrument of the mind: the Spartans reversed this, and attended to the education of the mind only so far as its development enhanced the effectiveness of the body as a weapon in warfare.

Spartan history teaches how easy it is for a nation, like an individual, to misdirect its energies — to subordinate the higher to the lower. It illustrates, too, the fact that only those nations that labor to develop that which is best and highest in man make helpful contributions to the progress of the world. Sparta, in significant contrast to Athens, bequeathed nothing to posterity.

The Messenian Wars. — The most important event in Spartan history between the age of Lycurgus and the commencement of the Persian War was the long contest with Messenia, known as the First and Second Messenian wars (about 750–650 B.C.).

Messenia was one of the districts of the Peloponnesus which, like Laconia, had been taken possession of by the Dorians at the time of the great invasion. It was the most fertile of all the Dorian provinces. The Messenians were aided in the struggle by Argos and other Peloponnesian states, which were jealous of the rising power of Sparta.

It is told that the Spartans, in the second war, falling into despair, sent to Delphi for advice. The oracle directed them to ask Athens for a commander. The Athenians did not wish to aid the Lacedæmonians, yet dared not oppose the oracle. So they sent Tyrtaeus, a poet-schoolmaster, who they hoped and thought would prove of but little service to Sparta. Whatever truth there may be in this part of the story, it seems indisputable that, during the Second Messenian War, Tyrtaeus, an Attic poet, reanimated the drooping spirits of the Spartans by the energy of his martial strains. Perhaps it would not be too much to say that Sparta owed her final victory to the inspiring songs of this martial poet.

The conquered Messenians were reduced to serfdom, and their condition was made as degrading and bitter as that of the Helots

of Laconia. Many, choosing exile, pushed out into the western seas in search of new homes. Some of the fugitives founded Rhegium, in Italy; others, settling in Sicily, gave name and importance to the still existing city of Messina.

Power of Sparta.—After having secured possession of Messenia, Sparta conquered the southern part of Argolis, and thus gained control of a long strip of the eastern coast of the peninsula. All the southern portion of the Peloponnesus was now subject to her commands.

On the north, Sparta extended her power over many of the villages, or townships, of Arcadia; but her advance in this direction was at last checked by Tegea, a border town towards Laconia, and one of the few important Arcadian cities. Yet notwithstanding the Tegeans had successfully withstood the arms of Sparta, still they now (about 560 B.C.) entered into an alliance with her, and ever after remained her faithful friend and helper. This alliance was one of the main sources of Spartan preponderance in Greece during the next hundred years and more.

As the most powerful state in the Peloponnesus, Sparta now assumed the leadership of the sacred league that protected the shrine of Zeus at Olympia, and through the Pan-Hellenic games there celebrated every four years (see p. 181), caused her fame to be spread even beyond the limits of Hellas. Cræsus, king of Lydia, sought an alliance with her in his unfortunate war with Persia, which just now was the rising power in Asia.

III. THE GROWTH OF ATHENS.¹

The Attic People.—The population of Attica in historic times was essentially Ionian in race, but there were in it strains of other

¹ This section in the present edition has been rewritten and, in so far as space would allow, the fresh information given us by the recently discovered work of Aristotle on the *Athenian Constitution* incorporated in the text. For details see Kenyon's "Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens"; also Botsford's "The Development of the Athenian Constitution" (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*).

Hellenic and of non-Hellenic stocks. This mixed origin of the population is believed to be one secret of the versatile yet well-balanced character which distinguished the Attic people above all other branches of the Hellenic family. It is not the absolutely pure, but the mixed races, like the English people, that have made the largest contributions to civilization.

The Site of Athens.— Four or five miles from the sea, a flat-topped rock, about one thousand feet in length and half as many in width, rises with abrupt cliffs, one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the plains of Attica. The security afforded by this eminence doubtless led to its selection as a stronghold by the early Attic settlers. Here a few buildings, perched upon the summit of the rock and surrounded by a palisade, constituted the beginning of the capital whose fame has spread over all the world.

The Kings of Athens.— When, in the seventh century B.C., the mists of antiquity clear away from the plain of Attica, Athens with an oligarchical government appears as the capital of the entire district. It is evident that back of this period stretches a long prehistoric development; but of the incidents of that early growth we are left in almost total ignorance. It is certain, however, that during the Heroic Age Athens was ruled by kings, like all the other Grecian cities. The names of Theseus and Codrus are the most noted of the regal line.

To Theseus, as we have seen (see p. 163), tradition ascribed the work of uniting the different Attic villages, or cantons, twelve in number, into a single city, on the seat of the ancient Cecropia (see p. 158). This prehistoric union, however or by whomsoever effected, laid the basis of the greatness of Athens.¹

Respecting Codrus, the following legend is told: At one time the Dorians from the Peloponnesus invaded Attica. Codrus hav-

¹ "The consolidation of the Attic Demoi [*demes*, or townships] into a single state would answer to the gradual absorption of the several English kingdoms under the sovereignty of the chiefs of Wessex. In the one case, as in the other, the task was not accomplished in a day, nor without violent struggles." — Cox, *History of Greece*.

ing learned that an oracle had assured them of success if they spared the life of the Athenian king, disguised himself, and, with a single companion, made an attack upon some Spartan soldiers, who instantly slew him. Discovering that the king of Athens had fallen by a Lacedæmonian sword, the Spartans despaired of taking the city, and withdrew from the country.

The Archons. — Codrus was the last hereditary king of Athens. His successor, elected by the nobles from the royal family, was simply ruler for life. There were twelve life-kings, and then (in 752 B.C.) the authority of the regal office was still further diminished by limiting the rule of the king to ten years. Forty years later the office was thrown open to all the nobles, and soon afterwards (in 682 B.C.) the term of office was reduced to one year. As the power of the king was diminished, his old-time duties were assigned to magistrates chosen by the nobles then¹ among themselves. The outcome of these changes was that a little after the opening of the seventh century we find a board of nine persons, called Archons, of whom the king in a subordinate position was one, standing at the head of the Athenian state. The old Homeric monarchy had become an oligarchy.

The Council of the Areopagus. — Besides the board of Archons there was in the Athenian state at this time a very important tribunal, called the Council of the Areopagus.¹ This council was composed exclusively of ex-Archons, and consequently was a purely aristocratic body. Its members held office for life. The duty of the council was to see that the laws were duly observed, and to judge and punish transgressors. To this court was committed particularly the care of morals and religion. It probably was in the presence of this venerable tribunal that the apostle Paul stood when he made his eloquent defence of Christianity. (See Acts xvii, 22-32.)

Thus, when the historic period opens, we find the govern-

¹ So called from the name of the hill (*Ἄρειος λόφος*, "Hill of Ares") which was the assembling place of the council.

ment at Athens in the hands of the nobles. The common people had no part in the management of public affairs. Many of them lived as tenants in a state little removed from serfdom upon the domains of the wealthy nobles. If one became unable to pay his debts, both he and his wife and children might be seized by his creditor and sold as slaves. Thus because of their wretched economic condition, as well as because of their exclusion from the government, the commons were filled with bitterness against the nobles and were ready for revolution.

The Rebellion of Cylon (probably 628 or 624 B.C.¹). — Taking advantage of the unrest in the state, Cylon, a rich and ambitious noble, attempted to overthrow the government and make himself supreme. He seized the citadel of the Acropolis, where he was closely besieged by the Archons. Upon the rock stood a temple of Athena. Finally, hard pressed, the companions of Cylon — he himself had escaped through the lines of his enemies — sought refuge within the shrine. The Archon Megacles, lest the death of the rebels by starvation within the sacred enclosure should pollute the sanctuary, offered to spare their lives on condition of surrender. Fearing to trust themselves among their enemies without some protection, they fastened a string to the statue of Athena, and holding fast to this, descended from the citadel, into the streets of Athens. As they came in front of the altars of the Eumenides, the line broke; and Megacles, professing to believe that this mischance indicated that the goddess refused to shield them longer, caused them to be set upon and massacred.

Calamities that now befell the state caused the people to believe that the crime of the nobles had stirred the anger of the gods. Thus the commons were inflamed still more against the government of the aristocracy. They demanded, and finally secured, the banishment of the Alcæonidæ, the family to which Megacles belonged. Even the bones of the

¹ Before the discovery of Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution* this conspiracy was by most historians placed after the Draconian legislation.

dead of the family were dug up, and cast beyond the frontiers of the state.

The people further insisted upon a publication of the laws, which should secure them against the arbitrary and unjust decisions of the oligarchical magistrates, in whose hands, as we have seen, was the entire administration of justice.

The Laws and Constitution of Draco (621 B.C.). — To meet these demands of the people, the nobles appointed one of their own number, Draco, to remodel the constitution and draw up a code of laws.

The most important constitutional change made by Draco related to the election of magistrates. These had hitherto been chosen by the Council of the Areopagus. This important function was now committed to the Ecclesia, or popular assembly, in which body all persons had a place who were able to provide themselves with a full military equipment. Moreover, the magistrates were henceforth to be chosen not exclusively from among the nobles, but from among all persons possessing a certain property qualification, the amount of property varying with the importance and character of the office. Thus property instead of birth was made the basis of political rights.

Besides making these reforms in the constitution, Draco drew up a code of laws. Tradition says that the legislator assigned to the least offence the penalty of death. This alleged severity of the Draconian laws is what caused a later Athenian orator to say that they were written, "not in ink, but in blood." The laws doubtless were severe, though not as severe as the tradition affirms. But there was one real defect in Draco's work. He gave no relief to the poor who were the victims of the harsh laws of debt.

The Reforms of Solon (594 B.C.). — Shortly after the Draconian reforms, a war broke out between Athens and Megara, respecting the island of Salamis, to which both cities laid claim. The struggle finally ended in favor of Athens, but the burdens the war had entailed upon the Athenians rendered still more un-

endurable the condition of the poorer classes, and made still more urgent some measures of relief.

Once more, as in the time of Draco, the Athenians placed their laws and constitution in the hands of a single man, to be remodelled as he might deem best. Solon, a man held in high esteem by all classes on account of distinguished services rendered to the state, particularly in the recent war with Megara, was selected to discharge this responsible duty.

Solon turned his attention first to relieving the misery of the debtor class. He cancelled all debts of every kind, both public and private. Moreover, that there might never again be seen in Attica the spectacle of men dragged off in chains to be sold as slaves in payment of their debts, Solon prohibited the practice in the future of securing debts on the body of the debtor. No Athenian was ever after this sold for debt.¹

Such was the most important of the economic reforms of Solon. His constitutional reforms were equally wise and beneficent. The Ecclesia, or popular assembly, was at this time composed of all those persons who were able to provide themselves with arms and armor; that is to say, of all the members of the three highest of the four property classes into which the people were divided. The fourth and poorest class, the Thetes, were excluded. Solon opened the Ecclesia to them, giving them the right to vote, but not to hold office. Solon also made other changes in the constitution, whereby the magistrates became responsible to the people, who henceforth not only elected them, but judged them in case they did wrong.

The council of four hundred and one, called into existence by the Draconian legislation, was reorganized by Solon. It was henceforth to consist of four hundred members, each tribe contributing one hundred.

¹ Solon also reformed the monetary system. There was no connection between this measure and the cancellation of debts, as was generally held before the recent discovery of Aristotle's work on the Athenian Constitution.

The Areopagus remained, under the Solonian constitution, the guardian of the laws and the protector of the constitution, punishing without appeal lawbreakers and conspirators against the state. Before all else was it to maintain a strict censorship of public and private morals.

Besides the above relief measures and constitutional reforms of Solon, the legislator enacted various laws, all in the interest of equity, harmony and morality.

The Tyrant Pisistratus (560-527 B.C.). Solon had the unspeakable misfortune of living to see his institutions used to set up a tyranny, by an ambitious kinsman, his nephew Pisistratus. This man courted popular favor, and called himself the "friend of the people." One day, having inflicted many wounds upon himself, he drove his chariot hastily into the public square, and pretended that he had been thus set upon by the nobles, because of his devotion to the people's cause. The people, moved with sympathy and indignation, voted him a guard of fifty men. Under cover of raising this company, Pisistratus gathered a much larger force, seized the Acropolis, and made himself master of Athens. Though twice expelled from the city, he as often returned, and finally succeeded in getting a permanent hold of the government.

The rule of the usurper was mild, and under him Athens enjoyed a period of great prosperity. He adorned the city with temples and other splendid buildings, and constructed great aqueducts. Just beyond the city walls, he laid out the Lyceum, a sort of public park, made inviting with groves, porches, and promenades, which became in after years the favorite resort of the philosophers and poets of Athens. He was a liberal patron of literature; and his library—the first gathered at Athens—was generously thrown open to the public. He also caused the Homeric poems to be collected and edited.

Pisistratus died 527 B.C., thirty-three years after his first seizure of the citadel. Solon himself said of him that he had no vice save ambition.

Expulsion of the Tyrants from Athens (510 B.C.). — The two sons of Pisistratus, Hippias and Hipparchus, succeeded to his power.

At first they emulated the example of their father, and Athens flourished under their parental rule. But at length an unfortunate event gave an entirely different tone to the government. Hipparchus, having insulted a young noble, was assassinated. Hippias escaped harm, but the event caused him to become suspicious and severe. His rule now became a tyranny indeed, and was brought to an end in the following way.

After his last return to Athens, Pisistratus had sent the "accursed" Alcmaeonidæ into a second exile. During this period of banishment an opportunity arose for them to efface the stain of sacrilege which was still supposed to cling to them on account of the old crime of Megacles (see p. 202). The temple at Delphi having been destroyed by fire, they contracted with the Amphictyons to rebuild it. They not only completed the work in the most honorable manner throughout, but even went so far beyond the terms of their contract as to use beautiful Parian marble for the front of the temple, when only common stone was required by the specifications.

By this act — a pious and generous one, had it only been wholly disinterested — the exiled family won to such a degree the favor of the priests of the sacred college, that they were able to influence the utterances of the oracle. The invariable answer now of the Pythia to Spartan inquirers at the shrine was, "Athens must be set free."

Moved at last by the repeated injunctions of the oracle, the Spartans resolved to drive Hippias from Athens. Their first attempt was unsuccessful; but in a second, made in connection with the Alcmaeonidæ headed by Cleisthenes, they were so fortunate as to capture the two children of Hippias, who, to secure their release, agreed to leave the city (510 B.C.). He retired to Asia Minor, and spent the rest of his life, as we shall learn hereafter, seeking aid in different quarters to re-establish his tyranny in Athens. The Athenians passed a decree of perpetual exile against him and all his family.

The Reforms of Cleisthenes (509 B.C.). — Straightway upon the expulsion of the Tyrant Hippias, there arose a great strife between

the people, who of course wished to organize the government in accord with the constitution of Solon, and the nobles, who desired to re-establish the old aristocratical rule. Cleisthenes, aristocrat though he was, espoused the cause of the popular party. Through his influence several important changes in the constitution, which rendered it still more democratical than under Solon, were now effected.

In place of the four so-called Ionian *tribes*, into which all the citizens of Athens up to this time had been divided, Cleisthenes formed ten new tribes, which included *all the free inhabitants of Attica*.¹ Thus no matter in what province or hamlet of Attica a man's home might be, if he were not a slave, he was a citizen of Athens, and had the right to vote in the popular assembly, and to enjoy all the other privileges of Athenian citizenship.

This, notwithstanding the retention of the old property classes, made such a radical change in the constitution in the interest of the masses, that Cleisthenes rather than Solon is regarded by many as the real founder of the Athenian democracy.

The ten tribes, which were really geographical divisions of Attica, were each made up of a number of widely separated townships, or *demes*, of which there were at first probably one hundred. Each township contained a hamlet or village, possessed its own magistrates, and managed its local affairs.

The Senate was remodelled in accordance with the new divisions of the state. It had consisted of four hundred members, one hundred from each of the ancient tribes. It was now made up of five hundred members, fifty from each of the new tribes. Its duties and powers, as well as those of the popular assembly, were greatly increased, while those of the Archons and of the aristocratical court of the Areopagus were correspondingly diminished. Many cases hitherto tried by these bodies were hereafter decided by citizen juries. Thus all the citizens of the state were accustomed

¹ Aside from enlarging them by the admission of the new-made citizens, Cleisthenes did not disturb the four property classes into which the citizens of Athens were divided. The duties and privileges of these classes (eligibility to the archonship, etc.) remained as before. See p. 203.

not only to the management of political affairs, but were trained in the exercise of judicial functions.

The command of the military forces was intrusted to ten generals (*strategi*), one for each of the new tribes. The supreme command was held by each of the ten generals in turn, for one day only at a time.

Ostracism.—But of all the innovations or institutions of Cleisthenes, that known as *ostracism* was the most characteristic, if not the most important. By means of this process any person who had excited the suspicions or displeasure of the people could, without trial, be banished from Athens for a period of ten years. Six thousand votes cast against any person in a meeting of the popular assembly was a decree of banishment. The name of the person whose banishment was sought was written on a piece of pottery or a shell (in Greek *ostrakon*), hence the term *ostracism*.

The original design of this institution was to prevent the recurrence of such a usurpation as that of the Pisistratidæ. The privilege and power it gave the people were often abused, and many of the ablest and best statesmen of Athens were sent into exile through the influence of some demagogue who for the moment had caught the popular ear.

No stigma or disgrace attached to the person ostracized. The vote came to be employed, as a rule, simply to settle disputes between rival leaders of political parties, and, when thus used, was designed to put an end to dangerous contentions of powerful factions in the state. Thus the vote merely expressed political preference, the ostracized person being simply the defeated candidate for popular favor.

The institution was short-lived. It was resorted to for the last time during the Peloponnesian War (417 B.C.). The people then, in a freak, ostracized a man whom all admitted to be the meanest man in Athens. This was regarded as such a degradation of the institution, as well as such an honor to the mean man, that never thereafter did the Athenians degrade a good man, or honor a bad one, by a resort to the measure.

Sparta opposes the Athenian Democracy.—The aristocratic

party at Athens was naturally bitterly opposed to all these democratic innovations. The Spartans, also, viewed with disquiet and jealousy this rapid growth of the Athenian democracy, and their King Cleomenes, instigated by Isagoras, the leader of the Athenian nobles, made two unsuccessful invasions of Attica, for the purpose of overthrowing the Athenian government. In the second of these, the Spartans had as allies north of the Isthmus the cities of Thebes and Chalcis, the latter a town upon the island of Eubœa.

After the withdrawal from Attica of the Peloponnesian forces, the Athenians chastised the Thebans for giving aid to the Spartans; and then crossing the channel to Eubœa, captured Chalcis, took away from the Chalcidians their lands, and distributed them by lot among four thousand Attic farmers.

These colonists were not ordinary emigrants; they did not cease to be citizens of Athens. In a word, the part of the island thus settled became simply an addition to Attic territory. This was the first of that class of colonies which we have already described under the name *kleruchies* (see p. 189, note). It proved of vast service to Athens.

Cleomenes now thought to secure his object through Hippias. Inviting the deposed Tyrant over from Asia, he called at Sparta a convention of all her Peloponnesian allies, and tried to persuade them to aid the Spartans in restoring Hippias to power in Athens. But the eloquent portrayal by the Corinthian deputy Sosicles, of the wrongs Corinth had endured at the hands of the Tyrant Periander, and his scathing rebuke of Sparta's inconsistency in overthrowing tyrannies elsewhere and then trying to set one up in Athens, caused all the allies to refuse to lend any aid to the proposed undertaking, so that Cleomenes was forced to abandon it.

Hippias now withdrew once more to Asia Minor, and we soon find him at the court of King Darius, seeking aid of the Persians. His solicitations, in connection with an affront which the Athenians just now offered the king himself by aiding his revolted subjects in Ionia, led directly up to the memorable struggle known as the Græco-Persian Wars.



GREEK WARRIORS PREPARING FOR BATTLE.

CHAPTER V.

THE GRÆCO-PERSIAN WARS.

(500-479 B.C.)

Expeditions of Darius against Greece. — In narrating the history of the Persians, we have already told how Darius, after having subdued the revolt of his Ionian subjects in Asia Minor, turned his armaments against Eretria and Athens, to punish these cities for the part they had taken in the capture and burning of Sardis. We have seen how ill-fated was his first expedition, which was led by his son-in-law Mardonius — the army being cut almost to pieces in Thrace by the fierce native tribes, and the fleet being shattered by heavy seas off the stormy promontory of Mount Athos (see p. 140).

Undismayed by the disaster that had befallen the expedition of Mardonius, Darius issued orders for the raising and equipping of another and stronger armament. Meanwhile he sent heralds to the various Grecian states to demand earth and water, which elements among the Persians were symbols of submission. The weaker states gave the tokens required; but the Athenians and Spartans threw the envoys of the king into pits and wells, and bade

them help themselves to earth and water. By the beginning of the year 490 B.C., another Persian army of 120,000 men had been mustered for the second attempt upon Greece. This armament was intrusted to the command of the experienced generals Datis and Artaphernes; but was under the guidance of the traitor Hippias. A fleet of six hundred ships bore the army from the coasts of Asia Minor over the *Ægean* towards the Grecian shores.

After receiving the submission of the most important of the Cyclades, and capturing and sacking the city of Eretria upon the island of Eubœa, the Persians landed at Marathon, barely one day's journey from Athens. Here is a sheltered bay, which is edged by a crescent-shaped plain, backed by the rugged ranges of *Parnes* and *Pentelicus*. Upon this level ground the Persian generals drew up their army, flushed and confident with their recent successes.

The Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.).—The Athenians were nerved by the very magnitude of the danger to almost superhuman energy. Slaves were transformed into soldiers by the promise of liberty. A fleet runner, *Phidippides* by name, was despatched to Sparta for aid. In just thirty-six hours he was in Sparta, which is one hundred and fifty miles from Athens. But it so happened that it lacked a few days of the full moon, during which interval the Spartans, owing to an old superstition, were averse to setting out upon a military expedition. They promised aid, but moved only in time to reach Athens when all was over. The Plataeans, firm and grateful friends of the Athenians, on account of some former service, no sooner received the latter's appeal for help than they responded to a man.

The Athenians and their faithful allies, numbering about ten thousand in all, under the command of *Miltiades*, were drawn up in battle array just where the hills of *Pentelicus* sink down into the plain of Marathon. The vast host of the Persians filled the level ground in their front. The fate of Greece and the future of Europe were in the keeping of *Miltiades* and his trusty warriors. Without waiting for the attack of the Persians, the Greeks charged

and swept like a tempest from the mountain over the plain, pushed the Persians back towards the shore, and with great slaughter drove them to their ships.

Miltiades at once despatched a courier to Athens with intelligence of his victory. The messenger reached the city in a few hours, but in so breathless a state that, as the people thronged eagerly around him to hear the news he bore, he could merely gasp, "Victory is ours," and fell dead.

But the danger was not yet past. The Persian fleet, instead of returning to the coast of Asia, bore down upon Athens. Informed by watchers on the hills of the movements of the enemy, Miltiades immediately set out with his little army for the capital, which he reached just at evening, the battle at Marathon having been won in the forenoon of that same day. The next morning, when the Persian generals would have made an attack upon the city, they found themselves confronted by the same men who but yesterday had beaten them back from the plains of Marathon. Shrinking from another encounter with these citizen-soldiers of Athens, the Persians spread their sails, and bore away towards the Ionian shore.

Thus the cloud that had lowered so threateningly over Hellas was for a time dissipated. The most imposing honors were accorded to the heroes who had achieved the glorious victory, and their names and deeds were transmitted to posterity, in song and marble. The bodies of the one hundred and ninety-two Athenians who had fallen, were buried on the field, and an enormous mound of earth was raised over them. Ten marble columns surmounting the tumulus bore the names of the heroes through more than six centuries.

The gods were believed to have interposed in behalf of Greece; and suitable recognition of their favor was made in gifts and memorials. A considerable part of the brazen arms and shields gathered from the battle-field was melted into a colossal statue of Athena, which was placed upon the Acropolis, as the guardian of Athens. Tradition also says that, in after years, the grateful

Athenians ordered their great sculptor Phidias to cut the block of marble which the confident Persians had brought with them to set up as a monument of their anticipated victory, into a statue of Nemesis, the goddess who punishes the proud and insolent.

Results of the Battle of Marathon. — The battle of Marathon is reckoned as one of the "decisive battles of the world." It marks an epoch, not only in the life of Greece, but in that of Europe. Hellenic civilization was spared to mature its fruit, not for itself alone, but for the world. The battle decided that no longer the despotism of the East, with its repression of all individual action, but the freedom of the West, with all its incentives to personal effort, should control the affairs and mould the ideas and institutions of the future. It broke the spell of the Persian name, and destroyed forever the prestige of the Persian arms. It gave the Hellenic peoples that position of authority and pre-eminence that had been so long enjoyed by the successive races of the East. It especially revealed the Athenians to themselves. The consciousness of resources and power became the inspiration of their future acts. They performed great deeds thereafter because they believed themselves able to perform them.

Miltiades falls into Disgrace. — The distinguished services Miltiades had rendered his country, made him the hero of the hour at Athens. Taking advantage of the public feeling in his favor, he persuaded the Athenians to put in his hands a fleet for an enterprise respecting the nature of which no one save himself was to know anything whatever. Of course it was generally supposed that he meditated an attack upon the Persians or their allies, and with full faith in the judgment as well as in the integrity of their favorite, the Athenians gave him the command he asked.

But Miltiades abused the confidence imposed in him. He led the expedition against the island of Paros, simply to avenge some private wrong. The undertaking was unsuccessful, and Miltiades, severely wounded, returned to Athens, where he was brought to trial for his conduct. His never-to-be-forgotten services at Marathon pleaded eloquently for him, and he escaped being sentenced

to death, but was subjected to a heavy fine. This he was unable to pay, and in a short time he died of his wound. The unfortunate affair left an ineffaceable blot upon a fame otherwise the most resplendent in Grecian story.

Athens prepares for Persian Vengeance.—Many among the Athenians were inclined to believe that the battle of Marathon



THEMISTOCLES.

had freed Athens forever from the danger of a Persian invasion. But there was at least one among them who was clear-sighted enough to see that that battle was only the beginning of a great struggle. This was Themistocles, a sagacious, versatile, and

ambitious statesman, who labored to persuade the Athenians to strengthen their navy, in order to be ready to meet the danger he foresaw.

Themistocles was opposed in this policy by Aristides, called the Just, a man of the most scrupulous integrity, who feared that Athens would make a serious mistake if she converted her land force into a naval armament. The contention grew so sharp between them that the ostracism was called into use to decide the matter. Six thousand votes were cast against Aristides, and he was sent into exile.

It is related that while the vote that ostracized him was being taken in the popular assembly, an illiterate peasant, who was a stranger to Aristides, asked him to write the name of Aristides upon his tablet. As he placed the name desired upon the shell, the statesman asked the man what wrong Aristides had ever done him. "None," responded the voter; "I do not even know him; but I am tired of hearing him called the Just."

After the banishment of Aristides, Themistocles was free to carry out his naval policy without any serious opposition, and soon Athens had the largest fleet of any Greek city, with a splendid harbor at Piræus.

Xerxes' Preparations to invade Greece. — No sooner had the news of the disaster at Marathon been carried to Darius than he began to make gigantic preparations to avenge this second defeat and insult. It was in the midst of these plans for revenge that, as we have already learned, death cut short his reign, and his son Xerxes came to the throne (see p. 141).

Urged on by his nobles, as well as by exiled Greeks at his court, who sought to gratify ambition or enjoy revenge in the humiliation and ruin of their native land, Xerxes, though at first disinclined to enter into a contest with the Greeks, at length ordered the preparations begun by his father to be pushed forward with the utmost energy. For eight years all Asia resounded with the din of preparation. Levies were made upon all the provinces that acknowledged the authority of the Great King, from India to the

Hellespont. Vast contingents of vessels were furnished by the coast countries of the Mediterranean. Immense stores of provisions, the harvests of many years, were gathered into great store-houses along the intended line of march.

While all these preparations were going on in Asia itself, Phœnician and Egyptian architects were employed in spanning the Hellespont with a double bridge of boats, which was to unite the two continents as with a royal highway. At the same time, the isthmus at Mount Athos, in rounding which promontory the admirals of Mardonius had lost their fleet, was cut by a canal, traces of which may be seen at this day. Three years were consumed in these gigantic works. With them completed, or far advanced, Xerxes set out from his capital to join the countless hosts that from all quarters of the compass were gathering at Sardis, in Asia Minor.

Disunion of the Greeks: Congress at Corinth (481 B.C.).—Startling rumors of the gigantic preparations that the Persian king was making to crush them were constantly borne across the Ægean to the ears of the Greeks in Europe. Finally came intelligence that Xerxes was about to begin his march. Something must now be done to meet the impending danger. Mainly through the exertions of Themistocles, a council of the Greek cities was convened at Corinth in the fall of 481 B.C.

But on account of feuds, jealousies, and party spirit, only a small number of the states of Hellas could be brought to act in concert. Argos would not join the proposed confederation through hatred of Sparta; Thebes, through jealousy of Athens. The Cretans, to whom an embassy had been sent soliciting aid, refused all assistance. The Corcyreans promised to help, but they were not sincere. Gelon, the Tyrant of Syracuse, offered to send over a large armament, provided that he were given the chief command of the allied forces. His aid on such terms was refused.

Thus, through different causes, many of the Greek cities held aloof from the confederation, so that only about fifteen or sixteen states were brought to unite their resources against the Barbarians;

and even the strength of many of those cities that did enter into the alliance was divided by party spirit. The friends of aristocratical government were almost invariably friends of Persia, because a Persian victory in Greece proper meant what it had already meant in Ionia, — a suppression of the democracies as incompatible with the Persian form of government. Thus for the sake of a party victory, the aristocrats were ready to betray their country into the hands of the Barbarians. To make their conduct appear less outrageous to the common Hellenic mind, some of these so-called "Medizing¹ Greeks" even tried to make out that the Persians were the descendants of the Greek hero Perseus, and hence pure Hellenes, submission to whom could not be regarded as disgraceful.

Furthermore, the Delphian oracle, aristocratical in its sympathies, and therefore influenced by the same considerations that had weight with the oligarchical party, was lukewarm and wavering, if not actually disloyal, and by its timid responses disheartened the patriot party.

But under the inspiration of Themistocles the cities in convention at Corinth determined upon desperate resistance to the Barbarians. They resolved that all feuds existing between members of the league should be extinguished, and solemnly bound themselves, after the struggle should be over, to make war together upon any and every city that should give aid to the Persians, and to dedicate one-tenth of the spoils to the shrine of the Delphian Apollo.

Passing at last to the consideration of the question where they should make their first stand against the invaders, it was at first decided to concentrate a strong force in the Vale of Tempe, and at that point to dispute the advance of the enemy; but this being found impracticable, it was resolved that the first attempt to resist the Persian march should be made at the pass of Thermopylæ.

The Spartans were given the chief command of both the land

¹ The reference, of course, is to the Medes, by which term the Greeks usually designated the Persians.

and the naval forces. The Athenians might fairly have insisted upon their right to the command of the allied fleet, but under the inspiration of Themistocles, they patriotically waived their claim for the sake of harmony.

The Hellespontine Bridges Broken. — As the vast army of Xerxes was about to move from Sardis, intelligence came that the bridges across the Hellespont had been wrecked by a violent tempest. It is said that Xerxes, in great wrath, ordered the architects to be put to death, and the sea to be bound with fetters and scourged. The scourgers faithfully performed their duty, at the same time gratuitously cursing the traitorous and rebellious Hellespont with what Herodotus calls "non-Hellenic and blasphemous terms."

Other architects spanned the channel with two stronger and firmer bridges. Each roadway rested upon a row of from three to four hundred vessels, all securely anchored like modern pontoons. The bridges were each about one mile in length, and furnished with high parapets, that the horses and cattle might not be rendered uneasy at sight of the water.

Passage of the Hellespont. — With the first indications of the opening spring of 480 B.C., just ten years after the defeat at Marathon, the vast Persian army was astir and concentrating from all points upon the Hellespont. The passage of this strait, as pictured to us in the inimitable narration of Herodotus, is one of the most dramatic of all the spectacles afforded by history.

Before the passage commenced, the bridges were strewn with the sacred myrtle and perfumed with incense from golden censers, while the sea was placated with libations poured by the king himself. As the east reddened with the approach of the sun, prayers were offered, and the moment the rays of Helios touched the bridges the passage began. To avoid accidents and delays, the trains of baggage wagons and the beasts of burden crossed by one causeway, leaving the other free for the march of the army. The first of the host to cross were the sacred guard of the Great King, the Ten Thousand Immortals, all crowned with garlands as in festival

procession. Preceding the king, moved slowly the gorgeous Chariot of the Sun, drawn by eight milk-white steeds. Herodotus affirms that for seven days and seven nights the bridges groaned beneath the living tide that Asia was pouring into Europe.

The Review and Census. — Upon an extended plain called Doriscus, on the European shore, Xerxes drew up his vast army for review and census. It was the largest armament that the world had yet gathered for any enterprise. To Herodotus it seemed that all Asia and Africa were there seeking the ruin of Greece. Forty-six different nations marched beneath the ensign of the Persian king. The costumes and equipments of the different contingents were as varied as the countries whence they came. There was every variety of dress, from the light cotton tunic of the native of India to the leopard-skin in which the Ethiopian wrapped his body. Some were clad in bronze armor; others offered their naked bodies to the blows of the enemy. The weapons borne varied from the well-tempered blade of Damascus to the fire-hardened stave of the Libyan. Some of the nomadic horsemen were armed simply with the lasso.

The countless host could be numbered in no usual way. Ten thousand men were crowded in as close a body as possible and a low wall raised about them. Then these passed out of the enclosure, which was again packed with soldiers, and when no more could find room, it was calculated that ten thousand were within. One hundred and seventy times was the enclosure thus filled and emptied. According to this rude enumeration, the land force of Xerxes amounted to 1,700,000 men. The naval force brought the number up to the amazing total of 2,317,000. Herodotus adds to this about an equal number of slaves and attendants, making the entire host number between five and six million persons. It is believed that these figures are greatly exaggerated, and that the actual number of the Persian army could not have exceeded 900,000 men.

Provisioning the Persian Army. — From the plain of Doriscus the Persian army moved on towards the Pass of Thermopylæ.

The cities along the route had been ordered to prepare repasts for the army as it advanced, and to furnish special delicacies for the royal table. The people, through policy or fear, made extraordinary efforts to entertain in a becoming manner their self-imposed guest, and to feed his soldiers. Herodotus affirms, and there seems no reason to doubt his statement, that some of the towns were driven to distraction, and others to the very verge of ruin. The people, however, notwithstanding their perplexity and distress, found occasion to thank the gods because Xerxes, according to the Persian custom, required but one meal a day. "Had the monarch required breakfast as well as dinner," says Herodotus, "the citizens must have been reduced to the alternative either of exile or of utter destitution."

Battle of Thermopylæ (480 B.C.). — Leading from Thessaly into Central Greece is a narrow pass, pressed on one side by the sea and on the other by rugged mountain ridges. At the foot of the cliffs break forth several hot springs, whence the name of the pass, Thermopylæ, or "Hot Gates."

At this point, in accordance with the decision of the Corinthian Congress, was offered the first resistance to the progress of the Persian army. Leonidas, king of Sparta, with three hundred Spartan soldiers and about six thousand allies from different states of Greece, held the pass. As the Greeks were about to celebrate the Olympian games, which their religious scruples would not allow them to postpone, they left this handful of men unsupported to hold in check the army of Xerxes until the festival days were past.¹

By a special interposition of the gods, as it seemed to the pious Greeks, a furious tempest drove the Persian fleet upon the shore and dashed to pieces over four hundred ships. This prevented Xerxes from landing a force farther down the coast, in the rear

¹ Grote likens the action of the Greeks at this time to that of the Jews, who, when Jerusalem was being besieged by the Romans under Titus, rather than violate their religious scruples, permitted the Roman works to be pushed forward against their city during the Sabbath, without molestation.

of Leonidas ; for that movement was now hindered by a Grecian fleet of sixty thousand men, which, encouraged by the Persian losses, had advanced to Artemisium, at the extreme northern point of the island of Eubœa.

The Spartans could now be driven from their advantageous position, only by an attack in front. Before assaulting them, Xerxes summoned them to give up their arms. The answer of Leonidas was, "Come and take them."

For two days the Persians tried to storm the pass. The Asiatics were driven to the attack by their officers armed with whips. But every attempt to force the way was repulsed ; even the Ten Thousand Immortals were hurled back from the Spartan front like waves from a cliff.

But an act of treachery on the part of a native Greek rendered unavailing all the bravery of the keepers of the pass. A by-way leading over the mountains to the rear of the Spartans was revealed to Xerxes. The startling intelligence was brought to Leonidas that the Persians were descending the mountain path in his rear. He saw instantly that all was lost. The allies were permitted to seek safety in flight while opportunity remained. But to him and his Spartan companions there could be no thought of retreat. Death in the pass, the defence of which had been intrusted to them, was all that Spartan honor and Spartan law now left them. The next day, surrounded by the Persian host, they fought with desperate valor ; but, being overwhelmed finally by mere numbers, they were slain to the last man. With them also perished seven hundred Thespians who had chosen death with their companions. Over the bodies of the Spartan soldiers a monument was afterwards erected with this inscription : "Stranger, tell the Lacedæmonians that we lie here in obedience to their orders."

The Battle of Artemisium. — While Leonidas and his companions were so gallantly striving to hold in check the land forces of Xerxes at the Pass of Thermopylæ, the Greek fleet at Artemisium, consisting of between two and three hundred ships, was

endeavoring with equal bravery to prevent the immense fleet of the Persians from entering the strait which runs between the island of Eubœa and the mainland. During the three days that the struggle was going on at the pass, the Grecian ships were engaging the Persian naval forces, with indecisive results ; but when on the evening of the third day the Greeks received intelligence of the loss of the pass, they withdrew from before the enemy, as there was now nothing to be gained by holding the water passage any longer. The whole armament came to anchor in the Gulf of Salamis, near Athens, and awaited events.

The Burning of Athens. — Athens now lay open to the invaders. The inhabitants of the Peloponnesus, thinking of their own safety simply, commenced throwing up defences across the narrow isthmus of Corinth, working day and night under the impulse of an almost insane fear. Athens was thus left outside to care for herself.

Counsels were divided. The Delphian oracle had obscurely declared, "When everything else in the land of Cecrops shall be taken, Zeus grants to Athena that the *wooden walls* alone shall remain unconquered, to defend you and your children." The oracle was believed to be, as was declared, "firm as adamant." But there were various opinions as to what was meant by the "wooden walls." Some thought the Pythian priestess directed the Athenians to seek refuge in the forests on the mountains ; others believed the oracle meant the wooden palisade which in ancient times surrounded the Acropolis ; but Themistocles (who it is thought may have himself prompted the oracle) contended that the ships were plainly indicated.

The last interpretation was acted upon. All the soldiers of Attica were crowded upon the vessels of the fleet at Salamis. The aged men, with the women and children, were carried out of the country to different places of safety. All the towns of Attica, with the capital, were thus abandoned to the conquerors.

A few days afterwards the Persians entered upon the deserted plain, which they rendered more desolate by ravaging the fields

and burning the empty towns. Athens shared the common fate, and her splendid temples sank in flames. Sardis was avenged. The joy in distant Susa was unbounded.

The Naval Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.). — Just off the coast of Attica, separated from the mainland by a narrow passage of water, lies the island of Salamis. Here lay the Greek fleet. The persuasive eloquence alone of Themistocles brought the Greeks to the determination to face here the Persian squadrons. To hasten on the Persian attack before dissensions should divide the Greek forces, Themistocles resorted to the following stratagem. He sent a messenger to Xerxes representing that he himself was ready to espouse the Persian cause, and advised an immediate attack upon the Athenian fleet, which he represented as being in no condition to make any formidable resistance. Xerxes was deceived. He ordered an immediate attack. From a lofty throne upon the shore he himself overlooked the scene and watched the result. The Persian fleet was broken to pieces and two hundred of the ships destroyed.¹

The blow was decisive. Xerxes lost faith in his undertaking and in his allies. He feared that treachery might burn or break the Hellespontine bridges, and thus endanger his own safety. He instantly despatched a hundred ships to protect them; and then, leaving Mardonius with three hundred thousand men to retrieve the disaster of Salamis, and effect, as he promised to do, the conquest of the rest of Greece, the monarch set out on his ignominious retreat to Asia.²

The Battles of Plataea and Mycale (479 B.C.). — The next year the Persian fleet and army thus left behind in Europe were entirely destroyed, both on the same day—the army at Plataea, near

¹ The entire Persian fleet numbered about seven hundred and fifty vessels; the Grecian, about three hundred and eighty-five ships, mostly triremes.

² On the very day of the battle of Salamis, Gelon of Syracuse gained a great victory over the Carthaginians at the battle of Himera, in the north of Sicily. So it was a memorable day for Hellas in the West as well as in the East.

Thebes, by the combined Greek forces under the Spartan Pausanias ; and the fleet, including the Asiatic land forces, at Mycale, on the Ionian coast.

The battles of Salamis, Plataea, and Mycale were the successive blows that shattered into fragments the most splendid armaments ever commanded by Asiatic despot.

Memorials and Trophies of the War. — The glorious issue of the war caused a general burst of joy and exultation throughout all Greece. Poets and artists and orators all vied with one another in commemorating the deeds of the heroes whose valor had warded off the impending danger.

Nor did the pious Grecians think that the marvellous deliverance had been effected without the intervention of the gods in their behalf. To the temple at Delphi was gratefully consecrated a tenth of the immense spoils in gold and silver from the field of Plataea ; and within the sanctuary of Athena, upon the Acropolis at Athens, were placed the broken cables of the Hellespontine bridges, at once a proud trophy of victory, and a signal illustration of the divine punishment that had befallen the audacious and impious attempt to lay a yoke upon the sacred waters of the Hellespont.

CHAPTER VI.

PERIOD OF ATHENIAN SUPREMACY.

(479-431 B.C.)

Loyalty of Athens to the Grecian Cause. — Athens had braved everything for the common cause of Hellas. The patriotism of her citizens had never wavered. When Mardonius sought with bribes to detach them from the Grecian league, they replied to his messenger that "no conceivable temptation, either of money or territory, should induce them to desert the ties of brotherhood, common language, or religion."

Their lofty patriotism and unswerving loyalty to the general interests of Greece — in striking contrast to the narrow selfishness of the Spartans — were now rewarded. Athens was accorded the place of honor and pre-eminence among the Grecian states. The loss and suffering entailed by the destruction of her dwellings and temples were repaired and forgotten during the period of prosperity upon which she now entered. Her maritime power, and her reputation as a center of wealth and refinement and the home of art and literature, were secured by the address and genius of a succession of statesmen, artists, and writers such as perhaps no other city in ancient or modern times ever produced. The important public events that fill the period intervening between the battle of Plataea and the breaking out of the Peloponnesian War (479-431 B.C.) will be found, as we now proceed to narrate them in the very briefest way, to connect themselves especially with four names of the widest renown — Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, and Pericles.

Rebuilding the Walls of Athens. — After the Persians had been expelled from Greece, the first care of the Athenians was the

rebuilding of their homes. Their next task was the restoration of the city walls. The exalted hopes for the future which had been raised by the almost incredible achievements and endurance of the past few months, led the Athenians to draw a vast circuit of seven miles about the Acropolis as the line of the new ramparts.

The rival states of the Peloponnesus watched the proceedings of the Athenians with the most jealous interest. While they could not but admire Athens, they feared her. Sparta sent an embassy to dissuade the citizens from rebuilding the walls, hypocritically assigning as the cause of her interest in the matter her solicitude lest, in case of another Persian invasion, the city, if captured, might become a shelter and defence to the enemy.

Themistocles as an Envoy. — The crafty Themistocles, the Ulysses of Athens, and the most popular leader of his time, had a talent for just such diplomacy as the case seemed to demand ; for the Athenians were not strong enough to insist by force of arms upon their right to manage their own affairs. Themistocles caused the Spartan envoys to be sent home with the reply that Athens would send commissioners to Sparta to consider the matter with them there. Then, as one of the envoys, he himself set out for Sparta, having previously arranged that the other members of the embassy should not leave Athens until the walls were sufficiently advanced to defy assault. With astonishing unanimity and energy, the entire population of Athens, rich and poor, men, women, and children, set to work upon the walls. Material was torn from temples and tombs and built into the defences.

While this was going on at Athens, Themistocles was at Sparta, with amazing address wondering with the Lacedæmonians what so delayed his colleagues. From day to day the business upon which he had come was postponed, to give time for the arrival of the tardy envoys. At length rumors came to Sparta of the state of affairs at Athens. Themistocles assured the people that these were mere idle reports. Fresh rumors came. Then he advised them to send messengers of their own to Athens to get the truth of the matter. They did so. But Themistocles had already de-

spatched a messenger to the Athenians informing them that the Spartan envoys were on the way, and ordering their detention in Athens.

By all these stratagems sufficient time was gained to raise the walls to such a height that the Athenians could defy interference. Then Themistocles boldly administered some "wholesome advice to the Spartans. He told them, when they and their allies sent ambassadors again to Athens, to deal with the Athenians as with reasonable men, who could discern what belonged to their own interest, and what to the general interest of Greece."

These circumstances attendant upon the refortifying of the Athenian capital we have narrated at some length, because of the light they throw upon the succeeding history of Athens. They exhibit the tremendous energy with which the memory of the recent great events of the Persian War inspired the Athenians. As Grote observes, both arm and mind were strung to the very highest pitch. It was this tension, calling forth the very best in every man, that carried forward events at Athens with such almost preternatural energy during the generation immediately following that great struggle.

This contention respecting the walls of Athens also affords us a glimpse of the rising jealousy between Sparta and Athens, which at last, intensified by their different political tendencies, issued in that long and calamitous struggle between these two rival states and their allies, known as the Peloponnesian War.

Naval Policy of the Athenians. — Eminent as was the service which Themistocles had rendered his native city in the conduct of the Spartan negotiations, he now conferred a still greater benefit by the exercise of his prudence and genius in the shaping of the naval policy of the ambitious Athenians.

This far-sighted statesman saw clearly that Athens' supremacy among the Grecian states must be secured and maintained by her mastery of the sea. He had unbounded visions of the maritime power and glory that might come to her through her fleet, those "wooden walls" to which at this moment she owed her very exist-

ance, and he succeeded in inspiring his countrymen with his own pure, sane, and sanguine hopes.

In the execution of his views, Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to enlarge the harbor of Piræus, the most spacious of the harbors of Athens, and to surround the place with immense walls, exceeding both in compass and strength, those of the city. He led his countrymen to the resolution of adding to their navy well-equipped triremes to their navy.

The policy initiated by Themistocles, was, as we shall see, zealously carried out by the statesmen that after him successively assumed the conduct of Athenian affairs.

Character of Themistocles. — Themistocles well deserved the name of being called, as he was, the founder of the New Athens. Not, although a great and far-seeing statesman, to whose commanding ability both in war and in peace Athens owed almost everything, without those imperfections of character which we cannot have failed to notice, at last brought him into disgrace. He used unscrupulously the power and position which his abilities and services accorded him. He accepted bribes and sold his influence, thereby acquiring an enormous property. Finally he was ostracized and went into exile (471 B.C.). After long wanderings, he became a favorite at the court of the Persian king.

Tradition affirms that Artaxerxes, in accordance with Persian usage, provided for the courtier exile by assigning to three cities in Asia Minor the care of providing for his table: one furnished bread, a second meat, and a third wines. It is told that one day, as he sat down to his richly loaded board, he exclaimed, "How much we should have lost, my children, if we had not been ruined!" He died about 449 B.C.

Aristides the Just. — The most illustrious contemporary and rival of Themistocles was Aristides, to whom reference has already been made (see p. 215). Less great in mind than Themistocles, he was immeasurably his superior in character. Before the time of which we are treating, he had already rendered many and eminent services to his native state. He was one of the ten Athenian

generals that led the Grecian forces at Marathon. Not long after that battle, his rival, Themistocles, as we have narrated, secured against him a decree of ostracism.

With a spirit just the opposite of that evinced by the Roman Camillus, who, when banished by his countrymen, invoked the gods to send such calamities upon them that they would speedily pray for his return, the patriot Aristides went into exile praying the gods that nothing might befall his native city which should cause those that had procured his banishment to mourn his absence. Nevertheless, such an event soon did occur. Only six years had passed when the threatening danger of the invasion by Xerxes led to his recall by the Athenians, to aid Themistocles in the defence of the state. He fought at Salamis and Plataea, and, after the retreat of the Persians, became at Athens the rival of Themistocles in popular favor and esteem. It was the universal confidence inspired by his uprightness of character that enabled him to secure for his native city that supremacy in the foreign affairs of Hellas which had been hitherto accorded to Sparta alone. How this came about will appear in the following paragraphs.

The Confederacy of Delos (477 B.C.).—In order that they might be able to carry on war more effectively against the Persians,—who for a long time after the disastrous expedition of Xerxes never ceased, by intrigue and open force, to vex the Grecian communities,—the Ionian states of Asia Minor, the islands of the Aegean, and some of the states in Greece proper, mostly north of the Isthmus, shortly after the battle of Plataea, formed themselves into what is known as the Confederacy of Delos. Sparta, on account of her military reputation, had hitherto been accorded the place of pre-eminence and authority in all such alliances of the Hellenic cities. She had come, indeed, to regard herself as the natural guardian and leader of Greece. But at this time the unbearable arrogance of the Spartan general Pausanias,¹ who presumed

¹ Pausanias was not only arrogant, but treacherous. It came to light afterward that he was at that moment engaged in treasonable negotiations with

upon the great reputation he had gained at the battle of Plataea, led the states which had entered into the alliance to look to Athens to assume the position of leadership in the new confederacy.

The lofty character of Aristides, who was now the most prominent Athenian leader, and his great reputation for fairness and incorruptible integrity, also contributed to the same result. He was chosen the first president of the league (477 B.C.), and the sacred island of Delos was made the repository of the common funds. What proportion of the ships and money needed for carrying out the purposes of the union should be contributed by the different states, was left entirely to the decision of Aristides, such was the confidence all had in his equity; and so long as he had control of the matter, none of the members of the alliance ever had cause of complaint.

Thus did Sparta lose, and Athens gain, the place of precedence among the Ionian states. The Dorian states of the Peloponnesus, in the main, still looked to Sparta as their leader and adviser. All Greece was thus divided into two great leagues, under the rival leadership of Sparta and Athens.

The Athenians convert the Delian League into an Empire. — The Confederacy of Delos laid the basis of the imperial power of Athens. The Athenians misused their authority as leaders of the league, and gradually, during the interval between the formation of the union and the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, reduced their free and independent confederates to the condition of tributaries.

Xerxes, and was ready, for a suitable reward, to surrender all Greece into the hands of the Persians. The well-known letter in which he is made to seek as the price of his treachery the hand of the daughter of Xerxes is, it is true, by some pronounced a forgery; but then there is no doubt of his treasonable intentions. His fate befitted his crime. To avoid arrest by the ephors, he fled for refuge to the sanctuary of Athena at Sparta. The ephors, not daring to seize him there, caused the roof of the temple to be removed, and walling up the entrance, left the traitor to die of starvation.

Athens transformed the league into an empire in the following manner. The contributions assessed by Aristides upon the different members of the confederation, consisted of ships and their crews for the larger states, and of money payments for the smaller ones. From the first, Athens attended to this assessment matter, and saw to it that each member of the league made its proper contribution.

After a while, some of the cities preferring to make a money payment in lieu of ships, Athens accepted the commutation, and then building the ships herself, added them to her own navy. Thus the confederates disarmed themselves and armed their master.

Very soon the restraints which Athens imposed upon her allies became irksome, and they began to refuse, one after another, to pay the assessment in any form. Naxos, one of the Cyclades, was the first island to secede, as it were, from the league (466 B.C.). But Athens had no idea of admitting any such doctrine of state rights, and with her powerful navy forced the Naxians to remain within the union, and to pay an increased tribute.

What happened in the case of Naxos happened in the case of almost all the other members of the confederation. By the year 449 B.C. only three of the island members of the league still retained their independence.

Even before this date (probably about 457 B.C.) the Athenians had transferred the common treasury from Delos to Athens, and diverting the tribute from its original purpose, were beginning to spend it, not in the prosecution of war against the Barbarians, but in the execution of home enterprises, as though the treasure were their own revenue.

Thus what had been simply a voluntary confederation of sovereign and independent cities, was converted into what was practically an absolute monarchy, with the Attic democracy as the imperial master.

What made this servitude of the former allies of Athens all the more galling was the fact that they themselves had been com-

pelled to forge the very chains which fettered them ; for it was their money that had built and was maintaining the fleet by which they were kept in subjection and forced to do whatever might be the will of the Athenians.

The Leadership of Cimon. — One of the ablest and most distinguished of the generals who commanded the forces of the Athenians during this same period when they were enslaving their confederates, was Cimon, the son of Miltiades. He was one of those whose spirits had been fired by the exciting events attendant upon the Persian invasion. He had called attention to himself and acquired a certain reputation, at the time of the abandonment of Athens, by being the first to hang up his bridle in the sanctuary of the Acropolis, thus expressing his resolution to place all his confidence in the fleet, as Themistocles advised.

After the expulsion of the Persians from Greece, he became one of the most successful of the Grecian generals to whom was intrusted the command of the armaments designed to wrest from the hands of the enemy the islands of the Ægean and the Hellenic cities of the Asiatic coast.

The rich spoils of his many victories over the Persians, the most important of which was that at the mouth of the Eurymedon, in Pamphylia (465 B.C.), enabled him to fill the treasury of Athens, and also to build up an ample fortune for himself. His private means he dispensed with a lavish hand in benefactions to the poor, in the erection of magnificent public buildings, and in the beautifying of the public walks and parks of Athens. The Academy, the favorite resort of the Athenians, owed much of its beauty to his munificence.

One of the most interesting ceremonies in which he took a leading part was the removal of what was declared to be the bones of the national hero Theseus from the island of Scyros, where the exiled king is fabled to have died, to a place of entombment at Athens. Over the sacred relics was erected a magnificent temple, which some archæologists believe to be identical with the remarkably well-preserved building near the Areopagus, known as the Theseum.

Revolt of the Helots ; Cimon's Loss of Favor. — The popularity of Cimon at last declined, and he suffered ostracism, as had Aristides and Themistocles before him.

Cimon's loss of public favor came about in this manner. In the year 464 B.C., a terrible earthquake destroyed a large portion of Sparta, and buried a vast number of the inhabitants beneath the ruins of their city. In the panic of the appalling disaster the Spartans were led to believe that the evil had befallen them as a punishment for their recent violation of the Temple of Poseidon, from which some Helots who had fled to the sanctuary for refuge had been torn. The Helots, on their part, were quick to interpret the event as an intervention of the gods in their behalf, and as an unmistakable signal for their uprising. Everywhere they flew to arms, and, being joined by some of the Perioeci, furiously attacked their masters. The Spartans, after maintaining the bitter struggle for several years, finding themselves unable to reduce their former slaves to submission, were forced to ask aid of the other Grecian states.

The great Athenian statesman Pericles implored his countrymen not to lend themselves to the building up of the power of their rival. But the aristocratic Cimon, who had always entertained the most friendly feelings for the Spartans, exhorted the Athenians to put aside all sentiments of enmity or jealousy, and to extend succor to their kinsmen in this desperate posture of their affairs. "Let not Greece," said he, "be lamed, and thus Athens herself be deprived of her yokefellow." The great services Cimon had rendered the state entitled him to be heard. The assembly voted as he advised, and so the Athenian forces fought for some time side by side with the Lacedæmonians.

But the Spartans were distrustful of the sincerity of their allies, and this feeling gradually grew into positive fear lest the Athenians should take advantage of their position in the country and pass over to the side of the Helots. Acting under this apprehension, which was probably entirely groundless, they dismissed the Athenian forces. The discourtesy of the act aroused the most bitter

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still this authority was simply that which talent and character justly confer. He ruled, as Plutarch says, by the art of persuasion.¹

During the Periclean period the Athenian democracy was supreme. The democratic constitution, the basis of which had been laid by Solon and broadened by Cleisthenes, was completed by the reforms to which we have already referred (see p. 234, note). Every matter that concerned the empire was discussed and decided by the popular assembly. Never before had any people enjoyed such perfect political liberty as did the citizens of Athens at this time, and never before were any people, through so intimate a knowledge of public affairs, so well able to direct the policies of state. Every citizen, it is affirmed, was qualified to hold civil office.



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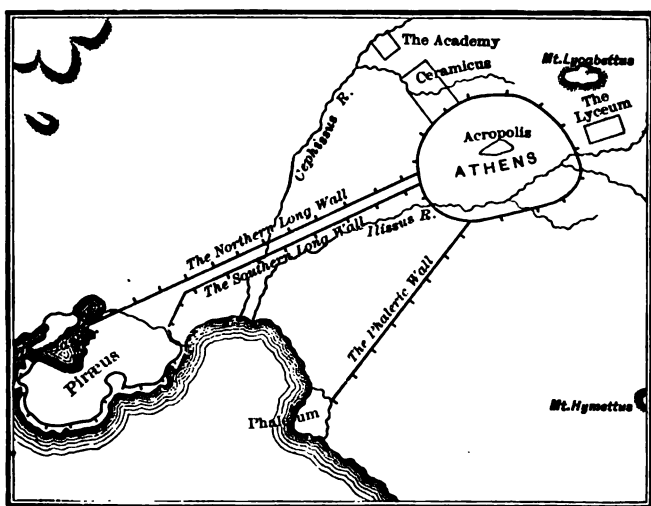
Pericles fosters the Naval Power of Athens. — Cimon's policy had been to keep the Grecian cities united in order that they might offer effectual resistance to the Persian power. The aim of his rival Pericles was to maintain Athens as the leading state in Hellas, and to oppose the pretensions of Sparta. Accordingly he encouraged the Athenians to strengthen their naval armament and to perfect themselves in naval discipline, for with Themistocles he was convinced that Athens' supremacy must depend chiefly upon her fleet.

As a part of his maritime policy, Pericles persuaded the Athenians to build what were known as the Long Walls² (about 457-

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ATHENS AND THE LONG WALLS.

of war of holding the entire population of Attica. With her communication with the sea thus secured, and with a powerful navy at her command, Athens could bid defiance to her foes on sea and land.

One of the most important conquests of the Athenians during Pericles' leadership, in its bearing upon their maritime supremacy, was the subjugation of the island of Ægina, which lies in front of sixty feet high. They were defended by numerous towers, which, when Athens became crowded, were used as shops and private dwellings. The walls were employed as highways, the top being wide enough to allow two chariots to pass conveniently. The foundation of the northern wall now forms in part the road-bed of the railroad running from Piræus to Athens.

the harbor of Piræus. This small but powerful state, which had for a long time been a formidable rival of Athens by sea, was now compelled to surrender its war galleys, and to pay tribute (456 B.C.).

Events leading up to the Thirty Years' Truce. — At the same time that Pericles was making Athens' supremacy by sea more secure, he was endeavoring to build up for her a land empire in Central Greece. As her influence in this quarter increased, Sparta became more and more jealous, and strove to counteract it by enhancing the power of Thebes, and by lending support to the aristocratic party in the various cities of Bœotia.

The contest between the two rivals was long and bitter. At first the Athenians were worsted, but at length the tide turned in their favor. All the cities of Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris fell under the power of Athens, and it seemed as though Pericles' dream of a land empire as well as of a naval dominion was about to be realized.

But fortune once more inclined to the side of the aristocratical party. The Athenian army experienced an overwhelming defeat (at Coronea, 447 B.C.), and Pericles was fain to seek peace with Sparta. The negotiations ended in the well-known Peace of Pericles, or the Thirty Years' Truce (445 B.C.). By its terms each of the rival cities was left at the head of the confederation it had formed, but neither was to interfere with the subjects or allies of the other, while those cities of Hellas which were not yet members of either league were to be left free to join either according to choice.

The real meaning of the Truce was that Athens gave up her ambition to establish a land empire, and was henceforth to be content with supremacy on the seas. It meant further that Greece was to remain a house divided against itself; that democratic Athens must share with aristocratic Sparta the hegemony, or leadership, of the Hellenic cities.

Pericles adorns Athens with Public Buildings. — Notwithstanding Pericles' failure to build up for Athens a land dominion,

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Atropolis was erected the same way as a sort of gateway to the city. They then erected the Propylea, which were similar structures since the age of Pericles, rich with sculptures, were added to them, until the whole city took on a magnificent appearance. The whole world looked on with the same surprised wonder as the Greeks had regarded the city of Babylon at the death of the great Nebuchadnezzar. The vast sums of money needed for the architectural works, out of the treasury of the king (how the recalled that the Athenians had taken the treasury from Delos to their own city.) and utterly against this proceeding, the king's money, was "gilding itself as it gilded the walls herself out with jewels." But the king knew that the money was contributed to the temple and should be protected from the king's hands. The Athenians kept the enemy at a distance and the money as they pleased.

Pay of the State. — It was a principle of democracy there should be not only equal rights among all classes, but also equal opportunities of exercising these

rights, as well as an equal participation by all in social and intellectual enjoyments. By such an equalization of the privileges and pleasures of political and social life, he would destroy the undue influence of the rich over the poor, and banish class envy and discord.

In promoting his views Pericles carried to great length the system of payment for the most common public services. Thus, he introduced the custom of military pay; hitherto the Athenian soldier had served his country in the field as a matter of honor and duty. He also secured the payment of the citizen for serving as a juryman, as well as for his attendance upon the meetings of the popular assembly. Through his influence, also, salaries were attached to the various civil offices, the most of which had hitherto been unpaid positions.

These various measures enabled the poorer citizens to enjoy, without an inconvenient sacrifice, their franchise in the popular assembly, and to offer themselves for the different magistracies, which up to this time had been practically open only to men of means and leisure.

It was the same motives that prompted the above innovation, which led the party of Pericles to introduce or to extend the practice of supplying all the citizens with free tickets to the theatre and other places of amusement, and of banqueting the people on festival days at the public expense. Respecting the effect of these measures upon the Athenian democracy, we shall say a word in the following paragraph.

Strength and Weakness of the Athenian Empire.—Under Pericles Athens had become the most powerful naval state in the world. In one of his last speeches, made at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, in which he recounts the resources of the Athenian empire, he says to his fellow-citizens: "There is not now a king, there is not any nation in the universal world, able to withstand that navy which at this juncture you can launch out to sea."

And this was no empty boast. The earlier empires of the East

that had once held dominion over wide countries had now sunk into decrepitude, and the later Medo-Persian power that had arisen upon their ruins, and which at the opening of the fifth century B.C. was threatening to extend its arms over the world, had been checked in its insolent advance by Hellenic valor and discipline, so that at this time there was no power in the East that the Athenians need fear. In the West, Rome had not yet risen into prominence, and Carthage was barely able to contend upon equal terms with the Greek cities of Sicily. Indisputably the Hellenes were at this moment the predominant race in the world; and Athens, notwithstanding the limitations placed upon her ambition by the terms of the 'Thirty Years' Truce, was the real head of Hellas. She had extended her dominion over a large part of the Greek cities, and it was but natural that the more sanguine of her statesmen should believe that she was destined to give laws to the world.

But the most significant feature of this new imperial power was the combination of these vast material resources with the most imposing display of intellectual resources that the world had ever witnessed. Never before had there been such a union of the material and intellectual elements of civilization at the seat of empire. Literature and art had been carried to the utmost perfection possible to human genius. Art was represented by the inimitable creations of Phidias and Polygnotus. The Drama was illustrated by the incomparable tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and by the comedies of Aristophanes, while the writing of the world's annals had become an art in the graceful narrations of Herodotus.

But there were elements of weakness in the splendid imperial structure. The Athenian empire was destined to be short-lived because the principles upon which it rested were in opposition to the deepest instinct of the Greek race — the sentiment of local patriotism, which invested each individual city with political sovereignty. Athens had disregarded this feeling. Pericles himself acknowledged that in the hands of the Athenians, sovereignty had run out

into a sort of tyranny. The so-called confederates were the slaves of Athens. To her they paid tribute. To her courts they were dragged for trial.¹ Naturally the subject cities of her empire regarded Athens as the destroyer of Hellenic liberties, and watched impatiently for the first favorable moment to revolt, and throw off the hateful yoke that she had imposed upon them. Hence the Athenian empire rested upon a foundation of sand.

Had Athens, instead of enslaving her confederates of the Delian league, only been able to find out some way of retaining them as allies in an equal union, — a great and perhaps impossible task in that age of the world, — as head of the federated Greek race, she might have secured for Hellas the sovereignty of the Mediterranean, and the history of Rome might have ended with the first century of the Republic.

Furthermore, there were elements of weakness within the Athenian democracy itself. Greatly as Pericles had exalted Athens, and vastly as he had extended her reputation, still by some of his measures he had sown the seeds of future evils. In his system of payment for the most common public services, and of wholesale public largesses and gratuities, he had introduced or encouraged practices that had the same demoralizing effects upon the Athenians that the free distribution of corn at Rome at a later time had upon the Roman populace. These pernicious customs cast discredit upon labor, destroyed frugality, and fostered idleness, thus sapping the virtues and strength of the Athenian democracy.

Illustrations of these weaknesses, as well as of the strength of the Athenian empire, will be afforded by the great struggle between Athens and Sparta known as the Peloponnesian War, the causes and chief incidents of which we shall next rehearse.

¹ The subject cities were allowed to maintain only their lower courts of justice; all cases of importance were carried to Athens, and there decided by the Attic tribunals.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR: THE CAUSES, 431-429 B.C.
THE BAY SUPPLEMENT.

I. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, 431-429 B.C.

Cause of the War. During the closing years of the life of Pericles the growing jealousy between Athens and Sparta arose over the long struggle known as the *Peloponnesian War*, of which we speak in the preceding chapter. Pericles had witnessed the "long" *Ionian* or *Liberty* war, and had observed that the Peloponnesians. He saw clearly that the maintenance of opposing principles of the two free states would sooner or later result of necessity and treaties, bring them to a final trial of strength. His whole later policy looked toward the inevitable collision for the irrepressible conflict.

The immediate causes of the war were, first, the interference of Athens, on the side of the *Ionians*, in the quarrel between them and their mother-city *Greece*, and secondly, the interference by the Athenians of *Potidaea* on the *Macedonian* coast. This was a Corinthian colony, but it was a member of the *Delian League*, and was now being chastised by Athens for attempted secession. Fourth, as the ever jealous naval rival of Athens, had endeavored to lend aid to her daughter, but had been walled out in an engagement with the Athenians.

With affairs in this shape, Corinth, seconded by Megara and Epidauria, both of which had causes of complaint against Athens, appealed to Sparta, as the head of the Dorian alliance, for aid and justice. The Spartans, after listening to the deplores of both



resentment at Athens. The party of Pericles, which had always opposed the resolution of aiding their rivals as impolitic and weakly sentimental, took advantage of the exasperated feelings of the people to effect some important changes in the constitution in favor of the people, which made it almost purely democratical in character,¹ and to secure the exercise of the ostracism against Cimon as the leader of the aristocratical party and the friend of Sparta (459 B.C.).

The Age of Pericles (459-431 B.C.).

General Features of the Age. — Under the inspiration of Pericles, the Athenian state now entered upon the most brilliant period of its history. The epoch embraces less than the lifetime of a single generation, yet its influence upon the civilization of the world can hardly be overrated. During this short period Athens gave birth to more great men — poets, artists, statesmen, and philosophers — than all the world besides has produced in any period of equal length.

Among all the great men of this age, Pericles stood pre-eminent. Such was the impression left by his commanding statesmanship, his persuasive eloquence, and his almost universal genius, upon the period in which he lived, that it is called after him the Periclean Age.² Yet though Pericles' power at Athens was almost absolute,

¹ These reforms were as follows: The court of the Areopagus, the stronghold of the aristocracy, was stripped of most of its censorial powers, which, with its judicial functions, were conferred upon courts (called *dicasteries*) each composed of five hundred citizens. This change transferred the most important functions of the state from an aristocratical body to the people at large. The senate of five hundred was also deprived of the greater part of its judicial powers. Ephialtes, the friend and supporter of Pericles, further caused the tablets of Solon's laws, which had been kept upon the Acropolis, to be brought down into the agora, as a symbol of the fact that the preservation and maintenance of the constitution was now intrusted to the people.

² This phrase is often loosely applied to the entire period of Athenian supremacy.

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During the Periclean period the Athenian democracy was supreme. The democratic constitution, the basis of which had been laid by Solon and broadened by Cleisthenes, was completed by the reforms to which we have already referred (see p. 234, note). Every matter that concerned the empire was discussed and decided by the popular assembly. Never before had any people enjoyed such perfect political liberty as did the citizens of Athens at this time, and never before were any people, through so intimate a knowledge of public affairs, so well able to direct the policies of state. Every citizen, it is affirmed, was qualified to hold civil office.



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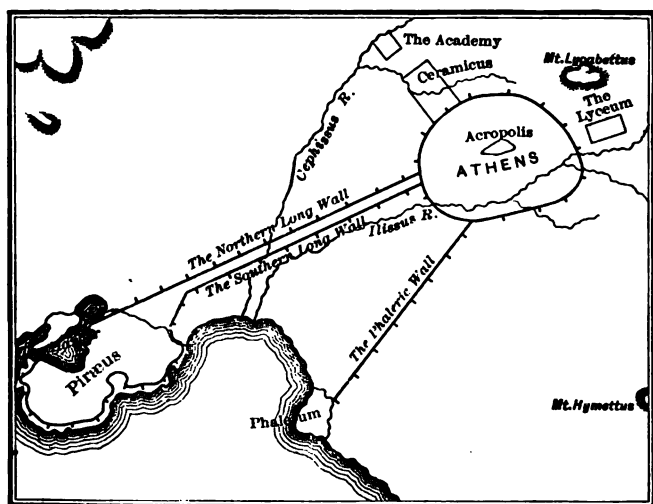
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Pericles adorns Athens with Public Buildings. — Notwithstanding Pericles' failure to build up for Athens a land dominion,

still he had contributed largely to give her a place of proud pre-eminence in maritime Hellas. Athens having achieved such a position as she now held, it was the idea of Pericles that the Athenians should so adorn their city that it should be a fitting symbol of the power and glory of their empire.

Nor was it difficult for him to persuade his art-loving countrymen to embellish their city with those masterpieces of genius that in their ruins still excite the admiration of the world.

Upon the commanding site of the Acropolis was erected the unrivalled Parthenon.¹ Here also, as a sort of gateway to the sacred enclosure of the citadel, were erected the Propylæa, which have served as a model for all similar structures since the age of Pericles. Various other edifices, rich with sculptures, were erected in different parts of Athens, until the whole city took on a surprisingly brilliant and magnificent appearance. The whole world looked up to the Attic city with the same surprised wonder with which a century before it had regarded the city of Babylon as adorned by the power and wealth of the great Nebuchadnezzar.

The Athenians secured the vast sums of money needed for the prosecution of their great architectural works, out of the treasury of the Delian confederacy. (It will be recalled that the Athenians had transferred the common treasury from Delos to their own city.) The allies naturally declaimed bitterly against this proceeding, complaining that Athens, with their money, was "gilding itself as a proud and vain woman decks herself out with jewels." But Pericles' answer to them was, that the money was contributed to the end that the cities of the league should be protected from the Persians, and that so long as the Athenians kept the enemy at a distance they had a right to use the money as they pleased.

The Citizens are taken into the Pay of the State. — It was a fixed idea of Pericles that in a democracy there should be not only an equal distribution of political rights among all classes, but also an equalization of the means and opportunities of exercising these

¹ See p. 289.

rights, as well as an equal participation by all in social and intellectual enjoyments. By such an equalization of the privileges and pleasures of political and social life, he would destroy the undue influence of the rich over the poor, and banish class envy and discord.

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Strength and Weakness of the Athenian Empire. — Under Pericles Athens had become the most powerful naval state in the world. In one of his last speeches, made at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, in which he recounts the resources of the Athenian empire, he says to his fellow-citizens: "There is not now a king, there is not any nation in the universal world, able to withstand that navy which at this juncture you can launch out to sea."

And this was no empty boast. The earlier empires of the East

that had once held dominion over wide countries had now sunk into decrepitude, and the later Medo-Persian power that had arisen upon their ruins, and which at the opening of the fifth century B.C. was threatening to extend its arms over the world, had been checked in its insolent advance by Hellenic valor and discipline, so that at this time there was no power in the East that the Athenians need fear. In the West, Rome had not yet risen into prominence, and Carthage was barely able to contend upon equal terms with the Greek cities of Sicily. Indisputably the Hellenes were at this moment the predominant race in the world; and Athens, notwithstanding the limitations placed upon her ambition by the terms of the 'Thirty Years' Truce, was the real head of Hellas. She had extended her dominion over a large part of the Greek cities, and it was but natural that the more sanguine of her statesmen should believe that she was destined to give laws to the world.

But the most significant feature of this new imperial power was the combination of these vast material resources with the most imposing display of intellectual resources that the world had ever witnessed. Never before had there been such a union of the material and intellectual elements of civilization at the seat of empire. Literature and art had been carried to the utmost perfection possible to human genius. Art was represented by the inimitable creations of Phidias and Polygnotus. The Drama was illustrated by the incomparable tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and by the comedies of Aristophanes, while the writing of the world's annals had become an art in the graceful narrations of Herodotus.

But there were elements of weakness in the splendid imperial structure. The Athenian empire was destined to be short-lived because the principles upon which it rested were in opposition to the deepest instinct of the Greek race — the sentiment of local patriotism, which invested each individual city with political sovereignty. Athens had disregarded this feeling. Pericles himself acknowledged that in the hands of the Athenians, sovereignty had run out

into a sort of tyranny. The so-called confederates were the slaves of Athens. To her they paid tribute. To her courts they were dragged for trial.¹ Naturally the subject cities of her empire regarded Athens as the destroyer of Hellenic liberties, and watched impatiently for the first favorable moment to revolt, and throw off the hateful yoke that she had imposed upon them. Hence the Athenian empire rested upon a foundation of sand.

Had Athens, instead of enslaving her confederates of the Delian league, only been able to find out some way of retaining them as allies in an equal union, — a great and perhaps impossible task in that age of the world, — as head of the federated Greek race, she might have secured for Hellas the sovereignty of the Mediterranean, and the history of Rome might have ended with the first century of the Republic.

Furthermore, there were elements of weakness within the Athenian democracy itself. Greatly as Pericles had exalted Athens, and vastly as he had extended her reputation, still by some of his measures he had sown the seeds of future evils. In his system of payment for the most common public services, and of wholesale public largesses and gratuities, he had introduced or encouraged practices that had the same demoralizing effects upon the Athenians that the free distribution of corn at Rome at a later time had upon the Roman populace. These pernicious customs cast discredit upon labor, destroyed frugality, and fostered idleness, thus sapping the virtues and strength of the Athenian democracy.

Illustrations of these weaknesses, as well as of the strength of the Athenian empire, will be afforded by the great struggle between Athens and Sparta known as the Peloponnesian War, the causes and chief incidents of which we shall next rehearse.

¹ The subject cities were allowed to maintain only their lower courts of justice; all cases of importance were carried to Athens, and there decided by the Attic tribunals.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR: THE SPARTAN AND THE
THEBAN SUPREMACY.

I. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR (431-404 B.C.).

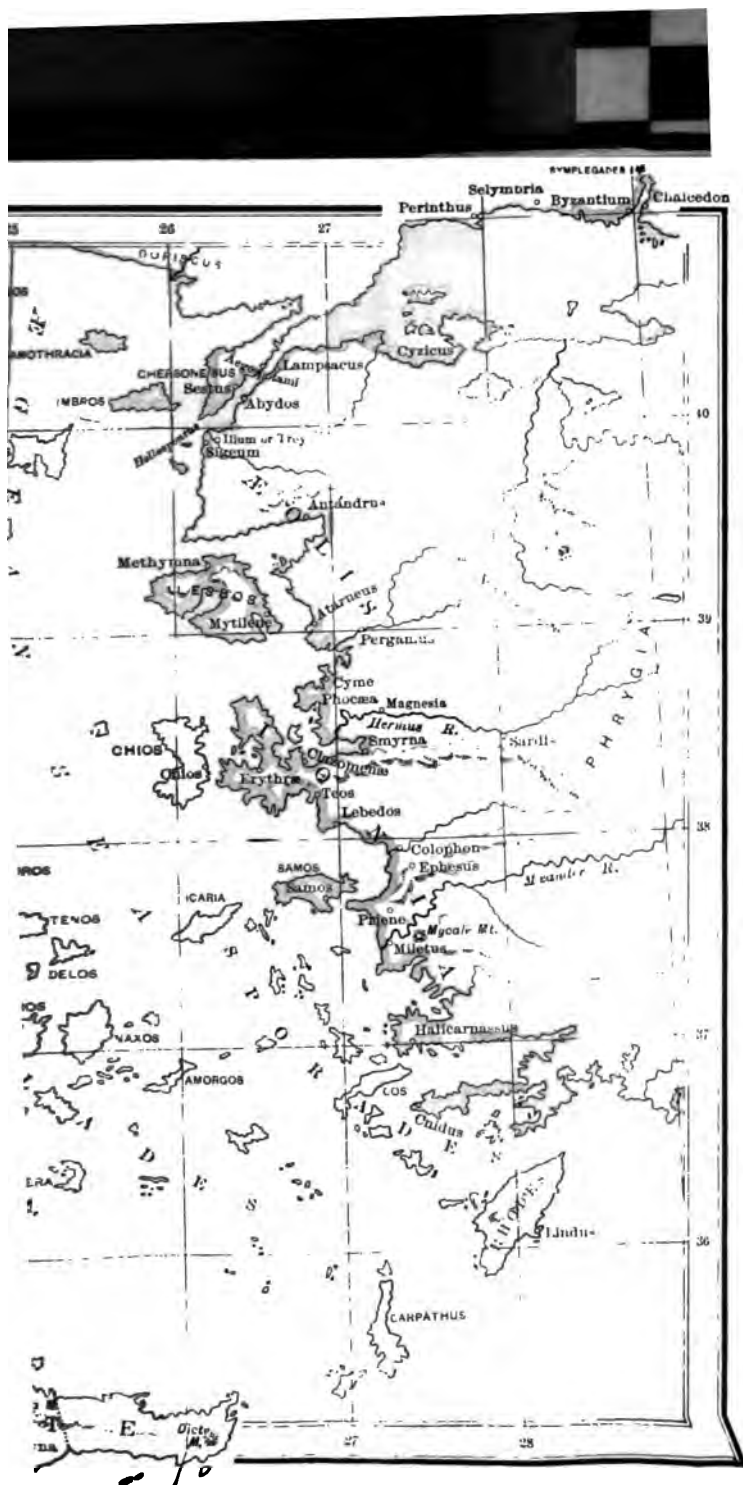
Causes of the War. — During the closing years of the life of Pericles the growing jealousy between Athens and Sparta broke out in the long struggle known as the Peloponnesian War, to which we alluded in the preceding chapter. Pericles had foreseen the coming storm: "I descry war," said he, "lowering from the Peloponnesus." He saw clearly that the jealousies and opposing principles of the two rival states would, sooner or later, in spite of truces and treaties, bring them to a final trial of strength. His whole later policy looked toward the preparation of Athens for the "irrepressible conflict."

The immediate causes of the war were, first, the interference of Athens, on the side of the Corcyræans, in a quarrel between them and their mother-city Corinth; and secondly, the blockade by the Athenians of Potidæa, on the Macedonian coast. This was a Corinthian colony, but it was a member of the Delian league, and was now being chastised by Athens for attempted secession. Corinth, as the ever-jealous naval rival of Athens, had endeavored to lend aid to her daughter, but had been worsted in an engagement with the Athenians.

With affairs in this shape, Corinth, seconded by Megara and Ægina, both of which had causes of complaint against Athens, appealed to Sparta, as the head of the Dorian alliance, for aid and justice. The Spartans, after listening to the deputies of both









sides, decided that the Athenians had been guilty of injustice, and declared for war. The resolution of the Spartans was endorsed by the Peloponnesian confederation, and apparently approved by the Delphian oracle, which, in response to an inquiry of the Spartans as to what would be the issue of the proposed undertaking, assured them that "they would gain the victory, if they fought with all their might."

Comparison of the Resources of Sparta and of Athens. — The resources of Hellas were, at the outbreak of the war, very evenly divided between the two parties. With Sparta were all the states of the Peloponnesus, save Argos and Achaia, while beyond the Isthmus the Megareans, the Bœotian League headed by Thebes, the Locrians, and the Phocians were her chief allies. Together, these states could raise a land force of sixty thousand men, besides a considerable naval armament, Corinth being especially strong in ships.

Athens commanded all the resources of the subject cities — about three hundred in number, with twice as many smaller towns — of her great maritime empire. Her independent allies were Chios, Lesbos, Corcyra, and other states. Of course the chief strength of Athens lay in her splendid navy.

The Beginning : Attack upon Plataea by the Thebans. — The first act in the long and terrible drama was enacted at night, within the walls of Plataea. This city, though in Bœotia, was under the protection of Athens, and would have nothing to do with the Bœotian League, of which Thebes was the leading city.

Anxious to get possession of this place before the actual outbreak of the war which they saw to be inevitable, the Thebans planned its surprise and capture. Three hundred Thebans gained access to the unguarded city in the dead of night, and marching to the public square, summoned the Plataeans to exchange the Athenian for a Bœotian alliance.

The Plataeans were upon the point of acceding to all the demands made upon them, when, discovering the small number of the enemy, they attacked and overpowered them in the darkness,

and took a hundred and eighty of them prisoners. These captives they afterwards murdered, in violation, as the Thebans always maintained, of a sacred promise that their lives should be spared. This wretched affair at Plataea precipitated the war (431 B.C.).

Invasion of Attica: Pestilence at Athens. — A Spartan army was soon overrunning Attica, while an Athenian fleet was ravaging the coasts of the Peloponnesus.¹ Pericles persuaded the country people of Attica to abandon their villas and hamlets and gather within the defences of the city. He did not deem it prudent to risk a battle in the open fields. From the walls of Athens the people could see the flames of their burning villages and farmhouses, as the enemy ravaged the plains of Attica up to the very gates of the city. It required all the persuasion of Pericles to restrain them from issuing in a body from behind the ramparts and rushing to the defence of their homes.

The second year the Lacedæmonians again ravaged the fields about Athens, and drove the Athenians almost to frenzy with the sight of the flame and smoke of such property as had escaped the destruction of the previous year. To increase their misery, a pestilence broke out within the crowded city, and added its horrors to the already unbearable calamities of war. No pen could picture the despair and gloom that settled over the city. Athens lost, probably, one-fourth of her fighting men. Pericles, who had been the very soul and life of Athens through these dark days, fell a victim to the plague (429 B.C.). In dying, he said he considered his greatest praise to be that "he had never caused an Athenian to put on mourning."

¹ The war is usually divided into three periods, as follows: 1. From the beginning to the Peace of Nicias (431-421 B.C.), often designated as the Ten Years' War, or the Attic War, from the frequent invasions of Attica by the Peloponnesians; 2. From the Peace of Nicias to the defeat of the Sicilian expedition (421-413 B.C.); 3. From the Sicilian disaster to the dismantling of the defences of Athens (413-404 B.C.), called the Decelcan War, from Declelea, a stronghold in Attica seized and held by the Spartans during this part of the struggle. This last period is also sometimes called the Ionian War, because so much of the fighting took place in Ionia.

After the death of Pericles the leadership of affairs at Athens fell into the hands of unprincipled demagogues, of whom Cleon was chief. The mob element got control of the popular assembly, so that hereafter we shall find many of its actions characterized neither by virtue nor wisdom.

Desperate and Cruel Character of the War. — On both sides the war was waged with the utmost vindictiveness and cruelty. As a rule, all the men captured by either side were killed.

In the year 428 B.C. the city of Mytilene, on the island of Lesbos, revolted from the Athenians. With the rebellion suppressed, the fate of the Mytileneans was in the hands of the Athenian assembly. Cleon proposed that all the men of the place, six thousand in number, should be slain, and the women and children sold as slaves. This infamous decree was passed, and a galley despatched bearing the sentence for execution to the Athenian general at Mytilene.

By the next morning, however, the Athenians had repented of their hasty and cruel resolution. A second meeting of the assembly was hurriedly called; the barbarous vote was repealed; and a swift trireme, bearing the reprieve, set out in anxious haste to overtake the former galley, which had twenty-four hours the start. The oarsmen of the trireme, with every nerve strung to the highest tension by the nature of their errand as well as by the promise of large rewards dependent upon the success of their mission, urged the vessel across the Ægean with almost preternatural energy. The trireme reached the island just in time to prevent the execution of the cruel edict.

The second resolution of the Athenians, though more discriminating than the first decree, was quite severe enough. Over one thousand of the nobles of Mytilene were killed, the city was destroyed, and the larger part of the lands of the island given to citizens of Athens.

Still more unrelenting and cruel were the Spartans. In the summer of the same year that the Athenians wreaked such vengeance upon the Mytileneans, the Spartans and their allies captured the

city of Plataea, put to death all the men, sold the women as slaves, and turned the site of the city into pasture-land.¹

Events leading up to the Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.). — Soon after the affair at Mytilene and the destruction of Plataea, events occurred which show how completely the Athenian assembly had fallen under the influence of unprincipled politicians.

An enterprising general of the Athenians, named Demosthenes, seized and fortified a point of land (Pylos) on the coast of Messenia. The Spartans made every effort to dislodge the enemy. In the course of the siege, four hundred Spartans under Brasidas, having landed upon a little island (Sphacteria), were so unfortunate as to be cut off from the mainland by the sudden arrival of an Athenian fleet. Among the men thus imprisoned were some members of the first Spartan families.

To effect the release of the men upon the island, the Spartans sent commissioners to Athens to beg for peace. The terms offered were such as should at once have been embraced by the Athenians. But Cleon, desiring the war to go on, persuaded the assembly to reject the offers of the ambassadors, and to propose terms which he knew could not and would not be accepted by them. The result was the return of the deputies to Sparta, and the breaking off of the negotiations.

The Athenians soon had occasion to repent of their action. It was found a difficult matter to capture the Spartans who were upon the island, and Demosthenes was forced to send to Athens for reinforcements. Cleon was sent with additional ships and men. Rather through good fortune than by good generalship, he succeeded in capturing the Spartans, to the number of about three hundred, and bringing them prisoners to Athens.

But affairs now took a different turn. The Athenians, having imprudently invaded Bœotia, were worsted at the battle of Delium (424 B.C.). Along with this disaster came other troubles further to the north. The able and eloquent Spartan general,

¹ Read Thucydides' graphic account of the siege and reduction of the city, Books II. and III.

Brasidas, stirred up some of the Thracian allies of Athens to revolt. In the fighting which followed in this quarter, Cleon and Brasidas were both killed in battle. Again negotiations for peace were opened, which, after many embassies to and fro, resulted in what is known as the Peace of Nicias, from the prominent Athenian general who is supposed to have had most to do in bringing it about. The treaty arranged for a truce of fifty years. Each party was to give up to the other all prisoners and captured places.

Alcibiades and the Sicilian Expedition (415-413 B.C.). — The Peace of Nicias, as Thucydides tells us, was only a nominal one. Some of the allies of the two principal parties to the truce were dissatisfied with it, and consequently its terms were not carried out in good faith or temper on either side. So the war went on. For about seven years, however, Athens and Sparta refrained from invading each other's territory; but even during this period each was aiding its allies in making war upon the dependents or confederates of the other. Finally, hostilities flamed out in open and avowed war, and all Hellas was again lit up with the fires of the fratricidal strife.

The most prominent person on the Athenian side during this latter period of the struggle was Alcibiades, a versatile and brilliant man, but a reckless and unsafe counsellor. He was a pupil of Socrates, but he failed to follow the counsels of his teacher. His astonishing orgies only seemed to attach the people more closely to him, for he possessed all those personal traits which make men

popular idols. His influence over the democracy was unlimited. By the unscrupulous employment of the various arts known to the successful demagogue, he was able to carry through the popular assembly almost any measure that it pleased him to advocate.



ALCIBIADES

The more prudent of the Athenians were filled with apprehension for the future of the state under such guidance. The noted misanthrope Timon gave expression to this feeling when, after Alcibiades had secured the assent of the popular assembly to one of his impolitic measures, he said to him : "Go on, my brave boy, and prosper ; for your prosperity will bring on the ruin of all this crowd." And it did, as we shall see.

The most prosperous enterprise of Alcibiades, in the Timonian sense, was the inciting the Athenians to undertake an expedition against the Dorian city of Syracuse, in Sicily. The scheme that Alcibiades was revolving in his mind was a most magnificent one. He proposed that the Athenians, after effecting the conquest of Sicily, should make that island the base of operations against both Africa and Italy. With the Italians and Carthaginians subdued, the armaments of the entire Hellenic world outside of the Peloponnesus, were to be turned against the Spartans, who with one blow should be forever crushed, and Athens be left the arbiter of the destinies of Hellas.

Alcibiades succeeded in persuading the Athenians to undertake at least the first part of the colossal enterprise. An immense fleet was carefully equipped and manned.¹ Anxiously did those remaining behind watch the squadron as it bore away from the port of Athens. Could the watchers have foreseen the fate of the splendid armament, their anxiety would have passed into despair. "Athens itself was sailing out of the Piræus, never again to return."

Scarcely had the expedition arrived at Sicily, before Alcibiades, who was one of the leading generals in command of the armament, was summoned back to Athens to answer a charge of impiety.² Fearing to trust himself in the hands of his enemies at

¹ It consisted of one hundred and thirty-four costly triremes, bearing thirty-six thousand soldiers and sailors. The commanders were Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus. Later, Demosthenes was sent out with a reinforcement consisting of seventy-three triremes and five thousand soldiers.

² Just upon the eve of the departure of the expedition, the numerous statues of Hermes scattered throughout the city were grossly mutilated. The

Athens, he fled to Sparta, and there, by traitorous counsel, did all in his power to ruin the very expedition he had planned. He advised the Spartans to send at once their best general to the Syracusans. They sent Gylippus, an able commander, whose generalship contributed largely to the total and irretrievable defeat that the Athenians finally suffered.¹ Their fleet and army were both virtually annihilated. The Athenian generals Nicias and Demosthenes, who with about seven thousand soldiers were made prisoners, were condemned to death. Hearing of their sentence, they committed suicide. The other prisoners were crowded into the open stone quarries, where hundreds speedily died of exposure and starvation. Most of the wretched survivors were finally sold as slaves. The disaster was appalling and complete. The resources of Athens were wrecked.

The Decelean War: The Fall of Athens. — While the Athenians were before Syracuse, the Spartans, acting upon the advice of Alcibiades, had taken possession of and fortified a strong and commanding position known as Decelea, in Attica, only twelve miles from Athens. This was a thorn in the side of Athens. Secure in this stronghold, the Spartans could annoy and keep in terror almost all the Attic plain. Decelea further proved a sort of city of refuge for the Athenian slaves, thousands of whom here found an asylum. The occupation by the Spartans of this strategic point had such a determining influence upon the remainder of the Peloponnesian War, that this latter portion of it is known as the Decelean War (413-404 B.C.).

Taking advantage of the terrible misfortunes of Athens, her sacrilegious act naturally produced a terrible excitement. Alcibiades was accused of having a hand in the affair, and furthermore of having mimicked the sacred rites of the Eleusinian mysteries. Taking advantage of the absence of himself and friends, his enemies had secured the passage of a decree demanding his recall and trial.

¹ The ruin of the Athenians was rendered absolutely complete by the incompetency and superstition of Nicias, who, an eclipse of the moon occurring, persisted in following the advice of his soothsayers, and delayed for days a retreat upon which depended the salvation of his army.

subject-allies now revolted and fell away from her on every side. The Persians, ever ready to aid the Greeks in destroying one another, lent a willing ear to the solicitations of the traitor Alcibiades, and gave help to the Spartans.

The Athenians put forth almost superhuman efforts to retrieve their fortunes. Had they been united among themselves, perhaps their efforts would not have been in vain. But the oligarchical party, for the sake of ruining the democracy were willing to ruin the empire. While the army was absent from Athens, they overthrown the government, and established a sort of aristocratical rule (411 B.C.), under which affairs were in the hands of a council of Four Hundred.

The Athenian troops, however, who were at Samos, would not recognize the new government. They voted themselves to be the true Athens, and forgetting and forgiving the past, recalled Alcibiades, and gave him command of the army, thereby well illustrating what the poet Aristophanes said respecting the disposition of the Athenians toward the spoiled favorite, — "They love, they hate, but cannot live without him."

Alcibiades detached the Persians from the side of the Spartans, and gained some splendid victories for Athens. But he could not undo the evil he had done. He had ruined Athens beyond redemption by any human power. Constantly the struggle grew more and more hopeless. Alcibiades was defeated, and fearing to face the Athenians, who had deposed him from his command, sought safety in flight.

Finally, at Ægospotami, on the Hellespont, the Athenian fleet was surprised and captured by the Spartans under Lysander (405 B.C.). The prisoners, three thousand in number, were massacred, and the usual rites of burial denied their bodies.

The battle of Ægospotami sealed the fate of Athens. "That night," writes the historian Xenophon, referring to the night upon which the news of the woful disaster reached Athens, "That night no man slept."

The towns on the Thracian and Macedonian coasts, and the

islands of the *Ægean* belonging to the Athenian Empire, now fell into the hands of the Peloponnesians. Athens was besieged by sea and land, and soon forced to surrender.

Some of the allies insisted upon the total destruction of the city, and the conversion of its site into pasture-land. The Spartans, however, with apparent magnanimity, declared that they would never consent thus "to put out one of the eyes of Greece," strengthening the argument of the metaphor by urging in behalf of Athens the great service she had rendered *Hellas* in her struggle with the Barbarians.

The real motive, doubtless, of the Spartans in sparing the city was their fear lest, with Athens blotted out, Thebes or Corinth should become too powerful. So the city itself was spared, but the fortifications of Piræus and the Long Walls were levelled to the ground, the work of demolition being begun to the accompaniment of festive music (404 B.C.).

Sparta's power was now supreme. She had neither peer nor rival among all the Grecian states. Throughout the war she had maintained that her only purpose in warring against Athens was to regain liberty for the Grecian cities. We shall very soon see what sort of liberty it was that they enjoyed under her guardianship.

Results of the War. — "Never," says Thucydides, commenting upon the lamentable results of the Peloponnesian War, the worst consequences of which, however, he did not live to witness, "Never had so many cities been made desolate by victories; . . . never were there so many instances of banishment; never so many scenes of slaughter either in battle or sedition."

Athens was but the wreck of her former self. She had lost hundreds of ships and sixty thousand men, including the killed among her allies. Things were just the reverse now of what they were at the time of the Persian invasion. When, with all Athens in ruins, Themistocles at Salamis was taunted by the Spartans with being a man without a city, he replied grandly, "Athens is here in her ships." But now the real Athens was gone: only the empty shell remained.

And all the rest of Hellas showed the marks of the cruel war. Spots where once had stood large towns were now pasture-land. But more lamentable than all else besides, was the effect of the war upon the intellectual and moral life of the Greek race. The Grecian world had sunk many degrees in morality ; while the vigor and productiveness of the intellectual and artistic life of Hellas, the centre and home of which had been Athens, were impaired beyond recovery. The achievements of the Greek intellect, especially in the fields of philosophic thought, in the century following the war were, it is true, wonderful ; but these triumphs merely show, we may believe, what the Hellenic mind would have done for art and general culture, had it been permitted, unchecked, and under the favoring and inspiring conditions of liberty and self-government, to disclose all that was latent in it.

II. THE SPARTAN AND THE THEBAN SUPREMACY.

Spartan Supremacy.— For just one generation following the Peloponnesian War (404–371 B.C.), Sparta held the leadership of the Grecian states. Aristocratical governments, with institutions similar to the Spartan, were established in the different cities of the old Athenian Empire. At Athens, the democratical constitution of Solon, under which the Athenians had attained their greatness, was abolished, and an oppressive oligarchy established in its stead. The Thirty Tyrants, however, who administered this government were, after eight months' infamous rule, driven from the city, and the old democratic constitution, somewhat modified, was re-established (403 B.C.).

It was during this period that Socrates, the greatest moralist and teacher of antiquity, was condemned to death, because his teachings were thought contrary to the religion of the Athenians. To this era also belongs the well-known expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks.

Expedition of the Ten Thousand (401-400 B.C.). — The aid given by the Persians to Sparta in the Peloponnesian War was not altogether unselfish. Cyrus, satrap of the Persian provinces of Asia Minor, thinking that his brother Artaxerxes held the throne unjustly,¹ was secretly planning to seize it for himself. In the latter part of the Peloponnesian War, when he saw the tide of events turning against Athens, he lent aid to the Spartans; proposing thus to place them under obligation to himself, so that he could ask their aid in his contemplated enterprise. Now the time had come for the return of the favor. To the army of one hundred thousand barbarians which Cyrus had raised in Asia, the Spartans added about eleven thousand Greek soldiers.

With this force Cyrus set out from Sardis, in the spring of 401 B.C. He marched without opposition across Asia Minor and Mesopotamia to Babylonia, into the very heart of the Persian Empire. Here, at Cunaxa, he was confronted by Artaxerxes with a force of more than half a million of men. The barbarian allies of Cyrus were scattered at the first onset of the enemy; but the Greeks stood like a rampart of rock. Cyrus, however, was slain; and the other Greek generals, having been persuaded to enter into a council, were treacherously murdered by the Persians.

The Greeks, in a hurried night meeting, chose new generals to lead them back to their homes. One of these was Xenophon, the popular historian of the expedition. Now commenced one of the most memorable retreats in all history. After a most harassing march over the hot plains of the Tigris and the icy passes of Armenia, the survivors reached the Black Sea, the abode of sister Greek colonies.

Decline of the Spartan State: the Peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.). — The part taken by the Greeks in the enterprise of Cyrus

¹ "It was a matter of dispute whether the right of succession belonged to the eldest son, or to the son born first after his father's accession to the throne. The accession of Xerxes had been decided by the fact that he was born during the reign of Darius." — RANKE. According to this precedent, the throne now belonged to Cyrus.

led the Persian monarch Artaxerxes to seek revenge by interfering anew in the affairs of Greece. The Greek cities of Asia were the first to feel the resentment of the Great King. The Spartans, under their king Agesilaus, extended them timely and efficient aid. At one time it seemed as though the Persian authority in Asia Minor would be completely destroyed.

But meanwhile Persian gold was effecting in Greece what the Persian sword was unable to accomplish in Asia. The emissaries of Artaxerxes, by persuasions and bribes, had secured a coalition of the Grecian states against Sparta, and the threatening movements of these forced Agesilaus to return in haste to defend his own country. A disastrous struggle known as the Corinthian War (395-387 B.C.) now followed, in which the Spartans contended against the Athenians, the Thebans, the Corinthians, the Argives, and the Persians. Finally, after all parties were weary of the contest, the war was ended by the Peace of Antalcidas, so called from the Spartan commissioner who arranged the articles of the treaty.

By the terms of this peace, famous because so infamous, all the Greek cities of Asia Minor, as well as the island of Cyprus and the island-city of Clazomenæ, were handed over to the Persians. Three islands — Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros — were given to Athens. All the other islands, and the states of the Grecian mainland, were left each in a condition of isolated independence. No city was to rule over others, or to exact tribute from them. The edict of King Artaxerxes closed as follows: "Whosoever refuses to accept this peace, him I shall fight, assisted by those who are of the same mind [which meant the Spartans], by land as well as by sea, with ships and with money."

Sparta has been accused of selfishness in the part she took in forcing the Grecian states to accept the terms of the Peace of Antalcidas. But we should not be too ready to cast blame upon her. It is true that, in order to break the coalition that had been formed against her, she bartered away the liberties of the Hellenic cities in Asia; but we must bear in mind that this measure was

dictated by the instinct of self-preservation. There were at Sparta some at least animated by feelings of sufficiently generous patriotism to cause them to lament the circumstances that thus laid Greece open to the mercy of her enemy. Among these was the patriot king Agesilaus, whom Plutarch calls the "Thought Commander and King of all Greece." Referring to the jealousies and contentions of the Hellenic states which had now resulted in making the hated Persians arbiters in their affairs, he exclaimed, "Alas for Greece! she has killed enough of her sons to have conquered all these Barbarians."

The Peace of Antalcidas left Sparta free to prosecute anew her schemes of aggression and tyranny towards the other Grecian states, which were now too divided and weakened to offer any effectual resistance to her oppressive course. But finally the fiery resentment kindled by her tyrannous measures inspired such a determined revolt against her as brought to an end her assumed supremacy over her sister cities.

Theban Supremacy (371-362 B.C.). — It was a city in Bœotia that led the uprising against Sparta. This was Thebes. The oligarchical government which the Lacedæmonians had set up in that capital was overthrown by Pelopidas at the head of the so-called Sacred Band, a company of three hundred select men who were bound by oath to stand by each other to the last. Pelopidas was seconded in all his efforts by Epaminondas, one of the ablest generals the Grecian race ever produced. Under the masterly guidance and inspiration of these patriot leaders, Thebes very soon secured a predominating influence in the affairs of Greece.

Like many others who have done most for their generation, Epaminondas was often unjustly accused and persecuted. He it was who, when his enemies sought to disgrace and annoy him by electing him "public scavenger," made, in accepting the office, the memorable utterance, "If the office will not reflect honor upon me, I will reflect honor upon it."

At Leuctra (371 B.C.) the Thebans earned the renown of being the most invincible soldiers in the world by completely overthrow-

ing, with a force of six thousand men, the Spartan army of twice that number. This is said to have been the first time that the Spartans were ever fairly defeated in open battle. Their forces had been annihilated, as at Thermopylæ, — but annihilation is not defeat.

From the victory of Leuctra dates the short but brilliant period of Theban hegemony. The year after that battle Epaminondas led an army into the Peloponnesus to aid the Arcadians, who had risen against Sparta. Laconia was ravaged, and for the first time Spartan women saw the smoke of fires kindled by an enemy.

To strengthen Arcadia's power of resistance to Sparta, Epaminondas perfected a league among the hitherto isolated towns and cantons of the district. As the mutual jealousies of the leading cities prevented him from making any one of them the capital of the confederation, he founded Megalopolis, or the Great City, and made it the head of the union.

In the pursuit of the same policy, Epaminondas also restored the independence of Messenia, thus enforcing upon Sparta in regard to this province the terms of the Peace of Antalcidas. That the liberated Messenians might be better able to maintain the independence he had restored to them, Epaminondas founded as a stronghold a city, called Messene, upon Mount Ithome, a rocky eminence made renowned through its heroic defence by the Messenians in their old-time wars with Sparta.

Thus, almost in a day, did Epaminondas, as he himself said, "make all Greece free, restore independence to Messenia, and surround Sparta with a perpetual blockade."

But, moved by jealousy of the rapidly growing power of Thebes, Athens now formed an alliance with her old rival Sparta against her. Three times more did Epaminondas lead an army into the Peloponnesus in the interest of Thebes, and for the furtherance of his ambitious plans. During his fourth and last expedition he fought with the Spartans and Athenians the great battle of Mantinea, in Arcadia. On this memorable field, Epaminondas led the

Thebans once more to victory ; but he himself was slain, and with him fell the hopes and power of Thebes (362 B.C.).

All the states of Greece now lay exhausted, worn out by their endless domestic contentions and wars. There was scarcely sufficient strength left to strike one worthy blow against enslavement by the master destined soon to come from the North.

CHAPTER VIII.

PERIOD OF MACEDONIAN SUPREMACY: EMPIRE OF
ALEXANDER.

(338-323 B.C.)

Macedonian Rulers of Hellenic Race. — Although political power and influence have now passed away from the Greek cities of Sparta, Athens, and Thebes, still we must not think that political authority has departed from the Hellenic race; though the mass of the population of the country of Macedonia which lay to the north of Greece proper, and which is now assumed to take the lead in the civil affairs of the Greeks, may not have sprung from the same identical stock as that from which the Hellenes arose, still the ruling class of that country were the same in race, language, and religion. The kings even took part in the Olympian games — a privilege accorded to none but pure Hellenes. Their efforts to spread Greek art and culture among their subjects, a race of rough but brave and martial men, unaccustomed to a settled life, had been so far successful that the country had, to a certain degree, become Hellenized.

So this period of Macedonian supremacy upon which we are now entering belongs to the history of the political life of the Greek race, as well as the eras marked by Athenian, Spartan, or Theban leadership. It was Hellenic institutions, customs, and manners, Hellenic language and civilization, that the Macedonians, in their extended conquests which we are about to narrate, spread over the world.¹ It is this which makes the short-lived Macedonian empire so important in universal history.

¹ Of course it was rather the outer forms than the real inner life and spirit of the old Greek civilization which were adopted by the non-Hellenic peoples.

Philip of Macedon. — Macedonia first rose to importance during the reign of Philip II. (359–336 B.C.), better known as Philip of Macedon. He was a man of pre-eminent ability, of wonderful address in diplomacy, and possessed rare genius as an organizer and military chieftain. The art of war he had learned in youth as a hostage-pupil of Epaminondas of Thebes. He was the originator of the “Macedonian phalanx,” a body as renowned in the military history of Macedonia as is the “legion” in that of Rome.¹

With his kingdom settled and consolidated at home, Philip's ambition led him to seek the leadership of the Grecian states. He sought to gain his purpose rather by artful diplomacy and intrigue than by open force. In the use of these weapons he might have been the teacher of the Athenian Themistocles.

Conquest of Olynthus and Thrace. — By force and intrigue Philip extended his power over the Greek cities of Chalcidice, a number of which under the lead of Olynthus formed a league known as the Olynthian Confederacy. The Athenians had interests in this quarter, several cities of the peninsula being subject to them, and they, as soon as their eyes were opened to Philip's real designs by his treacherous dealings with them, set themselves to thwart his plans. But they unfortunately acted with little of their old-time energy, and the result was that Philip had very much his own way. He first made friends of the Olynthians, and then, in punishment for their having given up their alliance with him for one with Athens, he took and destroyed Olynthus, and sold the

of Egypt and Western Asia. Hence the resulting culture is given a special name. “This civilization, Greek in its general character, but pervading people not exclusively Greek by race, is properly called *Hellenism*, which means, — not ‘being Hellenes,’ or Greeks, but — ‘doing like Hellenes’; and as the adjective answering to *Hellas* is *Hellenic*, so the adjective answering to *Hellenism* is *Hellenistic*.” — JEBB, *Greek Literature*, p. 138.

¹ The phalanx was formed of soldiers drawn up sixteen files deep, and armed with pikes so long that those of the first five ranks projected beyond the front of the column, thus opposing a perfect thicket of spears to the enemy. On level ground it was irresistible.

inhabitants into slavery (348 B.C.). He also destroyed thirty other towns in the peninsula. Thus all Chalcidice became a part of Macedonia.

Meanwhile Philip was also subduing the barbarians of Thrace, and pushing his eastern frontier towards the Hellespont. All the western part of Thrace, with its rich gold mines, quickly fell into his hands. In this quarter he founded the important and well-known city of Philippi.¹ At a later period, his attempt against Byzantium was foiled by the Athenians, who aided the inhabitants in the defence of their city, because it was the key to the Black Sea region, in the trade of which the Athenians were deeply interested, as they drew from thence their supplies of corn.

The Second Sacred War (355-346 B.C.). — At the same time that Philip was thus extending his power over Thrace and the Greek cities of Chalcidice, he was, in the following way, acquiring a commanding position in the affairs of the states of Greece proper.

The Phocians had put to secular use some of the lands which, at the end of the First Sacred War (see p. 183), had been consecrated to the Delphian Apollo. Taken to task and heavily fined for this act by the other members of the Delphian Amphictyony, the Phocians deliberately robbed the temple, and used the treasure in the maintenance of a large force of mercenary soldiers. Thus they were enabled to hold out against all their enemies, chief among whom were the Thebans. The Amphictyons not being able to punish the Phocians for their impiety, were forced to ask help of Philip, who gladly rendered the assistance sought.

The Phocians were now quickly subdued, their cities were destroyed, and the inhabitants scattered in villages and forced to pay tribute to the Delphian Apollo. The place that the Phocians had held in the Delphian Amphictyony was given to Philip, upon

¹ Philippi was the first European city in which the Gospel was preached. The preacher was the Apostle Paul, who went over from Asia in obedience to the vision in which a man of Macedonia seemed to stand and pray, "Come over into Macedonia, and help us."

whom was also bestowed the privilege of presiding at the Pythian games. The position he had now secured was just what Philip had coveted, in order that he might use it to make himself master of all Greece.

Battle of Chæronea (338 B.C.).—Demosthenes at Athens was one of the few who seemed to understand the real designs of Philip. His penetration, like that of Pericles, descried a cloud lowering over Greece—this time from the North. With all the energy of his wonderful eloquence, he strove to stir up the Athenians to resist the encroachments of the king of Macedon. He hurled against him his famous “Philippics,” speeches so filled with fierce denunciation that they have given name to all writings characterized by bitter criticism or violent invective.

At length the Athenians and Thebans, aroused by the oratory of Demosthenes and by some fresh encroachments of the Macedonians, united their forces, and met Philip upon the memorable field of Chæronea in Bœotia. The Macedonian phalanx swept everything before it. The Theban band was annihilated. The power and authority of Philip were now extended and acknowledged throughout Greece (338 B.C.).

Plan to Invade Asia.—While the Greek states were divided among themselves, they were united in an undying hatred of the Persians. They were at this time meditating an enterprise fraught with the greatest importance to the history of the world. This was a joint expedition against Persia. The march of the Ten Thousand Greeks through the very heart of the dominions of the Great King had encouraged this national undertaking, and illustrated the feasibility of the conquest of Asia. At a great council of the Grecian cities held at Corinth, Philip was chosen leader of this expedition. All Greece was astir with preparation. In the midst of all, Philip was assassinated during the festivities attending the marriage of his daughter, and his son Alexander succeeded to his place and power (336 B.C.).

Alexander the Great.—Alexander was only twenty years of age when he came to his father's throne. The genius which has

won for him the title of "Great" was foreshadowed in early youth. The familiar and well-told story of the vicious steed Bucephalus, which none dared mount or approach, but which was subdued in a moment by the boy Alexander, exhibits that subtle magnetism



HEAD OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

of his nature by which he acquired such wonderful influence and command over men in after-years. The spirit of the man is again shown in the complaint of the boy when news of his father's victories came to him: "Friends," said he to his playmates,

"my father will possess himself of everything, and leave nothing for us to do."

Alexander crosses the Hellespont (334 B.C.). — For about two years Alexander was busy suppressing revolts against his power among the different cities of Hellas, and chastising hostile tribes on the northern frontiers of Macedonia. Thebes having risen against him, he razed the city to the ground, — sparing, however, the house of the poet Pindar, — and sold thirty thousand of the inhabitants into slavery. Thus was one of the most renowned of the cities of Greece blotted out of existence.

Alexander was now free to carry out his father's scheme in regard to the Asiatic expedition. In the spring of 334 B.C., with all his plans matured, he set out, at the head of an army numbering about thirty-five thousand men, for the conquest of the Persian Empire. Now commenced one of the most remarkable and swiftly executed campaigns recorded in history.

Crossing the Hellespont, Alexander routed the Persians at the important battle of the Granicus, by which victory all Asia Minor was laid open to the invader. Three hundred suits of armor, selected from the spoils of the field, were sent as a votive offering to the Temple of Athena at Athens.

The Gordian Knot. — On Alexander's route through Asia Minor was the city of Gordium, where, in the temple of Zeus, hung the celebrated Gordian knot. Respecting this the following story is told: An oracle had commanded the Phrygians, in a time of great perplexity, to choose as their king the first person that came to sacrifice in the Temple of Zeus. The peasant Gordius was the one whom chance designated. He was riding in a wagon when the people proclaimed him king. Some accounts, however, say that it was his son Midas — who was with his father — that was elevated to the throne. Grateful to the gods for the honor that had fallen upon his house, Gordius consecrated the wagon as a memorial in the temple of Zeus.

It was gradually spread abroad that an oracle had declared that whoever should untie the skilfully fastened knot which united the

yoke to the pole of the chariot would be master of Asia. Alexander attempted the feat. Unable to loosen the artful knot, he impetuously drew his sword and cut it. Hence the phrase "cutting the Gordian knot," meaning a short way out of a difficulty. The marvellous fulfilment of the prediction in the subsequent successes of Alexander gave new faith and credit to the oracle.

The Battle of Issus (333 B.C.). — At the northeast corner of the Mediterranean lies the plain of Issus. Here Alexander again defeated the Persian army, numbering six hundred thousand men. The family of Darius, including his mother, wife, and children, fell into the hands of Alexander; but the king himself escaped from the field, and hastened to his capital, Susa, to raise another army to oppose the march of the conqueror.

Siege of Tyre (332 B.C.). — Before penetrating to the heart of the empire, Alexander turned to the south, in order to effect the subjugation of Phœnicia, that he might command the Phœnician fleets and prevent their being used to sever his communication with Greece. The island city of Tyre, after a memorable siege, was taken by means of a mole, or causeway, built with incredible labor through the sea to the city. This mole was constructed out of the ruins of old Tyre and the forests of Lebanon. It still remains, uniting the forlorn rock with the mainland. When at last, with the aid of the Sidonian fleet, the city was taken, after a siege of seven months, eight thousand of the inhabitants were slain, and thirty thousand sold into slavery — a terrible warning to those cities that should dare to close their gates against the Macedonian. The reduction of Tyre has been considered the greatest military achievement of Alexander.

Alexander in Egypt. — With the cities of Phœnicia and the fleets of the Mediterranean subject to his control, Alexander easily effected the conquest of Egypt. The Egyptians, indeed, made no resistance to the Macedonians, but willingly exchanged masters.

While in the country, Alexander founded, at one of the mouths of the Nile, a city called after himself, Alexandria. Ranke believes this to have been the "first city in the world, after the

Piræus at Athens, erected expressly for purposes of commerce." The city became the meeting-place of the East and the West; and its importance through many centuries attests the far-sighted wisdom of its founder.

A less worthy enterprise of the conqueror was his expedition to the oasis of Siwah, located in the Libyan desert, where were a celebrated temple and oracle of Zeus Ammon. To gratify his own vanity, as well as to impress the superstitious barbarians, Alexander desired to be declared of celestial descent. The priests of the temple, in accordance with the wish of the king, gave out that the oracle pronounced Alexander to be the son of Zeus Ammon, and the destined ruler of the world.

The Battle of Arbela (331 B.C.). — From Egypt Alexander recommenced his march towards the Persian capital. He had received offers of peace from Darius, but to these he is said to have replied, "There cannot be two suns in the heavens." Pushing on, he crossed the Euphrates and the Tigris without opposition; but upon the plain of Arbela, not far from ancient Nineveh, he found his further advance disputed by Darius with an immense army. Again the Macedonian phalanx "cut through the ranks of the Persians as a boat cuts through the waves." The fate of Darius has been already narrated in our story of the last of the Persian kings.¹

The battle of Arbela was one of the decisive combats of history. It marked the end of the long struggle between the East and the West, between Persia and Greece, and prepared the way for the spread of Hellenic civilization over all Western Asia.

Alexander at Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. — From the field of Arbela Alexander marched south to Babylon, which opened its gates to him without opposition. To attach the Babylonians to himself, he restored the temples which Xerxes had destroyed, and offered sacrifices in the temple of Bel.

Susa was next entered by the conqueror. Here he seized

¹ See pp. 142, 143.

incredible quantities of gold and silver (\$57,000,000, it is said), the treasure of the Great King.

From Susa Alexander's march was next directed to Persepolis, where he secured a treasure more than twice as great (\$138,000,000, according to some) as that found at Susa. Upon Persepolis Alexander wreaked vengeance, for all Greece had suffered at the hands of the Persians. Many of the inhabitants were massacred, and others sold into slavery; while the palaces of the Persian kings were given to the flames.

Alexander, having thus overthrown the power of Darius, now began to regard himself, not only as his conqueror, but as his successor, and was thus looked upon by the Persians. He assumed the pomp and state of an Oriental monarch, and required the most obsequious homage from all who approached him. His Greek and Macedonian companions, unused to paying such servile adulation to their king, were much displeased at Alexander's conduct, and from this time on to his death, intrigues and conspiracies were being constantly formed among them against his power and life.

Alexander in the Aryan Home. — Urged on by an uncontrollable desire to possess himself of the most remote countries of which any accounts had ever reached him, Alexander now led his army to the north, and, after subduing many tribes that dwelt about the Caspian Sea and among the mountainous regions of what is now known as Afghanistan, boldly conducted his soldiers over the snowy and dangerous passes of the Hindu Kush, and descended into the fair provinces of Bactria, which region we have already described as probably the earliest home of the various families of the Aryan race. Had Alexander possessed our modern knowledge of the relationships of the different Aryan peoples, he might have claimed, as he would have been very likely to do, the entire country as having once belonged to his ancestors.

During the years 329–328 B.C. Alexander conquered not only Bactria, but Sogdiana, a country lying north of the Oxus. The capture of the Sogdian Rock is considered one of his great

exploits. Among the captives was a beautiful Bactrian princess, Roxana by name, who became the bride of Alexander.

Throughout those distant regions Alexander founded numerous cities, several of which bore his own name. One of them is said to have been built, wall and houses, in twenty days. These new cities were peopled with captives, and by those whom fatigue and wounds would no longer allow to follow the conqueror in his swift campaigns.

Alexander's stay in Sogdiana was saddened by his murder of his dearest friend Clitus, who had saved his life at the Granicus. Both were flushed with wine when the quarrel arose: after the deed, Alexander was overwhelmed with remorse.¹

Conquests in India. — With the countries north of the Hindu Kush subdued and settled, Alexander recrossed the mountains, and led his army down upon the rich and crowded plains of India (327 B.C.). Here again he showed himself invincible, and received the submission of many of the native princes of the country.

The most formidable resistance encountered by the Macedonians was offered by a strong and wealthy king named Porus. Captured at last and brought into the presence of Alexander, his proud answer to the conqueror's question as to how he thought he ought to be treated was, "Like a king." The impulsive Alexander gave him back his kingdom, to be held, however, subject to the Macedonian crown.

Alexander's desire was to extend his conquests to the Ganges, but his soldiers began to murmur because of the length and hardness of their campaigns, and he reluctantly gave up the undertaking. To secure the conquests already made, he founded, at different points in the valley of the Indus, Greek towns and colo-

¹The Macedonian kingdom which grew out of the conquests of Alexander in Central Asia, lasted for about two centuries after his death; that is, these Bactrian countries were ruled by Hellenic princes for that length of time. Traditions of the conqueror still linger in the land, and coins, and plate with subjects from classic mythology, are frequently turned up at the present day.

nies. One of these he named Alexandria, after himself; another Bucephala, in memory of his favorite steed; and still another Nicæa, for his victories. The modern museum at Lahore contains many relics of Greek art, dug up on the site of these Macedonian cities and camps.

Rediscovery of the Sea-route from the Indus to the Euphrates. — It was Alexander's next care to bind these distant conquests in the East to those in the West. To do this, it was of the first importance to establish water-communication between India and Babylonia. Now, strange as it may seem, the Greeks had no positive knowledge of what sea the Indus emptied into, and only a vague idea that there was a water-way from the Indus to the Euphrates. This important maritime route, once known to the civilized world, had been lost, and needed to be rediscovered.

So the conqueror Alexander now turned explorer. He sailed down the Indus to the head of the delta, where he founded a city, which he called Alexandria. This was to be to the trade of India what Alexandria upon the Nile was to that of Egypt. With this new commercial city established, Alexander sailed on down to the mouth of the river, and was rejoiced to find himself looking out upon the southern ocean.

He now despatched his trusty admiral Nearchus, with a considerable fleet, to explore this sea, and to determine whether it communicated with the Euphrates. He himself, with the larger part of the army, marched westward along the coast. His march thus lay through the ancient Gedrosia, now Beluchistan, a region frightful with burning deserts, amidst which his soldiers endured almost incredible privations and sufferings.

After a trying and calamitous march of over two months, Alexander, with the survivors of his army, reached Carmania. Here, to his unbounded joy, he was joined by Nearchus, who had made the voyage from the Indus successfully, and thus "rediscovered one of the most important maritime routes of the world," the knowledge of which, among the Western nations, was never again to be lost.

To appropriately celebrate his conquests and discoveries, Alexander instituted a series of religious festivals, amidst which his soldiers forgot the dangers of their numberless battles and the hardships of their unparalleled marches, which had put to the test every power of human endurance.

And well might these veterans glory in their achievements. In a few years they had conquered half the world, and changed the whole course of history.

Plans and Death of Alexander. — As the capital of his vast empire, which now stretched from the Ionian Sea to the Indus, Alexander chose the ancient Babylon, upon the Euphrates. His designs, we have reason to believe, were to push his conquests as far to the west as he had extended them to the east. Arabia, Carthage, Italy, and Spain were to be added to his already vast domains. Indeed, the plans of Alexander embraced nothing less than the union and Hellenizing of the world. Not only were the peoples of Asia and Europe to be blended by means of colonies, but even the floras of the two continents were to be intermingled by the transplanting of fruits and trees from one continent to the other. Common laws and customs, a common language and a common religion, were to unite the world into one great family. Inter-marriages were to blend the races. Alexander himself married a daughter of Darius III., and also one of Artaxerxes Ochus; and to ten thousand of his soldiers, whom he encouraged to take Asiatic wives, he gave magnificent gifts.

In the midst of his vast projects, Alexander was seized by a fever, brought on, doubtless, by his insane excesses, and died at Babylon, 323 B.C., in the thirty-second year of his age. His soldiers could not let him die without seeing him. The watchers of the palace were obliged to open the doors to them, and the veterans of a hundred battle-fields filed sorrowfully past the couch of their dying commander. His body was carried, first, to Memphis, but afterwards to Alexandria, in Egypt, and there enclosed in a golden coffin, over which was raised a splendid mausoleum. His ambition for celestial honors was gratified in his death; for in

Egypt and elsewhere temples were dedicated to him, and divine worship was paid to his statues.

Character of Alexander. — We must not pass this point without a word, at least, respecting the character of this remarkable man, who, in a brief career of twelve years, changed entirely the currents of history, and pressed them into channels which they would not have followed but for the influence of his life and achievements.

We cannot deny to Alexander, in addition to a remarkable genius for military affairs, a profound and comprehensive intellect. The wisdom shown in the selection of Alexandria in Egypt as the great depot of the exchanges of the East and West has been amply proved by the rare fortunes of that city. His plans for the union of Europe and Asia, and the fusion of their different races, might indeed seem visionary, were it not that the degree in which this was actually realized during subsequent centuries attests the sanity of the attempt. He had fine tastes, and liberally encouraged art, science, and literature. Apelles, Praxiteles, and Lysippus had in him a munificent patron; and to his preceptor Aristotle he sent large collections of natural-history objects, gathered in his extended expeditions. He had an impulsive, kind, and generous nature: he avenged the murder of his enemy Darius; and he repented in bitter tears over the body of his faithful Clitus. He exposed himself like the commonest soldier, sharing with his men the hardships of the march and the dangers of the battle-field.

But he was self-seeking and self-indulgent, foolishly vain, and madly ambitious of military glory. He plunged into shameful excesses, and gave way to bursts of passion that transformed a usually mild and generous disposition into the fury of a madman. The vindictive cruelty he manifested in his treatment of the Tyrians can be only partially palliated by reference to the spirit and usages of his age. The contradictions of his life cannot, perhaps, be better expressed than in the words once applied to the gifted Themistocles: "He was greater in genius than in character."

Results of Alexander's Conquests. — The remarkable conquests

of Alexander had far-reaching consequences. They ended the long struggle between Persia and Greece, and spread Hellenic civilization over Egypt and Western Asia. The distinction between Greek and Barbarian was obliterated, and the sympathies of men, hitherto so narrow and local, were widened, and thus an important preparation was made for the reception of the cosmopolitan creed of Christianity. The world was also given a universal language of culture, which was a further preparation for the spread of Christian teachings. Nor should we fail to recall the rediscovery of the maritime route from India to Europe, which the historian Ranke, regarding its influence upon trade and commerce, views as one of the most important results of Alexander's expedition.

But the evil effects of the conquest were also positive and far-reaching. The sudden acquisition by the Greeks of the enormous wealth of the Persian Empire, and contact with the vices and effeminate luxury of the Oriental nations, had a most demoralizing effect upon Hellenic life. Greece became corrupt, and she in turn corrupted Rome. Thus the civilization of antiquity was undermined.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF GRECIAN HISTORY TO THE
DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Legendary Age . . .	{ The Trojan War, legendary date	1194-1184
	{ The Dorians enter the Peloponnesus, about	1104
Early History of	{ Lycurgus gives laws to Sparta	850
Sparta	{ The Messenian Wars	750-650
	{ Rule of the Archons	1050-612
Early History of	{ Rebellion of Cylon	612
Athens	{ Legislation of Solon	594
	{ Pisistratus rules	560-527
	{ Expulsion of the Pisistratidae	510
	{ First Expedition of Darius (led by Mar- donius)	492
Period of Græco- Persian War	{ Battle of Marathon	490
	{ Battle of Thermopylae	480
	{ Battle of Salamis	480
	{ Battles of Plataea and Mycale	479
	{ Athens rebuilt	478
Period of Athenian Supremacy	{ Aristides chosen first president of the Con- federacy of Delos	477
	{ Themistocles sent into exile	471
	{ Ostracism of Cimon	459
	{ Pericles at the head of affairs — Periclean Age	459-431
	{ Beginning of the Peloponnesian War	431
Events of the Pello- ponnesian War	{ Pestilence at Athens	430
	{ Expedition against Syracuse	415
	{ Battle of Ægospotami	405
	{ Close of the War	404
	{ Rule of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens	404-403
Period of Spartan Supremacy	{ Expedition of the Ten Thousand	401-400
	{ Peace of Antalcidas	387
	{ Oligarchy established at Thebes	382
	{ Spartan power broken on the field of Leuc- tra	371
Period of Theban Supremacy	{ Battle of Leuctra which secures the suprem- acy of Thebes	371
	{ Battle of Mantinea and death of Epaminon- das	362
	{ Battle of Chæronea	338
Period of Macedo- nian Supremacy	{ Death of Philip of Macedon	336
	{ Alexander crosses the Hellespont	334
	{ Battle of Issus	333
	{ Battle of Arbela	331
	{ Death of Alexander at Babylon	323

CHAPTER IX.

STATES FORMED FROM THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER.

Division of the Empire of Alexander.—There was no one who could wield the sword that fell from the hand of Alexander. It is told that, when dying, being asked to whom the kingdom should belong, he replied, "To the strongest," and handed his signet ring to his general Perdiccas. But Perdiccas was not strong enough to master the difficulties of the situation.¹ Indeed, who is strong enough to rule the world?

Consequently the vast empire created by Alexander's unparalleled conquests was distracted by quarrels and wars, and before the close of the fourth century B.C., had become broken into many fragments. Besides minor states,² four well-defined and important

¹ Perdiccas ruled as regent for Philip Arridæus (an illegitimate brother of Alexander), who was proclaimed titular king.

² Two of these lesser states, Rhodes and Pontus, deserve special notice.

Rhodes.—Rhodes became the head of a maritime confederation of the cities and islands along the coasts of Asia Minor, and thus laid the basis of a remarkable commercial prosperity and naval power. It was one of the chief centres of Hellenistic culture, and acquired a wide fame through its schools of art and rhetoric. Julius Cæsar became a student here under Rhodian teachers of oratory.

Pontus.—Pontus (Greek for *sea*), a state of Asia Minor, was so called from its position upon the Euxine. It was never thoroughly conquered by the Macedonians. It has a place in history mainly because of the lustre shed upon it by the transcendent ability of one of its kings, Mithridates the Great (120–63 B.C.), who spread the fame of his little kingdom throughout the world by his able, and for a long time successful, resistance to the Roman arms. But his wars with Rome belong rather to the history of that city than to the annals of Greece.

THE PARTS OF THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE.

After the rearrangement of the empire following the battle of Ipsus (fought in 301 B.C.), the outlines shown in the map were those of the four kingdoms into which the empire was divided. Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Antigonus each assumed the government of one of the four parts, and for it came up four new names: Macedonia, Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor.

The kingdom of Asia Minor; Syria, extending eastward to the Indus; Egypt, extending southward to the Nile; and Macedonia, governing Macedonia, and the Thracian Chersonese.

The kingdom of Lysimachus, the kingdom of the other three in march- one after the other, by the now

Kingdom of Lysimachus.—The kingdom of Lysimachus was divided. He was defeated by Seleucus in 281 B.C., and his dominions were divided. The lands of Lysimachus were divided into two parts, one of which was given to the Syrian kingdom, while Thrace and Macedonia were given to the kingdom of Lysimachus.

Kingdom of the Seleucidæ (312–65 B.C.).—The kingdom of the Seleucidæ, during the two centuries and more of its existence, played a most important part in the civil history of the world. Under the Seleucidæ, the empire comprised nominally almost all the countries of the world known to Alexander, thus stretching from the Hellespont to the Indus. In reality the monarchy embraced only Asia Minor, Syria, and the old Assyria and Babylonia. Its rulers, the Seleucidæ, from the founder of the kingdom, Seleucus

Nicator (312–280 B.C.), besides being a ruler of Asia Minor, was a most liberal patron of learning and art. He is credited to have been "the greatest founder of cities that ever lived."

Seleucus never secured complete control of Greece, hence this country was not included in his domains as these appear upon the map.

lived." Throughout his dominions he founded a vast number, some of which endured for many centuries, and were known far and wide as centres of trade and Hellenistic civilization.

Upon the Tigris, as a rival to Babylon, he built Seleucia, which grew rapidly into a capital of six hundred thousand inhabitants. In its customs, manners, and government, it was essentially a Greek city transplanted from Europe. As Seleucia rose, Babylon sank into obscurity, and soon disappeared from history. Six other cities in different parts of his empire bore the name Seleucia, after himself; sixteen he called Antioch, in honor of his father; five he named Laodicea, for his mother; still others bore the name Apamea, in honor of one of his wives. Antioch, on the Orontes, in Northern Syria, became, after Seleucia on the Tigris, the capital of the kingdom, and obtained an influence and renown as a centre of population and trade which have given its name a sure place in history.¹

This colonization of Western Asia by Greeks was, as has already been remarked, one of the most noteworthy results of the Greco-Macedonian conquest. The founding of all these cities, however, as the historian Ranke observes, "must not be reckoned solely to the credit of Seleucus and Alexander. Their origin was closely connected with the main tendencies of Greek colonization. The Greeks had struggled long and often to penetrate into Asia, but so long as the Persian empire remained supreme they were energetically repulsed, and it was only as mercenaries that they found admittance. This bar was now removed. Released from all restrictions and attracted by the revolution in politics, the Greeks now streamed into Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt."

The successors of Seleucus Nicator led the kingdom through checkered fortunes. On different sides provinces fell away and

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became independent states.¹ Antiochus III. (223-187 B.C.), called "the Great," raised the kingdom for a short time into great prominence; but attempting to make conquests in Europe, and further giving asylum to the Carthaginian general Hannibal, he incurred the fatal hostility of Rome. Quickly driven by the Roman legions across the Hellespont, he was hopelessly defeated at the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.), and a large part of Asia Minor fell into the hands of the Romans, who gave the most of it to their friend and ally Eumenes II., king of Pergamus (see note below). After the battle of Magnesia the Syrian kingdom was of very little importance in the world's affairs.

Antiochus IV., Epiphanes (176-164 B.C.), by the pillage and desecration of the temple at Jerusalem, drove the Jews to successful revolt, under the lead of the heroic Maccabees, which event has already been noticed in the history of the Jewish people (see p. 116). Others kept the kingdom in constant contention with the states of Asia Minor on the west, with the Bactrians and Parthians on the east, and with Egypt on the south. At last, brought again into collision with Rome, the country was overrun by Pompey the Great, and became a part of the Roman Republic, 63 B.C.

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2. **Parthia.**—Parthia was a powerful Turanian state that grew up east of the Euphrates, in the lands that formed the heart and centre of the old Persian Empire (from about 255 B.C. to 226 A.D.). Its kings were at first formidable enemies of the rulers of Syria, and later of the Romans, whom they never allowed to make any considerable conquest beyond the Euphrates.

Kingdom of the Ptolemies in Egypt (323-30 B.C.). — The Græco-Egyptian empire of the Ptolemies was by far the most important, in its influence upon the civilization of the world, of all the kingdoms that owed their origin to the conquests of Alexander. The founder of the house and dynasty was Ptolemy I., surnamed Soter¹ (323-283 B.C.). His descendants ruled in Egypt for nearly three centuries, a most important period in the intellectual life of the world. Ptolemy was a general under Alexander, and seemed to possess much of his ability and restless energy, with a happy freedom from his great commander's faults.

Upon the partition of the empire of Alexander, Ptolemy received Egypt, with parts of Arabia and Libya. To these he added by conquest Coele-Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Cyrene, and Cyprus. Following the usage of the time, he transported one hundred thousand Jews from Jerusalem to Alexandria, attached them to his person and policies by wise and conciliatory measures, and thus effected at this great capital of the Nile that blending of the races of the East and the West which was the dream of Alexander.

The possession of the forests of Mount Lebanon, and the command of the artisans of Phœnicia, enabled Ptolemy to realize his plans of making Egypt a naval power, and the emporium of the carrying trade between Asia and Europe. Alexandria became the great depot of exchange for the productions of the world. At the entrance of the harbor stood the Pharos, or light-house, — the first structure of its kind, — which Ptolemy built to guide the fleets of the world to his capital. This edifice was reckoned one of the Seven Wonders.

But it was not alone the exchange of material products that was comprehended in Ptolemy's scheme. His aim was to make his capital the intellectual centre of the world — the place where the arts, sciences, literatures, and even the religions, of the world should meet and mingle. He founded the famous Museum, a sort of college, which became the "University of the East," and established

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the renowned Alexandrian Library. Poets, artists, philosophers, and teachers in all departments of learning were encouraged to settle in Alexandria by the conferring of immunities and privileges, and by gifts and munificent patronage. His court embraced the learning and genius of the age.

Ptolemy Philadelphus (283-247 B.C.) followed closely in the footsteps of his father, carrying out, as far as possible, the plans and policies of the preceding reign. To secure Egypt's commercial supremacy, the old Pharaonic canal uniting the Nile and the Red Sea was restored, and roads were constructed to facilitate the transportation of merchandise from the ports on that sea to the river. Philadelphus added largely to the royal library, and extended to scholars the same liberal patronage that his father had before him.

The surname Philadelphus (brother-lover) was given this Ptolemy on account of his tender devotion to his wife Arsinoe, who was also his sister. This usage of intermarriage among the members of the royal family — a usage in which the Ptolemies followed what was a custom of the ancient Pharaohs — was one of the causes of the contentions and calamities which at last overwhelmed the house with woes and infamy.

Ptolemy III. (247-222 B.C.) was called by the Egyptians *Euergetes* (benefactor), because in one of his wars — a war against the king of Syria, which led him beyond the Euphrates — he recaptured and placed again in their temples some statues of the Egyptian gods which the Persian conqueror Cambyses and the Assyrian Sargon had borne away as trophies. He was possessed of great military genius, and under him the dominions of the Ptolemies touched their widest limits; while the capital Alexandria reached the culminating point in her fame as the centre of Greek civilization.

Altogether the Ptolemies reigned in Egypt almost exactly three centuries (323-30 B.C.). Those rulers who held the throne for the last two hundred years were, with few exceptions, a succession of monsters, such as even Rome in her worst days could scarcely

equal. These monarchs plunged into the most despicable excesses, and were guilty of every folly and cruelty. The usage of intermarriage, already mentioned, led to endless family quarrels, which resulted in fratricide, matricide, and all the dark deeds included in the calendar of royal crime. The story of the renowned Cleopatra, the last of the house of the Ptolemies, will be told in connection with Roman history, to which it properly belongs.

Macedonia and Greece. — From the time of the subjection of Greece by Philip and Alexander to the absorption of Macedonia into the growing dominions of Rome, the Greek cities of the peninsula were very much under the control or influence of the Macedonian kings. But the Greeks were never made for royal subjects, and consequently they were in a state of chronic revolt against this foreign authority.

Thus, no sooner had they heard of the death of Alexander than several of the Grecian states arose against the Macedonian general Antipater, and carried on with him what is known as the Lamian War¹ (323–321 B.C.). The struggle ended disastrously for the Greeks, and Demosthenes, who had been the soul of the movement, was forced to flee from Athens. He took refuge upon an island just off the coast of the Peloponnesus; but being still hunted by Antipater, he put an end to his own life by means of poison.

The next matter of moment in the history of Macedonia was an invasion of the Gauls (Celtic tribes from Scythia), under the lead of Brennus (279 B.C.). Both Macedonia and Greece suffered terribly from these savage marauders. Being driven from Europe, the barbarians finally settled in Asia Minor, and there gave name to the province of Galatia.

Macedonia now comes in contact with a new enemy — the great military republic of the West. For lending aid to Carthage in the second Punic War, she incurred the anger of Rome, which resulted, after much intrigue and hard fighting, in the country's being brought

¹ From the city of Lamia in Thessaly, where Antipater was besieged by the Greeks.

into subjection to the Italian power. In the year 146 B.C. it was erected into a Roman province.

The political affairs of Greece proper during the period we are considering were chiefly comprehended in the fortunes of two confederacies, or leagues, one of which, called the Achæan League, embraced finally all the states of the Peloponnesus,¹ as well as some cities outside its limits; while the other, known as the Ætolian League, comprised many of the states north of the Corinthian Gulf.²

United, these two confederacies might have maintained the political independence of Greece; but that spirit of dissension which we have seen to be the bane of the Hellenic peoples led them to become, in the hands of intriguing Rome, weapons first for crushing Macedonia, and then for grinding each other to pieces.

Soon after the conquest of Macedonia, the Ætolians were made tributary to Rome. At the same time, a thousand of the leading citizens of the cities of the Achæan League were, on the pretext of their conspiring against Rome, transported to Italy, and for seventeen years kept as political prisoners in the different cities of Etruria. At the end of that time the surviving exiles were allowed to return home, the perfidious Romans foreseeing and hoping that their desire for revenge would betray them into some violent act which would afford Rome a pretext for invading and confiscating their territory. All fell out as anticipated. The exiles were no sooner returned to their native land than they stirred up their countrymen to revolt against Rome. Corinth, which, since the Peloponnesian War had ruined Athens, was the most splendid city

¹ Sparta was not a member of the League at first, but its jealous and bitter enemy. The Spartan king Cleomenes waged with the confederated states what is known as the *Cleomenic War* (224-221 B.C.). The League sought and obtained aid of Macedonia, and Sparta was defeated.

² For a study of these confederations, which were very much like our own federal union, consult Freeman's valuable work entitled *History of Federal Constitutions*.

of all Greece, was taken by the Roman army and laid in ashes (146 B.C.). This was the last act in the long and varied drama of the political life of ancient Greece. Henceforth it constituted simply a portion of the Roman Empire.

Review. — We have now traced the political fortunes of the Hellenic race through about seven centuries of authentic history. Starting with the institutions of the primitive Greek communities, we have followed the early growth of the leading Grecian states, and have watched their memorable struggle with the power of the Persian kings; we have noticed the brilliant era of Athenian supremacy which followed that contest; we have seen the terrible calamities finally brought by the mutual jealousies of the two rival states of Athens and Sparta, not only upon themselves, but upon all Hellas; then, after brief periods of Spartan and Theban supremacy, we have seen Macedonia assume the leadership of the Greek race, unite half the world in a single kingdom under an Alexander, and spread Hellenic ideas, institutions, and language from Italy to the regions beyond the Indus; we have also seen this enormous Macedonian empire, through the rivalries of ambitious generals and through lack of that capacity to unite for political ends which was the fatal defect of the Greek character, torn into pieces, and these fragments, after more or less varied political fortunes, seized upon one after another by the rapacity of Rome.

In succeeding chapters it will be our pleasanter task to trace the more brilliant and worthy fortunes of the artistic and intellectual life of Hellas: to portray, though necessarily in scanty outline, the achievements of that wonderful genius which enabled her, "captured, to lead captive her captor."

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF GRECIAN HISTORY TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Legendary Age . . .	{ The Trojan War, legendary date	1194-1184
	{ The Dorians enter the Peloponnesus, about	1104
Early History of Sparta	{ Lycurgus gives laws to Sparta.	850
	{ The Messenian Wars	750-650
Early History of Athens	{ Rule of the Archons	1050-612
	{ Rebellion of Cylon	612
	{ Legislation of Solon	594
	{ Pisistratus rules	560-527
	{ Expulsion of the Pisistratidae	510
Period of Græco-Persian War	{ First Expedition of Darius (led by Mar- donius)	492
	{ Battle of Marathon	490
	{ Battle of Thermopylæ	480
	{ Battle of Salamis	480
	{ Battles of Platæa and Mycæ	479
	{ Athens rebuilt	478
Period of Athenian Supremacy	{ Aristides chosen first president of the Con- federacy of Delos	477
	{ Themistocles sent into exile	471
	{ Ostracism of Cimon	459
	{ Pericles at the head of affairs — Periclean Age	459-431
Events of the Peloponnesian War	{ Beginning of the Peloponnesian War	431
	{ Pestilence at Athens	430
	{ Expedition against Syracuse	415
	{ Battle of Ægospotami	405
	{ Close of the War	404
Period of Spartan Supremacy	{ Rule of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens	404-403
	{ Expedition of the Ten Thousand	401-400
	{ Peace of Antalcidas	387
	{ Oligarchy established at Thebes	382
	{ Spartan power broken on the field of Leuc- tra	371
Period of Theban Supremacy	{ Battle of Leuctra which secures the suprem- acy of Thebes	371
	{ Battle of Mantinea and death of Epaminon- das	362
Period of Macedonian Supremacy	{ Battle of Chæronea	338
	{ Death of Philip of Macedon	336
	{ Alexander crosses the Hellespont	334
	{ Battle of Issus	333
	{ Battle of Arbela	331
	{ Death of Alexander at Babylon	323

CHAPTER IX.

STATES FORMED FROM THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER.

Division of the Empire of Alexander. — There was no one who could wield the sword that fell from the hand of Alexander. It is told that, when dying, being asked to whom the kingdom should belong, he replied, "To the strongest," and handed his signet ring to his general Perdiccas. But Perdiccas was not strong enough to master the difficulties of the situation.¹ Indeed, who is strong enough to rule the world?

Consequently the vast empire created by Alexander's unparalleled conquests was distracted by quarrels and wars, and before the close of the fourth century B.C., had become broken into many fragments. Besides minor states,² four well-defined and important

¹ Perdiccas ruled as regent for Philip Arridaeus (an illegitimate brother of Alexander), who was proclaimed titular king.

² Two of these lesser states, Rhodes and Pontus, deserve special notice.

Rhodes. — Rhodes became the head of a maritime confederation of the cities and islands along the coasts of Asia Minor, and thus laid the basis of a remarkable commercial prosperity and naval power. It was one of the chief centres of Hellenistic culture, and acquired a wide fame through its schools of art and rhetoric. Julius Caesar became a student here under Rhodian teachers of oratory.

Pontus. — Pontus (Greek for *sea*), a state of Asia Minor, was so called from its position upon the Euxine. It was never thoroughly conquered by the Macedonians. It has a place in history mainly because of the lustre shed upon it by the transcendent ability of one of its kings, Mithridates the Great (120-63 B.C.), who spread the fame of his little kingdom throughout the world by his able, and for a long time successful, resistance to the Roman arms. But his wars with Rome belong rather to the history of that city than to the annals of Greece.

monarchies arose out of the ruins. After the rearrangement of boundaries that followed the decisive battle of Ipsus (fought in Phrygia 301 B.C.), these principal states had the outlines shown by the accompanying map. Their rulers were Lysimachus, Seleucus Nicator, Ptolemy, and Cassander, who had each assumed the title of king. The great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven.¹

Lysimachus held Thrace and the western part of Asia Minor; Seleucus Nicator, Syria and the countries eastward to the Indus; Ptolemy ruled Egypt; and Cassander governed Macedonia, and claimed authority over Greece.²

After barely mentioning the fate of the kingdom of Lysimachus, we will trace very briefly the fortunes of the other three monarchies until they were overthrown, one after the other, by the now rapidly rising power of Rome.

Thrace, or the Kingdom of Lysimachus. — The kingdom of Lysimachus soon disappeared. He was defeated by Seleucus in the year 281 B.C., and his dominions were divided. The lands in Asia Minor were joined to the Syrian kingdom, while Thrace was absorbed by Macedonia.

Syria, or the Kingdom of the Seleucidæ (312–65 B.C.). — This kingdom, during the two centuries and more of its existence, played an important part in the civil history of the world. Under its first king it comprised nominally almost all the countries of Asia conquered by Alexander, thus stretching from the Hellespont to the Indus; but in reality the monarchy embraced only Asia Minor, Syria, and the old Assyria and Babylonia. Its rulers were called Seleucidæ, from the founder of the kingdom, Seleucus Nicator.

Seleucus Nicator (312–280 B.C.), besides being a ruler of unusual ability, was a most liberal patron of learning and art. He is declared to have been "the greatest founder of cities that ever

¹ Dan. viii. 8.

² Cassander never secured complete control of Greece, hence this country is not included in his domains as these appear upon the map.

lived." Throughout his dominions he founded a vast number, some of which endured for many centuries, and were known far and wide as centres of trade and Hellenistic civilization.

Upon the Tigris, as a rival to Babylon, he built Seleucia, which grew rapidly into a capital of six hundred thousand inhabitants. In its customs, manners, and government, it was essentially a Greek city transplanted from Europe. As Seleucia rose, Babylon sank into obscurity, and soon disappeared from history. Six other cities in different parts of his empire bore the name Seleucia, after himself; sixteen he called Antioch, in honor of his father; five he named Laodicea, for his mother; still others bore the name Apamea, in honor of one of his wives. Antioch, on the Orontes, in Northern Syria, became, after Seleucia on the Tigris, the capital of the kingdom, and obtained an influence and renown as a centre of population and trade which have given its name a sure place in history.¹

This colonization of Western Asia by Greeks was, as has already been remarked, one of the most noteworthy results of the Greco-Macedonian conquest. The founding of all these cities, however, as the historian Ranke observes, "must not be reckoned solely to the credit of Seleucus and Alexander. Their origin was closely connected with the main tendencies of Greek colonization. The Greeks had struggled long and often to penetrate into Asia, but so long as the Persian empire remained supreme they were energetically repulsed, and it was only as mercenaries that they found admittance. This bar was now removed. Released from all restrictions and attracted by the revolution in politics, the Greeks now streamed into Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt."

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Nero. He risked incurring the anger of the great Diana, and robbed the temple of many statues and a vast amount of gold. Later (in 262 A.D.), the barbarian Goths enriched themselves with the spoils of the shrine. The temple itself fared but little better than the treasures it guarded. The Goths left it a ruin ; and long after, some of the celebrated jasper columns were, by order of the emperor Justinian, carried to Byzantium, and there at this day uphold the dome of St. Sophia, once the most noted church, now the most famous mosque, in all the East. Other columns from this ruin were taken to Italy and built into Christian churches there.¹

The Delphian Temple. — The first temple erected at Delphi over the spot whence issued the mysterious vapors was a rude wooden structure. In the year 548 B.C., the temple then standing was destroyed by fire. All the cities and states of Hellas contributed to its rebuilding. Even the king of Egypt, Amasis, sent a munificent gift. More than half a million of dollars was collected ; for the temple was to exceed in magnificence anything the world had yet seen. It will be recalled that the Athenian Alcmaeonidæ were the contractors who undertook the rebuilding of the shrine (see p. 205).

The structure was impressive both in its colossal size and the massive simplicity that characterizes the Doric style of architecture. It was crowded with the spoils of many battle-fields, with the rich gifts of kings, and with rare works of art. Like the temple at Ephesus, the Delphian shrine, after remaining for many years secure, through the awe and reverence which its oracle inspired, suffered frequent spoliation. The greed of conquerors overcame all religious scruples. The Phocians robbed the temple of a treasure equivalent, it is estimated, to more than \$10,000,000 with us (see p. 260) ; and Nero plundered it of five hundred bronze images. But Constantine (emperor of Rome 306–337 A.D., and founder of Constantinople) was the Nebuchadnezzar who bore off

¹The site of the temple was for many centuries lost; but in 1871, Mr. Wood, an excavator, uncovered portions of its ancient pavement, and brought to light fragments of sculpture, which may now be seen in the British Museum.

the sacred vessels and many statues as trophies to his new capital then rising on the Hellespont.

The Athenian Acropolis and the Parthenon. — In the history of art there is no other spot in the world possessed of such interest as the flat-topped rock, already described, which constituted the Athenian Acropolis. We have seen that in early times the eminence was used as a stronghold. But by the fifth century B.C. the city had slipped down upon the plain, and the summit of the rock was consecrated to the temples and the worship of the deities, and came to be called "the city of the gods." During the period of Athenian supremacy, especially in the Periclean Age, Hellenic

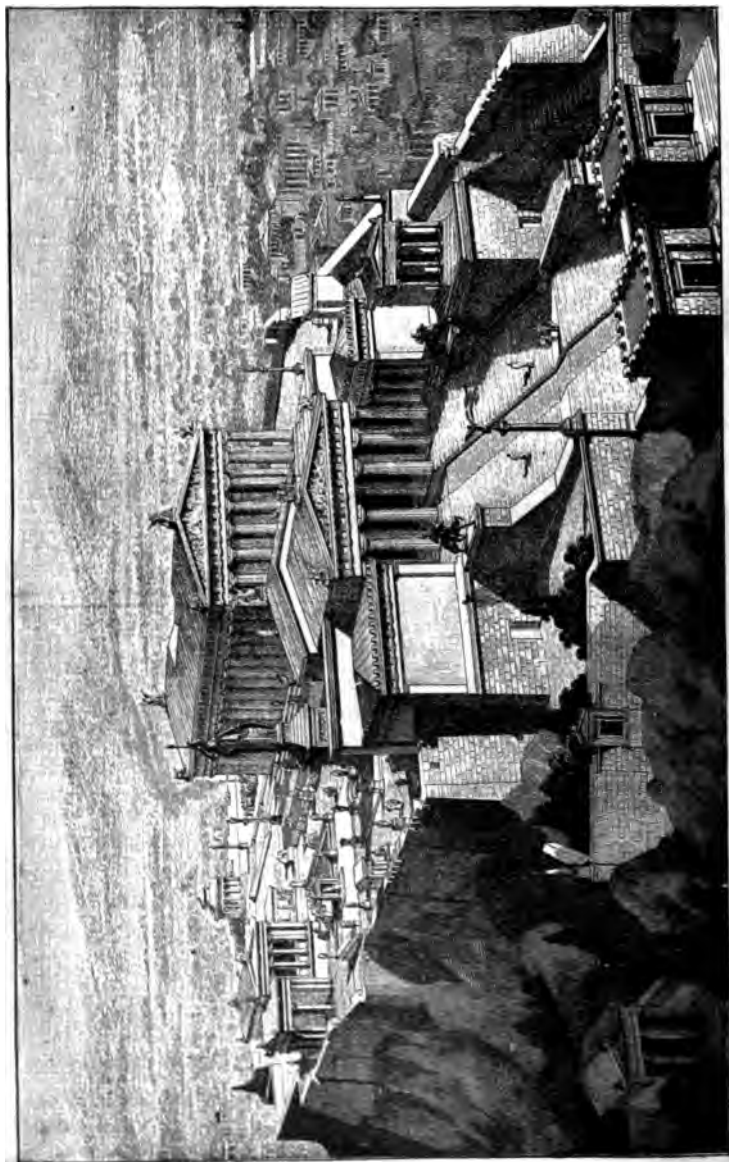


ATHENIAN YOUTH IN PROCESSION. (From the Frieze of the Parthenon.)

genius and piety adorned this spot with temples and statues that all the world has pronounced to be faultless specimens of beauty and taste.

The most celebrated of the buildings upon the Acropolis was the Parthenon, the "Residence of the virgin-goddess Athena." This is considered the finest specimen of Greek architecture. It was designed by the architect Ictinus, but the sculptures that adorned it were the work of the celebrated Phidias.¹ It was built in the

¹ The subject of the wonderful frieze running round the temple was the procession which formed the most important feature of the Athenian festival known as the Greater Panathenæa, which was celebrated every four years in

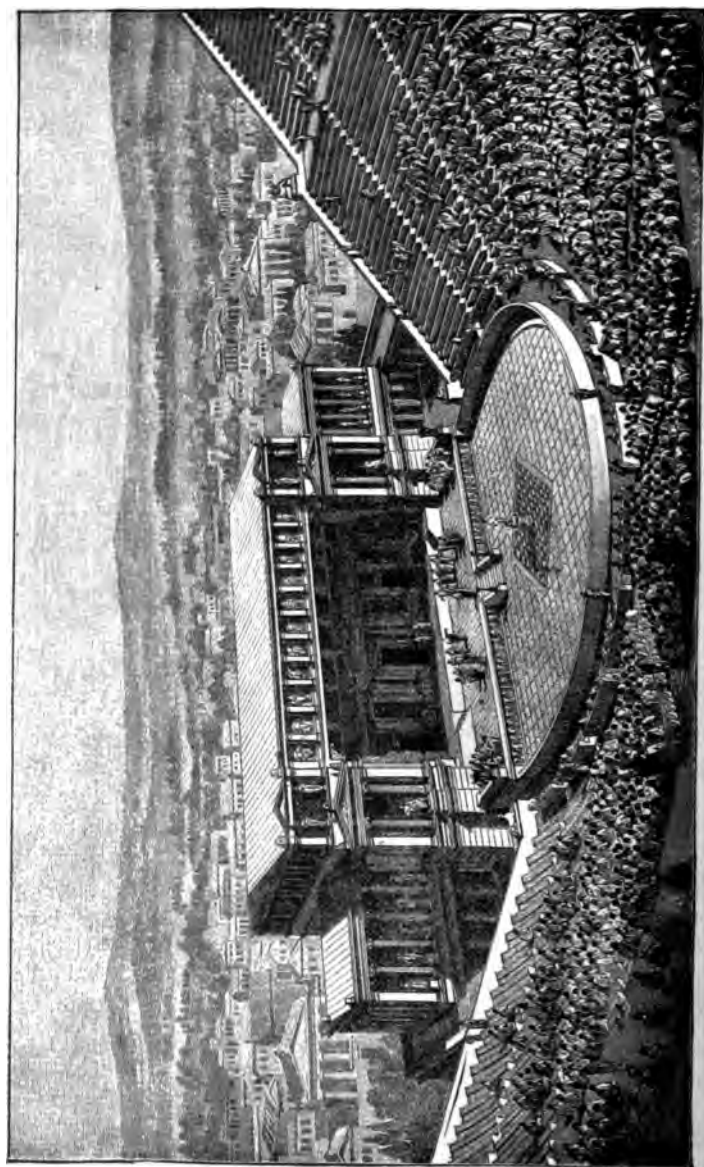


Doric order, of marble from the neighboring Pentelicus. After standing for more than two thousand years, and having served successively as a Pagan temple, a Christian church, and a Mohammedan mosque, it finally was made to serve as a Turkish powder-magazine, in a war with the Venetians, in 1687. During the progress of this contest a bomb fired the magazine, and more than half of this masterpiece of ancient art was shattered into fragments. The front is still quite perfect, and is the most prominent feature of the Acropolis at the present time.



THE PARTHENON (present condition).

The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. — This structure was another of the Seven Wonders of the World. It was a monumental tomb designed to preserve the memory of Mausolus, king of Caria, who died 352 B.C. Its erection was prompted by the love and grief of his wife Artemisia. The combined genius of the most noted artists of the age, among whom was the renowned sculptor Scopas, executor of the patron-goddess of Athens. The larger part of the frieze is now in the British Museum, the Parthenon having been despoiled of its coronal of sculptures by Lord Elgin. Read Lord Byron's *The Curse of Minerva*. To the poet, Lord Elgin's act appeared worse than vandalism.



THE GREAT CATHEDRAL OF THE GREAT EASTERN TEMPLE

cuted the wish of the queen. From a base about one hundred feet square the monument rose to a height of one hundred and forty feet. Its sides were decorated with a multitude of statues and figures in relief; while surmounting the monument was the statue of Mausolus, standing in a marble chariot drawn by four horses.

The chief remains of the Mausoleum are numerous sculptures dug up on the site, and now preserved in the British Museum. These assure us that the admiration of the ancients was not accorded to this work without sufficient reason. It is the traditions of this beautiful structure that have given the world a name for all magnificent monuments raised to perpetuate the memory of the dead.

Theatres and Other Structures. — The Greek theatre was semi-circular in form, and open to the sky, as shown in the accompanying cut. The structure comprised three divisions: first, the semi-circle of seats for the spectators; second, the orchestra, or dancing-place for the chorus, which embraced the space between the lower range of seats and the stage; and third, the stage, a narrow platform for the actors.



CHORAGIC MONUMENT OF LYSICRATES.

The most noted of Greek theatres was the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens, which was the model of all the others. It was partly cut in the rock on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis, the Greeks in the construction of their theatres generally taking advantage of a hillside. There were about one hundred rows of seats, the lowest one, bordering the orchestra, consisting of sixty-seven marble arm-chairs. These were brought to light by excavations made in the year 1862. The structure would hold thirty thousand spectators.

Among commemorative edifices raised in honor of the living, the Choric Monument of Lysicrates, at Athens, known also as the Lantern of Diogenes, is regarded as the most beautiful. The structure is only thirty-four feet high. It is of the Corinthian order of architecture, and was intended to commemorate the victory won in 334 B.C. by Lysicrates, the leader (Choragus) of a chorus (see p. 352).

There are no specimens preserved to us of the domestic or palatial architecture of the Greeks.

III. SCULPTURE AND PAINTING.

Progress in Sculpture: Influence of the Gymnastic Art.—The subjects of the Grecian artists were usually taken from the sacred myths and legends. Wood was the material first employed. About the eighth century B.C. bronze and marble were generally substituted for the less durable material. With this change sculpture began to make rapid progress.

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The most celebrated of his colossal sculptures were the statue of Athena within the Parthenon, and that of Olympian Zeus in the temple at Olympia. The statue of Athena was of gigantic size, being about forty feet in height, and was constructed of ivory and gold, the hair, weapons, and drapery being of the latter material. One hand of the goddess rested upon a richly-carved shield, while the other held aloft an ivory statue of Victory, itself a masterpiece. On her feet were golden sandals.

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was also of ivory and gold. It was sixty feet high, and represented the god seated on his throne. The hair, beard, and drapery were of gold. The eyes were brilliant stones. Gems of great value decked the throne, and figures of exquisite design were sculptured on the golden robe. The colossal proportions of this wonderful work, as well as the lofty yet benign aspect of the countenance, harmonized well with the popular conception of the majesty and grace of the "father of gods and men." It was thought a great misfortune to die without having seen the Olympian Zeus.¹ The statue was in existence for eight hundred years, being finally destroyed by fire in the fifth century A.D.

Phidias also executed other works in both bronze and marble. He met an unworthy fate. First he was accused of having stolen a part of the gold put in his hands for the statue of Athena in the Parthenon. This charge was disproved by the golden drapery being taken from the statue and weighed. Then he was prosecuted on another charge. Upon the famous shield at the feet of the statue of Athena in the Par-



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Praxiteles. — This artist, after Polycletus, stands next to Phidias as one of the most eminent of Greek sculptors. His works were executed during the fourth century B.C. Among his chief pieces may be mentioned the "Cnidian Aphrodite," the "Satyr," "Eros," and "Hermes." The first of these, which stood in the Temple of Aphrodite at Cnidus, was regarded by the ancients as the most perfect embodiment of the goddess of beauty. Long pilgrimages were made from distant countries to Cnidus for the sake of looking upon the matchless statue. Many copies were set up in different cities. About two centuries ago, excavations at Rome brought to light a beautiful statue, supposed to be a copy of the original Cnidian Aphrodite, by Cleomenes, who lived during the first or second century B.C. This is the so-called "Venus de' Medici," copies of which are in all our homes. The name comes from the circumstance of the statue having been kept for some time after its discovery in the palace of the Medici at Rome.

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Asia Minor to Rome, probably about 35 B.C., has perished; the well-known group of four figures is a Roman copy.

Lysippus. — This artist, a native of Sicyon, is renowned for his works in human figures. He flourished about the middle of the fourth century B.C. His statues were in great demand. More than six hundred figures of his work were to be counted in the different cities of Greece. Many of these were of colossal size. Alexander gave to Lysippus the honor of statues of himself, and also of the heroes and gods of his country.

Chares and the Rhodian Colossus. — Lysippus, like all men of his genius in art or science, had many disciples and left many imitators. The most noted of his pupils was Chares, who gave the world the celebrated Colossus at Rhodes (about 280 B.C.). This was one of the Seven Wonders of the World. Its height was one hundred and seven feet, and a man could barely encircle with his arms the trunk of the statue. The expense of its erection at Rhodes was met by the sale of spoils obtained by a Rhodian fleet. After standing little more than half a century, it was overthrown by an earthquake. For nine hundred years the Colossus then lay, like a Homeric god, prone upon the ground. Finally, the Arabs, having overrun this part of the Orient, appropriated the statue, and thriftily sold it to a Jew to transport it. It is said that it required a train of nine hundred oxen to bear away the bronze.

The greatest piece of statuary was not a solitary one at Rhodes; the city, next after Athens, was the great art centre of the Hellenic world. Its streets and gardens and public edifices were densely crowded with statues. Hundreds met the eye on every hand. The island became the favorite resort of artists, and the schools there founded acquired a wide renown. Very many of the most prized works of Grecian art in our modern museums were executed by members of these Rhodian schools. The "Laocoön Group," found at Rome in 1506, and now in the Museum of the Vatican, is generally thought to be the work of Rhodian sculptors — Agesander, Athenodorus, and Polydo-

rus. The order for the work was probably given by the Roman emperor Titus (A.D. 79–81), as the group adorned his palace on one of the hills of Rome.



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Greek Painting. — Although the Greek artists attained a high degree of excellence in painting, still they never brought the art to that perfection which they reached in sculpture. One reason for this less perfect development of the art was that paintings were

never, like statues, objects of adoration ; hence less attention was directed to them.¹

With the exception of antique vases and a few patches of mural decoration, all specimens of Greek painting have perished. Not a single work of any great painter of antiquity has survived the accidents of time. Consequently our knowledge of Greek painting is derived chiefly from the descriptions of renowned works, by the ancient writers, and their anecdotes of great painters. These classical stories are always epigrams of criticism, and thus possess a technical as well as literary and historical value. For this reason, we shall repeat some of them.

Polygnotus. — Polygnotus (flourished 475-455 B.C.) has been called the Prometheus of painting, because he was the first to give fire and animation to the expression of the countenance. "In his hand," it is affirmed, "the human features became for the first time the mirror of the soul." Of a Polyxena,² painted by this great master, it was said that "she carried in her eyelids the whole history of the Trojan War."

The Athenians conferred upon Polygnotus the rights of citizenship, and he out of gratitude painted upon the walls of some of their public buildings the grandest frescoes the world had ever looked upon. The fall of Ilium and the battle of Marathon were among the subjects he represented.

Zeuxis and Parrhasius. — These great artists lived and painted about 400 B.C. A favorite and familiar story preserves their names as companions, and commemorates their rival genius. Zeuxis, such is the story, painted a cluster of grapes which so closely imitated the real fruit that the birds pecked at them. His rival, for his piece, painted a curtain. Zeuxis asked Parrhasius to draw aside the veil and exhibit his picture. "I confess I am surpassed,"

¹ The influence of religion upon art is illustrated by the Italian Renaissance, when painting entered the service of the Church. See *Medieval and Modern History*, pp. 345, 346.

² Polyxena was a daughter of the Trojan Priam, famous for her beauty and sufferings. She was sacrificed as an atonement to the shade of Achilles.

generously admitted Zeuxis to his rival. "I deceived birds, but you have deceived the eyes of an experienced artist."

Zeuxis executed orders for paintings for sacred buildings in Greece and Italy, for his fame was not confined to a single land. In his latter years he refused all remuneration for his pieces, esteeming them beyond price in money. A very improbable story is told of his having "died with laughter at a picture of an old woman which he himself had painted."

Apelles. — Apelles, who has been called the "Raphael of antiquity," was the court-painter of Alexander the Great. He was such a consummate master of the art of painting, and carried it to such a state of perfection, that the ancient writers spoke of it as the "art of Apelles." His most celebrated painting was a representation of Aphrodite just at the moment the goddess is rising from the sea-foam. Centuries after the death of Apelles this painting was carried off to Italy by the Roman conquerors, and for a time adorned a temple at Rome, erected in honor of Julius Cæsar.

Several well-worn stories illustrative of the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries are told of Apelles. Entering one day the studio of the artist Protogenes, and finding him absent, instead of leaving his name, he drew, with his own inimitable grace, a single line upon a canvas, and then withdrew. When Protogenes returned, and his eye caught the line, he exclaimed that no hand but that of Apelles ever drew such a stroke. But in attempting to imitate it, he perceived that he had himself surpassed it; and, with a natural pride in his success, he instructed his servant, upon the return of the stranger, to direct his attention to the line. Calling a second time, Apelles was shown what his rival had done. Thereupon he drew a third line that far surpassed either of the other two. Upon beholding it, Protogenes rushed forth into the city in search of Apelles, for whom he ever after evinced the warmest friendship, combined with the greatest admiration.

A second tale is told respecting a contest between Apelles and some rival artists, in which horses were the objects represented.

The most noted of Greek theatres was the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens, which was the model of all the others. It was partly cut in the rock on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis, the Greeks in the construction of their theatres generally taking advantage of a hillside. There were about one hundred rows of seats, the lowest one, bordering the orchestra, consisting of sixty-seven marble arm-chairs. These were brought to light by excavations made in the year 1862. The structure would hold thirty thousand spectators.

Among commemorative edifices raised in honor of the living, the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, at Athens, known also as the Lantern of Diogenes, is regarded as the most beautiful. The structure is only thirty-four feet high. It is of the Corinthian order of architecture, and was intended to commemorate the victory won in 334 B.C. by Lysicrates, the leader (Choragus) of a chorus (see p. 352).

There are no specimens preserved to us of the domestic or palatial architecture of the Greeks.

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Chares and the Rhodian Colossus. — Lysippus, like all men of great genius in any art or science, had many disciples and left many imitators. The most noted of his pupils was Chares, who gave the world the celebrated Colossus at Rhodes (about 280 B.C.). This was another of the Seven Wonders of the World. Its height was one hundred and seven feet, and a man could barely encircle with his arms the thumb of the statue. The expense of its erection (about \$500,000) was met by the sale of spoils obtained by the Rhodians in war. After standing little more than half a century, it was overthrown by an earthquake. For nine hundred years the Colossus then lay, like a Homeric god, prone upon the ground. Finally, the Arabs, having overrun this part of the Orient (A.D. 672), appropriated the statue, and thriftily sold it to a Jewish merchant. It is said that it required a train of nine hundred camels to bear away the bronze.

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Thespis (about 536 B.C.) is said to have introduced this idea of the dialogue, hence the term "Thespian" applied to the tragic drama.

Owing to its origin, the Greek drama always retained a religious character, and further, presented two distinct features, the chorus (the songs and dances) and the dialogue. At first, the chorus was the all-important part; but later, the dialogue became the more prominent portion, the chorus, however, always remaining an essential feature of the performance. Finally, in the golden age of the Attic stage, the chorus dancers and singers were carefully trained, at great expense, and the dialogue became the masterpiece of some great poet, — and then the Greek drama, the most splendid creation of human genius, was complete.

The Subjects of the Tragic Poets. — The tragic poets of Athens drew the material of their plays chiefly from the myths and legends of the heroic age, just as Shakespeare for many of his plays used the legends of the semi-historical periods of his own country or of other countries. These legendary tales they handled freely, so changing, coloring, and moralizing them as to render them the vehicle for the conveying of great ethical lessons, or of profound philosophical ideas regarding the divine government of the world. Indeed, the mission of the tragic poets was to harmonize the fuller knowledge, the truer religious feeling of the age, with the ancient traditions and myths, — to reveal the ethical truth which the old stories of the gods and heroes contained, or which they might be made to symbolize.

The Leading Idea of Greek Tragedy. — Symonds believes the fundamental idea of Greek tragedy to be the Doctrine of Nemesis. This doctrine seems to have been evolved out of the old idea of the Divine Jealousy (see p. 184). Just as we have softened and moralized the old Hebrew idea that all suffering is Divine punishment for sin, evolving from it the Christian doctrine of affliction, which regards a large part of human pains and sufferings, not as penal inflictions, but rather as trials intended as a means of spiritual development; in like manner the Greeks moralized their unethical views of the cause of sudden reverses of fortune, of sud-

den downfalls, and came to hold the doctrine that it is not mere prosperity itself which arouses the anger and opposition of the gods, but the pride and arrogance usually engendered in mortals by over-great prosperity.

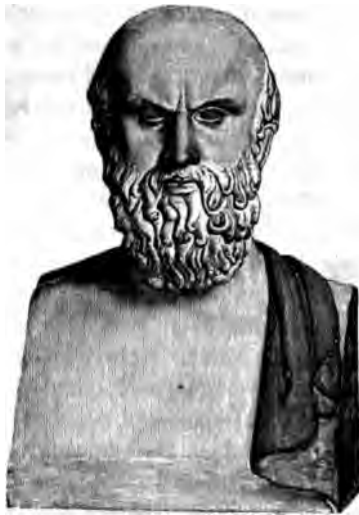
To understand how the Greeks should have come to regard insolent self-assertion, or the unrestrained indulgence of appetite or passion as the most heinous of sins, we must recall once more the legend upon the front of the Delphian temple — "Measure in all things." As proportion was the cardinal element of beauty in art, so wise moderation was the prime quality in virtue: Those who moderated not their desire of fame, of wealth, of dominion, were the most impious of men, and all such the avenging Nemesis failed not to bring, through their own mad presumption and over-vaulting ambition, to overwhelming and irretrievable ruin. The results of the Persian war confirmed the Greeks in this view of the moral government of the world; for had not they themselves seen most signally punished the unbridled ambition, the insolence, the presumptuous impiety, of the scourgers of the Hellespont and the destroyers of the temples of the gods?

We shall see in a moment how this idea inspired some of the greatest of the Greek dramas.

The Three Great Tragic Poets. — There are three great names in Greek tragedy, — Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. These dramatists all wrote during the splendid period which followed the victories of the Persian war, when the intellectual life of all Hellas, and especially that of Athens, was strung to the highest tension. This lent nervous power and intensity to almost all they wrote, particularly to the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles. Of the two hundred and fifty-eight dramas produced by these poets, only thirty-two have come down to us; all the others have perished through the accidents of time.

Æschylus (525-456 B.C.) was more than Shakespearian in the gloom and intensity of his tragedies. He knew how to touch the hearts of the generation that had won the victories of the Persian war; for he had fought with honor both at Marathon and at Sala-

mis. But it was on a very different arena that he was destined to win his most enduring fame. Eleven times did he carry off the prize in tragic composition. The Athenians called him the "Father of Tragedy." *Prometheus Bound* is one of his chief works—"one of the boldest and most original dramas," Ranke declares, "that have ever been written." The old Promethean myth which Æschylus makes the ground-work of this tragedy was immoral; that is, it represents the Supreme Zeus as treating the Titan arbitrarily and unjustly.¹ But Æschylus moralizes the tale. He makes prom-



ÆSCHYLUS.

inent Prometheus' faults of impatience and self-will, and shows that his sufferings are but the just penalty of his presumption and self-assertion.

¹ In punishment for having stolen fire from heaven and given it to men, and for having taught them the arts of life, the Titan Prometheus is chained by Zeus to a lonely cliff on the remote shores of the Euxine, and an eagle is sent to feed upon his liver, which each night grows anew.

Another of the great tragedies of Æschylus is his *Agamemnon*, thought by some to be his masterpiece. The subject is the crime of Clytæmnestra (see p. 168). It is a tragedy crowded with spirit-shaking terrors, and filled with more than human crimes and woes. Nowhere is portrayed with greater power the awful vengeance with which the implacable Nemesis is armed.¹

The theme of Æschylus' *Persæ* was the defeat of Xerxes and his host, which afforded the poet a good opportunity "to state his philosophy of Nemesis, here being a splendid tragic instance of pride humbled, of greatness brought to nothing, through one man's impiety and pride." The poet teaches that "no mortal may dare raise his heart too high," — that "Zeus tames excessive lifting up of heart."

Sophocles (495–405 B.C.) while yet a youth gained the prize in a poetic contest with Æschylus (468 B.C.), Cimon being the chief umpire. Plutarch says that Æschylus was so chagrined by his defeat that he left Athens and retired to Sicily. Sophocles now became the leader of tragedy at Athens. In almost every contest he carried away the first prize. He lived through nearly a century, a century, too, that comprised the most brilliant period of the life of Hellas. His dramas were perfect works of art.

The central idea of his dramas is the same as that which characterizes those of Æschylus; namely, that self-will and insolent pride arouse the righteous indignation of the gods, and that no mortal can contend successfully against the will of Zeus. His chief works are *Œdipus Tyrannus*, *Œdipus Coloneus*, and (probably) *Antigone*, all of which are founded upon the old tales of the royal line of Thebes (see p. 164).

Euripides (485–406 B.C.) was a more popular dramatist than

¹ The *Agamemnon* forms the first of a *trilogy*: that is, a series of three dramas, the other pieces being entitled the *Chæphoræ* and the *Eumenides*. These continue the subject of the *Agamemnon*, so that the three really form a single drama or story. On the Greek stage, the several parts of the trilogy were performed successively the same day. This trilogy of Æschylus is the only one from the ancient stage of which all the parts have come down to us.

either Æschylus or Sophocles. Æschylus was too lofty, severe, and earnest a poet to be long a favorite with the volatile and pleasure-loving Athenians. They tired of him as they did of Aris-



SOPHOCLES.

tides. Nor was Sophocles sensational enough to please them, after the state of exalted religious feeling awakened by the tremendous experiences of the Persian war had passed away. Euripides was a better representative than either of these of the Athenian in

his normal mood. The Athenian cared more for æsthetics than ethics.

The fame of Euripides passed far beyond the limits of Greece. Herodotus asserts that the verses of the poet were recited by the natives of the remote country of Gedrosia; and Plutarch says that the Sicilians were so fond of his lines that many of the Athenian prisoners, taken before Syracuse, bought their liberty by teaching their masters such of his verses as they could repeat from memory. Euripides is said to have written nearly one hundred plays, of which number, however, only seventeen remain to us. Almost all of these are based on incidents detailed in the Argonautic, Theban, and Trojan legends.

Comedy: Aristophanes. — Foremost among all writers of comedy must be placed Aristophanes (about 444–380 B.C.). He introduces us to the every-day life of the least admirable classes of Athenian society. Four of his most noted works are the *Clouds*, the *Knights*, the *Birds*, and the *Wasps*.

In the comedy of the *Clouds*, Aristophanes especially ridicules the Sophists, a school of philosophers and teachers just then rising into prominence at Athens, of whom the satirist unfairly makes Socrates the representative. But the points of the play were susceptible of a general application. "Everything that deceived, concealed, shifted, eluded, was symbolized by clouds."

The aim of the *Knights* was the punishment and ruin of Cleon, whom we already know as one of the most conceited and insolent of the demagogues of Athens.

The play of the *Birds* is "the everlasting allegory of foolish sham and flimsy ambition." "Cloud-Cuckootown," we quote the critic Symonds, "is any castle in the air or South Sea Bubble which might take the fancy of the Athenian mob." But while having a general application, it was aimed particularly at the ambitious Sicilian schemes of Alcibiades; for at the time the play appeared, the Athenian army was before Syracuse, and elated by the good news daily arriving, the Athenians were building the most gorgeous air-castles, and indulging in the most extravagant day-dreams of universal dominion.

In the *Wasps*, the poet satirizes the proceedings in the Athenian law-courts, by showing how the great citizen-juries were befooled by the demagogues.

But Aristophanes was something more than a master of mere mirth-provoking satire and ridicule : along with his exquisite sense of the humorous he possessed a nature most delicately sensitive to the finer emotions. Many of the choruses of his pieces are inexpressibly tender and beautiful.¹

History and Historians.

Poetry is the first form of literary expression among all peoples. So we must not be surprised to find that it was not until several centuries after the composition of the Homeric poems — that is, about the sixth century B.C. — that prose-writing appeared among the Greeks. Historical composition was then first cultivated. We can speak briefly of only three historians — Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon — whose names were cherished among the ancients, and whose writings are highly valued and carefully studied by ourselves.



HERODOTUS.

Herodotus. — Herodotus (about 484–402 B.C.), born at Halicarnassus, in Asia Minor, is called the “Father of History.” He travelled over much of the then known world ; visited Italy, Egypt, and Babylonia ; and describes as an eye-witness, with a never-failing vivacity and freshness, the wonders of the different lands he had seen. Herodotus lived in a story-telling age, and he is himself an inimitable story-teller.

To him we are indebted for a large part of the tales of antiquity—stories of men and events which we never tire of repeating. He was over-credulous, and was often

¹ *Menander* (342–292 B.C.). — Menander was, after Aristophanes, the most noted of Greek comic poets. He was the leader of what is known as the New Comedy. His plays were very popular with the Romans.

imposed upon by his guides in Egypt and at Babylon ; but he describes with great care and accuracy what he himself saw. It is sometimes very difficult, however, to determine just what he actually did see with his own eyes and experience in his own person ; for it seems certain that, following the custom of the story-tellers of his time, he often related as his own personal adventures the experiences of others, yet with no thought of deceiving. In this he might be likened to our modern writers of historical romances.

The central theme of his great History is the Persian wars, the struggle between Asia and Greece. Around this he groups the several stories of the nations of antiquity. In the pictures which the artist-historian draws, we see vividly contrasted, as in no other writings, the East and the West, Persia and Hellas.

The fundamental idea of the whole history, the conception which shapes and colors the main narrative, is the same as that which inspires the tragedies of Æschylus — the doctrine of Nemesis. This is expressed in the admonition which Artabanus is represented as giving to his nephew Xerxes, when the king was meditating his expedition against Greece : "The god loves to cut down all towering things . . . the god suffers none but himself to be haughty. Rash haste ever goes before a fall ; but self-restraint brings blessings, not seen at the moment perhaps, yet found out in due time."¹ Possessed by this idea, the historian becomes a dramatist, and his history a world-tragedy. In the ethical lesson it teaches, it is practically an expansion of the Æschylean drama of the *Persæ*.

Besides this leading Herodotean idea of Nemesis, there are two other important conceptions entering into the historian's philosophy of the universe. These are the notion of the Divine Envy (see p. 183), and the general doctrine of the interference of the gods in human affairs. Herodotus had a naïve belief in omens, oracles, and miracles generally, and this leads him constantly to attribute to preternatural causes the most ordinary events of his-

¹ *Herodotus*, Book VII. chap. 10. Quoted by Professor Jebb, *Greek Literature*, p. 105.

tory. His belief in the old immoral doctrine of the Envy of the Gods, — which he retains along with his maturer views of Providence, — causes him to delight in telling stories illustrative of the vicissitudes of life and the instability of fortune, as witness his story of Croesus and Polycrates (see pp. 131, 188, *note*).

Thucydides. — Thucydides (about 471–400 B.C.), though not so popular an historian as Herodotus, was a much more philosophical one. He was born near Athens. A story is told of his youth, which must be repeated, though critics have pronounced it fabulous. The tale is that Thucydides, when only fifteen years old, was taken by his father to hear Herodotus read his history at the Olympic games, and that the boy, on seeing the reading and the accompanying applause of the audience, shed tears, and to resolve to be an historian.



THUCYDIDES.

Thucydides was engaged in military service during the first years of the Peloponnesian War, but, on account of his being unfortunate, and through his own neglect, the Athenians deprived him of his command, and he went into an exile of twenty years. It is to this circumstance that we are indebted for his invaluable *History of the War between the Peloponnesians and Athenians*.

Through the closest observation and study, he qualified himself to become the historian of what he from the first foresaw would prove a memorable war. "I lived," he says, "through its extent, in the very flower of my understanding and strength, with a close application of my thoughts, to gain an exact insight into all its occurrences." He died before his task was completed. The work is considered a model of historical writing. In faithfulness, clearness, and philosophical insight, Thucydides has never been surpassed as a narrator and interpreter of events. Demosthenes read and re-read his writings to improve his style; and the greatest orators and historians of modern times have been equally diligent students of the work of the great Athenian.

Xenophon. — Xenophon (about 445–355 B.C.) was an Athenian, and is known both as a general and a writer. The works that render his name so familiar are his *Anabasis*, a simple yet thrilling narrative of the retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks; and his *Memorabilia*, or Recollections of Socrates. This work by his devoted yet by no means brilliant pupil is the most faithful portraiture that we possess of that philosopher.

Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, or *Education of Cyrus*, is essentially an historical romance, which portrays not alone the youth, but the whole life of Cyrus the Great, besides delineating the manners and institutions of the Persians. It has been classed with Plato's *Republic* and More's *Utopia*.

Oratory.

Influence of the Public Assembly. — The art of oratory among the Greeks was fostered and developed by the democratic character of their institutions. In the public assemblies all questions that concerned the state were discussed and decided. The debates, as we have seen, were, in the democratic cities, open to all. The gift of eloquence secured for its possessor a sure pre-eminence, and conferred a certain leadership in the affairs of state. The law-courts, too, especially the great jury courts of Athens, were schools of oratory; for every citizen was obliged to be his own advocate and to defend his own case.¹ Hence the attention bestowed upon public speaking, and the high degree of perfection attained by the Greeks in the difficult art of persuasion. "It was the prevalence of the habit of public speaking," says Grote, "that was one of the principal causes of the intellectual eminence of the nation generally." Almost all the prominent Athenian statesmen were masters of oratory.

¹The oratory of the Athenian law-courts was not always, it must be confessed, of a very high order. To move the sympathies of the jurors, the speakers too often had recourse to the low arts of the demagogue. Yet in general these courts certainly developed a popular taste and aptitude for public speaking.

Themistocles and Pericles.— We have already become acquainted with Themistocles and Pericles as statesmen and leaders of Athenian affairs during the most stirring period of Athens' history. They both were also great orators, though they are not generally classed with the orators of Greece,¹ and to that fact were largely, if not chiefly, indebted for their power and influence. Thucydides has preserved the oration delivered by Pericles in commemoration of those who fell in the first year of the Peloponnesian War.² It is an incomparable picture of the beauty and glory of Athens at the zenith of her power, and has been pronounced one of the finest productions of antiquity. The language of the address, as we have it, is the historian's, but the sentiments are doubtless those of the great statesman. It was the habit of Thucydides to put speeches into the mouths of his characters.

Demosthenes and Æschines.— It has been the fortune of Demosthenes (385–322 B.C.) to have his name become throughout the world the synonym of eloquence. The labors and struggles by which, according to tradition, he achieved excellence in his art are held up anew to each generation of youth as guides of the path to success. His first address before the public assembly was a complete failure, owing to defects of voice and manner. With indomitable will he set himself to the task of correcting these. He shut himself up in a cave, and gave himself to the diligent study of Thucydides. That he might not be tempted to spend his time in society, he rendered his appearance ridiculous by shaving one side of his head. To correct a stammering utterance, he

¹ Antiphon (480–411 B.C.) was regarded by the Greeks as the first of the ten Athenian orators. Lysias (458–7378 B.C.), Isocrates (436–338 B.C.), and Isæus (b. about 420 B.C.) were all noted representatives of the art of political or forensic oratory, and forerunners of Demosthenes. We should call Isocrates a rhetorician instead of an orator, as his discourses (which for the most part were written for others to deliver) were intended to be read rather than spoken. The Roman Cicero was his debtor and imitator.

² "This custom still prevails throughout Hellas. No man of note dies without the offering of this last tribute by his friends or relatives. Many men make the delivery of these funeral orations their profession." — TIMAGENIS.

spoke with pebbles in his mouth, and broke himself of an ungainly habit of shrugging his shoulders by speaking beneath a suspended sword. To accustom himself to the tumult and interruptions of the public assembly, he declaimed upon the noisiest sea-shore.



DEMOSTHENES.

These are some of the many stories told of the world's greatest orator. There is doubtless this much truth in them at least — that Demosthenes attained success, in spite of great discouragement.

ments, by persevering and laborious effort. It is certain that he was a most diligent student of Thucydides, whose great history he is said to have known by heart. More than sixty of his orations have been preserved. "Of all human productions they present to us the models which approach the nearest to perfection."

The latter part of the life of Demosthenes is intertwined with that of another and rival Athenian orator, Æschines. For his services to the state, the Athenians proposed to award to Demosthenes a crown of gold. Æschines opposed this. All Athens and strangers from far and near gathered in the Agora, to hear the rival orators; for every matter at Athens was decided by a great debate. Demosthenes made the grandest effort of his life. His address, known as the "Oration on the Crown," has been declared to be "the most polished and powerful effort of human oratory." Æschines was completely crushed, and was sent into exile, and became a teacher of oratory at Rhodes.

He is said to have once gathered his disciples about him, and to have read to them the oration of Demosthenes that had proved so fatal to himself. Carried away by the torrent of its eloquence, his pupils, unable to restrain their enthusiasm, burst into applause. "Ah!" said Æschines, who seemed to find solace in the fact that his defeat had been at the hands of so worthy an antagonist, "you should have heard the wild beast himself!"

Respecting the orations (Philippics) of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon, and the death of the eloquent patriot, we have already spoken (see pp. 266, 279).

IV. THE ALEXANDRIAN AGE (300-146 B.C.)

Character of the Literature.—The Alexandrian period of Greek literature embraces the time between the break-up of Alexander's empire and the conquest of Greece by Rome (300-146 B.C.). During this period Alexandria in Egypt was the center of literary activity, hence the term *Alexandrian*, applied to the literature of the age. The great museum and library of the Ptolemies

afforded in that capital such facilities for students and authors as existed in no other city in the world.

But the creative age of Greek literature was over. With the loss of political liberty, literature was cut off from its sources of inspiration. Consequently, the Alexandrian literature lacked freshness, spontaneity, originality. It was imitative, critical, and learned. The writers of the period were grammarians, commentators, and translators — in a word, book-worms.

Works and Writers. — One of the most important literary undertakings of the age was the translation of the Old Testament of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. From the traditional number of translators (seventy) the version is known as the *Septuagint* (Latin for seventy). The work was probably begun by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and was completed under his successors.

It was also during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus that Manetho wrote, from the monuments, his history of Egypt (see p. 17). Just about the same time Berosus compiled, for one of the Seleucidæ, the chronicles of Chaldæa. We possess only fragments of these works, but these have a high historical value.

Among the poets of the period one name, and only one, stands out clear and pre-eminent. This is that of Theocritus, a Sicilian idyllist, who wrote at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus. His idyls are beautiful pictures of Sicilian pastoral life.

During the Alexandrian period science was cultivated by Greek scholars with considerable success; but the names most noted in this department will more properly find a place in the following chapter on Greek philosophy and science.

Conclusion: Græco-Roman Writers. — After the Roman conquest of Greece, the center of Greek literary activity shifted from Alexandria to Rome. Hence Greek literature now passes into what is known as its Græco-Roman Period (146 B.C.—527 A.D.).

The most noted historical writer of the first part of this period was Polybius (about 203–121 B.C.), who wrote a history of the Roman conquests from 264 to 146 B.C. His work, though the larger part of it has reached us in a very mutilated state, is of

great worth ; for Polybius wrote of matters that had become history in his own day. He had lived to see the larger part of the world he knew absorbed by the evergrowing power of the Imperial City.

Diodorus Siculus (lived under Augustus Cæsar at Rome) was the author of a General History of the World. Herodotus had grouped all his material about the struggle between Greece and Persia, but Diodorus Siculus makes Rome the centre of the whole story. Already men were coming to regard Rome as the pre-ordained head and ruler of the world.

Plutarch (b. about 40 A.D.), "the prince of biographers," will always live in literature as the author of the *Parallel Lives*, in which, with great wealth of illustrative anecdotes, he compares or contrasts Greek and Roman statesmen and soldiers. The motive that led Plutarch to write the book, as we may infer from the partiality which he displays for his Grecian heroes, was a desire "to show the world that there was a time when the Greeks were superior to the Romans."



CHAPTER XII.

GREEK PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE.

Relation of Mythology to Philosophy. — Philosophy has been very aptly defined as mythology grown old and wise. Grecian mythology did not become sufficiently wise to be called philosophy until the sixth century B.C. About that time the Greeks began to think and to inquire in a philosophical manner respecting the phenomena and laws of the universe of mind and matter, giving the most attention at first, however, to the physical world. Having once entered upon this path, the Greek race reached, almost at a bound, the loftiest heights of philosophical speculation.

The Use of Verse in Philosophy. — All the earlier Greek philosophers were poet-philosophers; that is, they conveyed their instruction in verse, "dragging the hexameter," as one figures it, "along the pathway of their argument upon the entities, like a pompous sacrificial vestment." Heraclitus (about 500 B.C.) was the first prominent thinker to employ prose in philosophical discussions. As a consequence of his innovation, he failed to be understood, and his would-be disciples were out of patience with him because he did not philosophize to them in the usual way.

The Seven Sages; the Forerunners. — About the sixth century B.C. there lived and taught in different parts of Hellas many philosophers of real or reputed originality and wisdom. Among these were seven men, called the "Seven Sages," who held the place of pre-eminence. As in the case of the Seven Wonders of the World, ancient writers were not always agreed as to what names should be accorded the honor of enrollment in the sacred number. Thales, Solon, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilo, Bias, and Pittacus are, however, usually reckoned as the Seven Wise Men. To them

belongs the distinction of having first aroused the Greek intellect to philosophical thought. The wise sayings — such as “Know thyself” and “Nothing in excess” — attributed to them, are beyond number.

It will be noticed that several of the sages were tyrants or lawgivers. This is not a mere coincidence ; it is explained by the fact that participation in active political life stirs and quickens the intellect.

The ethical maxims and practical proverbs ascribed to the sages, while, like the so-called proverbs of Solomon, they contain a vast amount of practical wisdom, still do not constitute philosophy proper, which is a systematic search for the reason and causes of things. They form simply the introduction or prelude to Greek philosophy.

The Ionic Philosophers. — The first Greek school of philosophy grew up in the cities of Ionia, in Asia Minor, where almost all forms of Hellenic culture seem to have had their beginning. The founder of the system was Thales of Miletus (about 640–550 B.C.), who was followed by Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Heraclitus.

One tenet held in common by all these philosophers was that matter and mind are inseparable ; or, in other words, that all matter is animate. They never thought of the soul as something distinct and separable from matter, as we do. Even the shade in Hades was conceived as having a body in every respect like that the soul possessed in the earthly life, only it was composed of a subtler substance. This conception of matter as being alive will help us to understand Greek mythology, which, it will be remembered, endowed trees, rivers, springs, clouds, the planets, all physical objects indeed, with intelligence and will.

This sensate matter the philosophers held to be eternal, regarding creation and annihilation as both alike impossible.

But this animated matter appeared under four forms — fire, air, water, and earth, the well-known “four elements.”¹ Out of

¹ At first the elements numbered only three, — air, water, and earth, — fire being regarded as simply a kind of refined air. These elements of the ancient philosophers answer to the seventy or more elements of modern chemistry.

these four elements all things in heaven and earth were made. But the philosophers differed as to which of the four elements was the original principle, that is, the one from which all the others were derived; for the Greek mind could not rest until it had found unity. Thales believed water to be the first principle; Anaximenes urged that it was air; while Heraclitus taught that it was fire.¹

From the original element all the others were supposed to be derived by a process of rarefaction and condensation. (This notion is something like the modern theory of astronomical evolution, which, from an original infinitely expanded gaseous nebula, produces by successive condensations the air, the water, and the solid rock of the various planets.) Rain was simply condensed air. The wood and flesh of the sacrifice, when consumed upon the altar, were merely transformed into fire (ether), which seeking its own, naturally mounted to its native sphere — the empyrean. This philosophical notion helps us to understand the fundamental idea of the ancient sacrifices. The gods were pleased with the offerings, because these being converted into flame or ether, could be actually partaken of as food by the celestials.

Pythagoras. — Pythagoras (about 580–500 B.C.) was born on the island of Samos, whence his title of “Samian Sage.” Probable tradition says that he spent many years of his early life in Egypt, where, being admitted, through the favor and influence of King Amasis, to the sacred colleges of the priests, he became versed in all the mysteries of the Egyptians. He returned to Greece with a great reputation, and finally settled at Croton, in Italy. Here he gathered about him a renowned school, or society, composed of six hundred companions, all selected with special regard to their capacity to assimilate his peculiar doctrines.

Like many another ancient philosopher, Pythagoras sought to

¹ By the term *fire* the ancient philosophers meant about what we understand by the term *ether* (which comes from the Greek word *αἰθήρ*, meaning “to burn”). The ether or fire formed a sphere above the air, ensphering it just as it in turn enspheres the earth.

increase the reverence of his disciples for himself by peculiarities of dress and manner. His uncut hair and beard flowed down upon his shoulders and over his breast. He never smiled. His dress was a white robe, with a golden crown. For the first years of their novitiate, his pupils were not allowed to look upon their master. They listened to his lectures from behind a curtain. *Ipse dixit*, "he himself said so," was the only argument they must employ in debate. It is to Pythagoras that we are indebted for the word *philosopher*. Being asked of what he was master, he replied that he was simply a "philosopher," that is, a "lover of wisdom."

Pythagoras held views of the solar system that anticipated by two thousand years those of Copernicus and his school. He taught, only to his most select pupils however, that the earth is a sphere; and that, like the other planets, it revolves about a central globe of fire. From him comes the pretty conceit of the "music of the spheres." He imagined that the heavenly spheres, by their swift, rolling motions, produced musical notes, which united in a celestial melody, too refined for human ears. Music held an important place in his system of philosophy.

He taught the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, an idea he had doubtless brought from Egypt. Because of this belief the Pythagoreans were strict vegetarians, abstaining religiously from the use of all animal food.

Anaxagoras. — Anaxagoras (499–427 B.C.) was the first Greek philosopher who made *mind*, instead of necessity or chance, the arranging and harmonizing force of the universe. "Reason rules the world" was his first maxim. This proposition, which makes mind and matter two distinct things, and mind the fashioner of matter, marks a turning-point in Greek philosophy. It based it upon the same fundamental conceptions as that upon which the Hebrew philosophy of the world rested, and prepared the way for the union, four centuries later, of these two systems of thought, at Alexandria (see p. 340).

Anaxagoras was the teacher in philosophy of Pericles, and it is

certain that that statesman was greatly influenced by the liberal views of the philosopher; for in his general conceptions of the universe, Anaxagoras was far in advance of his age. He ventured to believe that the moon was somewhat like the earth, and inhabited; and taught that the sun was not a god, but a glowing rock, as large, probably, as the Peloponnesus.

But for his audacity, the philosopher suffered the fate of Galileo in a later age; he was charged with impiety and exiled. Yet this did not disturb the serenity of his mind. In banishment he said, "It is not I who have lost the Athenians, but the Athenians who have lost me."

Empedocles and Democritus.—In the teachings of Empedocles (about 492–432 B.C.) and Democritus (about 460–370 B.C.) we meet with many speculations respecting the constitution of matter and the origin of things which are startlingly similar to some of the doctrines held by modern scientists.

Empedocles was an evolutionist. He said, "Since the higher forms of life can only arise out of the lower, these latter must be regarded as the lower stages through which the former must pass." In this conclusion Empedocles anticipated modern evolutionists twenty centuries; but then he failed to point out the law (natural selection) through the operations of which the transformation takes place, and so his happy guess as to the "origin of species" remained only a guess.

Democritus, in his theory of atoms, made a very close approach in some respects to the views of modern physicists regarding the constitution of matter and the formation of the worlds. He conceived all things, including the soul, to be composed of invisible, uncreated atoms, all alike in quality, but differing in form and combination. Respecting the formation of the world from the original chaos of atoms, he held a theory that had points of similarity to the modern nebular hypothesis.

The Sophists.—The Sophists, of whom the most noted were Protagoras, Gorgias, and Prodicus, were a class of philosophers or teachers who gave instruction in rhetoric and the art of disputa-

ion. They travelled about from city to city, and, contrary to the usual custom of the Greek philosophers, took fees from their pupils. They were shallow but brilliant men, caring more for the dress in which the thought was arrayed than for the thought itself, more for victory than for truth; and some of them inculcated a selfish morality, placing expediency before right. The better philosophers of the time despised them, and applied to them many harsh epithets, taunting them with selling wisdom, and accusing them of boasting that they could "make the worse appear the better reason."

But this latter accusation was unjust. What the Sophists, among other things conducive to success in life, really taught the people was the art of conducting their own cases before the great citizen-juries, where every man was forced to be his own advocate. That their pupils often employed the art in making the unjust appear the just cause, there is no doubt; but the Sophists should hardly be held responsible for this abuse of the art they taught. The lawyer's profession of the present day is often perverted, but not for that reason should the whole art of pleading and of forensic oratory be left untaught.

Socrates.—Volumes would not contain what would be both instructive and interesting respecting the lives and works of three great philosophers Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. We have, however, accord to each only a few words. Of these three eminent thinkers, Socrates (469–399 B.C.), though surpassed in knowledge and power of intellect by both Plato and Aristotle, has the firm hold upon the affections of the world.

Nature, while generous to the philosopher in the gifts of knowledge, was unkind to him in the matter of his person. His face was that of a satyr's, and he had an awkward, shambling walk, so that he invited the shafts of the comic poets of his time. He is said to have been the most ungainly, and therefore the most conspicuous, of any upon the streets of Athens. He loved to gather a circle about him in the Agora or in the streets, and to draw out his listeners by a series of ingenious questions. His

was so peculiar to himself that it has received the designation of the "Socratic dialogue." He has very happily been called an *educator*, as opposed to an *instructor*. In the young men of his time Socrates found many devoted pupils. The youthful Alcibiades declared that "he was forced to stop his ears and flee away, that he might not sit down by the side of Socrates and grow old in listening."

Socrates was unfortunate in his domestic relations. Xanthippe, his wife, seems to have been of a practical turn of mind, and unable to sympathize with the abstracted ways of her husband. "Sometimes she threw water on him ; but this only elicited from the mild philosopher the remark to those about him, 'Did I not say that Xanthippe was thundering and would soon rain?'"

This great philosopher believed that the proper study of mankind is man, his favorite maxim being "Know Thyself" ; hence he is said to have brought philosophy from the heavens and introduced it to the homes of men.

Socrates held the Sophists in aversion, and in opposition to their selfish expediency taught the purest system of morals that the world had yet known, and which has been surpassed only by the precepts of the Great Teacher. He thought himself to be restrained from entering upon what was inexpedient or wrong, by a tutelary spirit (demon). He believed in the immortality of the soul and in a Supreme Ruler of the universe, but sometimes spoke slightly of the temples and the popular deities. This led to his prosecution on the double charge of blasphemy and of corrupting the Athenian youth. The fact that Alcibiades had been his pupil was used to prove the demoralizing tendency of his teachings. He was condemned to drink the fatal hemlock. The night before



SOCRATES.

his death he spent with his disciples, discoursing on the immortality of the soul.

Plato. — Plato (429–348 B.C.), “the broad-browed,” was a philosopher of noble birth, before whom in youth opened a brilliant career in the world of Greek affairs ; but, coming under the influence of Socrates, he resolved to give up all his prospects in politics and devote himself to philosophy. Upon the condemnation and death of his master he went into voluntary exile. In many lands he gathered knowledge and met with varied experiences. He



PLATO.

visited Sicily, where he was so unfortunate as to call upon himself the resentment of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, through having worsted him in an argument, and also by an uncourtly plainness of speech. The king caused him to be sold into slavery as a prisoner of war. Being ransomed by a friend, he found his way to his native Athens, and established a school of philosophy in the Academy, a public garden close to Athens. Here, amid the disciples that thronged to his lectures, he passed the greater part of his long life — he died 348 B.C., at the age of eighty-one years — laboring incessantly upon the great works that bear his name.

Plato imitated in his writings Socrates' method in conversation. The discourse is carried on by questions and answers, hence the term *Dialogues* that attaches to his works. He attributes to his master, Socrates, much of the philosophy that he teaches : yet his *Dialogues* are all deeply tinged with his own genius and thought. In the *Republic* Plato portrays his conception of an ideal state. He was opposed to the republic of Athens, and his

system, in some of its main features, was singularly like the Feudal System of Mediæval Europe. Especially is this true as to his military aristocracy.

The *Phædo* is a record of the last conversation of Socrates with his disciples — an immortal argument for the immortality of the soul.

Plato believed not only in a future life (post-existence), but also in pre-existence; teaching that the ideas of reason, or our intuitions, are reminiscences of a past experience.¹ Plato's doctrines have exerted a profound influence upon all schools of thought and philosophies since his day. In some of his precepts he made a close approach to the teachings of Christianity. "We ought to become like God," he said, "as far as this is possible; and to become like Him is to become holy and just and wise."

Aristotle. — As Socrates was surpassed by his pupil Plato, so in turn was Plato excelled by his disciple Aristotle, "the master of those who know." In him the philosophical genius of the Hel-

¹ In the following lines from Wordsworth we catch a glimpse of Plato's doctrine of pre-existence:

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar:
Not in entire forgetfulness,
Nor yet in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory, do we come
From God, who is our home." — *Ode on Immortality*.

And again: "And but for our surface and distracted lives — lived here for the most part in the senses — we should have never lost the consciousness of our descent into immortality, nor have questioned our resurrection and longevity. But as in descending all drink of oblivion — some more, some less — it happens that while all are conscious of life, by defect of memory our recollections are various concerning it; those discerning most vividly who have drunk least of oblivion, they more easily recalling the memory of their past existence. Ancient of days, we hardly are persuaded to believe that our souls are no older than our bodies, and to date our nativity from our family registers, as if time and space could chronicle the periods of the immortal mind by its advent into the flesh and de cease out of it." — *ALCOTT'S Tablets*, p. 203.

lenic intellect reached its culmination. It may be doubted whether all the ages since his time have produced so profound and powerful an intellect as his. He was born in the Macedonian city of Stagira (384 B.C.), and hence is frequently called the "Sta-



ARISTOTLE.

girite." As in the case of Socrates, his personal appearance gave no promise of the philosopher. He had a small and contemptible body, the defects of which were made more noticeable by his over-

scrupulous care of his dress and by the finery he wore. His teacher Plato, however, recognized the genius of his pupil, and called him the "Mind of the school." When he missed him from the class he would say, "Intellect is not here to-day." He also called him "The Reader," because he devoured so eagerly the works of the masters.

After studying for twenty years in the school of Plato, Aristotle became the preceptor of Alexander the Great. When Philip invited him to become the tutor of his son, he gracefully complimented the philosopher by saying in his letter that he was grateful to the gods that the prince was born in the same age with him. The royal pupil loved his great teacher with an affectionate devotion. He said, "I owe great love to my father and to my teacher Aristotle; to one for living, and to the other for living well." Alexander became the liberal patron of his tutor, and, besides giving him large sums of money, aided him in his scientific studies by sending him large collections of plants and animals, gathered on his distant expeditions.

At Athens the great philosopher delivered his lectures while walking about beneath the trees and porticos of the Lyceum; hence the term *peripatetic* (from the Greek *peripatein*, "to walk about") applied to his philosophy. He died 322 B.C., the same year that marks the death of Demosthenes.

Among the productions of his fertile intellect are works on rhetoric, logic, poetry, morals and politics, physics and metaphysics. For centuries his works were studied and copied and commented upon by both European and Asiatic scholars, in the schools of Athens and Rome, of Alexandria and Constantinople. Until the time of Bacon in England, for nearly two thousand years, Aristotle ruled over the realm of mind with a despotic sway. All teachers and philosophers acknowledged him as their guide and master.

Zeno and the Stoics.—We are now approaching the period when the political life of Hellas was failing, and was being fast overshadowed by the greatness of Rome. But the intellectual life

of the Greek race was by no means eclipsed by the calamity that ended its political existence. For centuries after that event the poets, scholars, and philosophers of this intellectual people led a brilliant career in the schools and universities of the Roman world.

From among all the philosophers of this long period, we can select for brief mention only a few. And first we shall speak of Zeno and Epicurus, who are noted as founders of schools of philosophy that exerted a vast influence upon both the thought and the conduct of many centuries.

Zeno, founder of the celebrated school of the Stoics, lived in the third century before our era (about 362-264). He taught at Athens in a public porch (in Greek, *stoa*), from which circumstance comes the name applied to his disciples.

The Stoical philosophy was the outgrowth, in part at least, of that of the Cynics, a sect of most rigid and austere morals. The typical representative of this sect is found in Diogenes, who lived, so the story goes, in a tub, and went about Athens by daylight with a lantern, in search, as he said, of a *man*. The Cynics were simply a race of pagan hermits: Diogenes was the Simon Stylites (a noted Christian ascetic) of the sect.

Zeno adopted all that was good in the code of the Cynics, and, adding to this everything that he found of value in the systems of other philosophers, he formed therefrom his new philosophy. It became a favorite system of thought with certain classes of the Romans, and under its teachings and doctrines were nourished some of the purest and loftiest characters produced by the pagan world. It numbered among its representatives, in later times, the illustrious Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius, and the scarcely less renowned and equally virtuous slave Epictetus. In many of its teachings it anticipated Christian doctrines, and was, in the philosophical world, a very important preparation for Christianity.

The Stoics inculcated virtue for the sake of itself. They believed—and it would be very difficult to frame a better creed—that “man’s chief business here is to do his duty.” Bodily pain,

they taught, was nothing ; and they schooled themselves to bear with perfect composure any lot that destiny might appoint. Any sign of emotion on account of calamity was considered unmanly and unphilosophical. Thus, when told of the sudden death of his son, the Stoic replied, "Well, I never imagined that I had given life to an immortal."

Epicurus and the Epicureans. — Epicurus (342–270 B.C.), who was a contemporary of Zeno, taught, in opposition to the Stoics, that *pleasure* is the highest good. He recommended virtue, indeed, but only as a means for the attainment of pleasure ; whereas the Stoics made virtue an end in itself. In other words, Epicurus said, "Be virtuous, because virtue will bring you the greatest amount of happiness" ; Zeno said, "Be virtuous, because you ought to be."

Epicurus had many followers in Greece, and his doctrines were eagerly embraced by many among the Romans during the corrupt and licentious period of the Roman empire. Many of these disciples carried the doctrines of their master to an excess that he himself would have been the first to condemn. (There is often more of good or evil in a philosophy than its founder ever dreams of.) Allowing full indulgence to every appetite and passion, their whole philosophy was expressed in the proverb, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." No pure or exalted life could be nourished in the unwholesome atmosphere of such a philosophy. Epicureanism never produced a single great character.

The Skeptics ; Pyrrho. — About the beginning of the third century B.C. skepticism became widespread in Greece. It seemed as though men were losing faith in everything. Many circumstances had worked together in bringing about this state of universal unbelief. A wider knowledge of the world had caused many to lose their faith in the myths and legends of the old mythologies. The existence of so many systems of philosophy caused men to doubt the truth of any of them. The conquests of Alexander, by bringing the Greek mind in contact with the

strange Asiatic systems of belief, tended powerfully to deepen and confirm this feeling of bewilderment and uncertainty. Many thoughtful minds were hopelessly asking, "What is truth?"

Pyrrho (about 360-270 B.C.) was the Greek Thomas. He doubted everything, and declared that the great problems of the universe could not be solved. It was the duty of man, and the part of wisdom, to entertain no positive judgment on any matter, and thus to ensure serenity and peace of mind.

The disciples of Pyrrho went to absurd lengths in their skepticism, some of them even saying that they asserted nothing, not even that they asserted nothing. They doubted whether they doubted.

The Neo-Platonists. — Neo-Platonism was a blending of Greek philosophy and Oriental mysticism. It has been well called the "despair of reason," because it abandoned all hope of man's ever being able to attain the *highest* knowledge through the intellect, and held that the human soul, when in an ecstatic state or prophet-like trance, received, through a higher faculty than reason, in a sort of vision, revelations of divine and eternal truth. It was chiefly a theological philosophy; that is, it dealt with the nature of God and his relations to man. The centre of this last movement in Greek philosophical thought was Alexandria in Egypt, the meeting-place, in the closing centuries of the ancient world, of the East and the West.

Philo the Jew (b. about 30 B.C.), who labored to harmonize Hebrew doctrines with the teachings of Plato, was the forerunner of the Neo-Platonists. But the greatest of the school was Plotinus (A.D. 204-269), who spent the last years of his life at Rome, where he was a great favorite. Four times in six years, according to one of his disciples, was he freed from the body, and being absorbed in the Infinite, saw God, in ecstatic vision.

Conflict between Neo-Platonism and Christianity. — While the Neo-Platonists were laboring to restore, in modified form, the ancient Greek philosophy and worship, the teachers of Christianity were fast winning the world over to a new faith. The two

systems came into deadly antagonism. For a time the issue of the contention between the Hellenic philosophers and the Christian Fathers may have seemed doubtful. But by the close of the third century A.D. it was plain that the majority of the people of the Roman empire, which now virtually embraced the world, were already, or at least soon would be, disciples of the Christian teachers. It was doubtless his persuasion of this fact that led the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great (A.D. 306-337) to throw his influence on the side of the Christian Fathers, and proclaim Christianity as the favored religion of the empire.

Under Julian the Apostate (Roman Emperor A.D. 361-363), who was an ardent Neo-Platonist, the Hellenic philosophy was restored, and every effort made to discredit and destroy the Christian faith. With his death, however, passed away the last good hope of the restoration of the renovated philosophy of ancient Greece. The gifted and beautiful Hypatia, almost the last representative of the old system of speculation and belief, was torn to pieces in the streets of Alexandria by a mob of fanatic Christian monks (A.D. 415). Finally the Roman Emperor Justinian forbade the pagan philosophers to teach their doctrines (A.D. 529).¹ This imperial edict closed forever the Greek schools, in which for more than a thousand years the world had received instruction upon the loftiest themes that can engage the human mind. The Greek philosophers, as living, personal teachers, had finished their work; but their systems of thought will never cease to attract and influence the best minds of the race.

Science among the Greeks.

In ancient times no single people or race excelled in all departments of knowledge or human endeavor. Having, then, seen the wonderful genius of the Greek race for art, literature, and philosophy, we are prepared to learn that they never evinced great aptitude for the more practical sciences. In art and literature the

¹ See *Medieval and Modern History*, pp. 68, 69.

Greeks are still our teachers ; in science we are immeasurably their superiors. Still, while this is true, the contributions of the Greek observers to the physical sciences have laid us under no small obligation to them. Especially did the later Greeks do much good and lasting work in the mathematical sciences.

Some of those whom we have classed as philosophers, Thales and Anaxagoras for instance, were careful students of nature, and might be called scientists. The great philosopher Aristotle wrote some valuable works on anatomy and natural history, his observations being held in the highest esteem by naturalists of the present day for their accuracy. From his time onward the sciences were pursued with much zeal and success.

Mathematics: Euclid and Archimedes. — Alexandria, in Egypt, became the seat of the most celebrated school of mathematics of antiquity. Here, under Ptolemy Lagus, flourished Euclid, the great geometer, whose work forms the basis of the science of geometry as taught in our schools at the present time. Ptolemy himself was his pupil. The royal student, however, seems to have disliked the severe application required to master the problems of Euclid, and asked his teacher if there was not some easier way. Euclid replied, "There is no royal road to geometry."

In the third century B.C., Syracuse, in Sicily, was the home of Archimedes, the greatest mathematician that the Grecian world produced. He had a marvellous genius for figures, and investigated the abstrusest problems in geometry, mechanics, and the allied sciences. The range and productiveness of his genius are shown by the following titles to some of his works: *On Bodies Floating in Fluids*; *On Centres of Gravity*; *On the Sphere and the Cylinder*.

His acquaintance with the first subject is illustrated by the familiar story that is told of the manner in which he detected the impurity of the gold in the crown of Hiero, king of Syracuse. The king, suspecting that the gold had been alloyed, submitted the article to Archimedes, who detected the fraud by means of the principle of specific gravities, which was suggested to him while

bathing. Leaping from the bath, he ran through the corridors, exclaiming, "*Eureka! Eureka!*" — "I have found it! I have found it!"

His knowledge of the second subject and of the laws of the lever is indicated by the oft-quoted boast that he made to Hiero: "Give me a place to stand, and I will move the world." His elucidation of the properties of the sphere and cylinder were, even in his own estimation, so important that he requested that a figure of these should be placed, as the fittest memorial of his life, upon his tomb. More than one hundred years afterwards Cicero discovered and identified the monument by means of these emblems.

During the siege of Syracuse by the Romans, Archimedes rendered his native city valuable service by driving off or destroying the enemy's vessels by means of ingenious and powerful engines. The story of his setting fire to the Roman ships by means of mirrors reflecting the sun's rays, is, after much discussion, allowed to be not only possible, but probable. Archimedes perished in the sack of the city (212 B.C.), but in what way he met his death is not known with certainty.

Astronomy and Geography. — Among ancient Greek astronomers and geographers, the names of Aristarchus, Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Strabo, Pausanias, and Claudius Ptolemy are distinguished.

Aristarchus of Samos, who lived in the third century B.C., held that the earth revolves about the sun as a fixed center, and rotates on its own axis. He was the Greek Copernicus. But his theory was rejected by his contemporaries and successors.

Eratosthenes (b. about 276 B.C.) might be called an astronomical geographer. His greatest achievement was the fairly accurate determination of the circumference of the earth by means of the different lengths of the shadow cast by the midday sun in Upper and Lower Egypt at the time of the summer solstice.

Hipparchus, who flourished about the middle of the second century B.C., was, through his careful observations, the real founder of scientific astronomy. He calculated eclipses, observed the

CHAPTER XIII.

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE GREEKS.

Education. — Education at Sparta, where it was chiefly gymnastic, as we have seen, was a state affair ; but at Athens and throughout Greece generally, the youth were trained in private schools. These schools were of all grades, ranging from those kept by the most obscure teachers, who gathered their pupils in some recess of the street, to those established in the Athenian Academy and Lyceum by such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle.

It was only the boys who received education. These Grecian boys, Professor Mahaffy imagines, were "the most attractive the world has ever seen." At all events, we may believe that they were trained more carefully and delicately than the youth among any other people before or since the days of Hellenic culture.

In the nursery, the boy was taught the beautiful myths and stories of the national mythology and religion.¹ At about seven

¹ At the birth of a child, many customs of a significant character were carefully observed. Thus at Sparta the new-born infant was first cradled on a shield, which symbolized the martial life of the Spartan citizen; while at Athens the child was laid upon a mantle in which was wrought the *ægis* of Athena, by which act was emblemized and invoked the protection of that patron goddess. Infanticide was almost universally practised throughout Greece. (At Thebes, however, the exposure of children was prohibited by severe laws.) Such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle saw nothing in the custom to condemn. Among the Spartans, as we have already learned, the state determined what infants might be preserved, condemning the weakly or ill-formed to be cast out to die. At Athens and in other states the right to expose his child was given to the father. The infant was abandoned in some desert place, or left in some frequented spot in the hope that it might be picked up and cared for. Greek literature, like that of every other people of antiquity, is filled with stories and dramas all turning upon points afforded

he entered school, being led to and from the place of training by an old slave, who bore the name of *pedagogue*, which in Greek means a guide or leader of boys—not a teacher. His studies were grammar, music, and gymnastics, the aim of the course being to secure a symmetrical development of mind and body alike.

Grammar included reading, writing, and arithmetic; music, which embraced a wide range of mental accomplishments, trained the boy to appreciate the masterpieces of the great poets, to contribute his part to the musical diversions of private entertain-



A GREEK SCHOOL. (After a vase-painting.)

ments, and to join in the sacred choruses and in the pæan of the battle-field. The exercises of the *palestræ* and the *gymnasia* trained him for the Olympic contests, or for those sterner hand-to-hand battle-struggles, in which so much depended upon personal strength and dexterity.

Upon reaching maturity, the youth was enrolled in the list of citizens. But his graduation from school was his "commencement" in a much more real sense than with the average modern

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graduate. Never was there a people besides the Greeks whose daily life was so emphatically a discipline in liberal culture. The schools of the philosophers, the debates of the popular assembly, the practice of the law-courts, the masterpieces of a divine art, the religious processions, the representations of an unrivalled stage, the Panhellenic games—all these were splendid and efficient educational agencies, which produced and maintained a standard of average intelligence and culture among the citizens of the Greek cities that probably has never been attained among any other people on the earth. Freeman, quoted approvingly by Mahaffy, says that “the average intelligence of the assembled Athenian citizens was higher than that of our [the English] House of Commons.”

Social Position of Woman.—Although there are in Greek literature some exquisitely beautiful portraiture of ideal womanhood, still the general tone of the literature betrays a deep contempt for woman, which Symonds regards as “the greatest social blot upon the brilliant but imperfect civilization of the Greeks.” The poets are particularly sarcastic. Simonides winds up a bitter invective against women in general, in which he compares different classes of them to various despicable animals, by saying “Zeus made this supreme evil—women: even though they seem to be of good, when one has got one, she becomes plague.” And another poet (Hipponax) says, “A woman gives two days of happiness to man—her bridal and her burial.” Plato does not entertain a high opinion of the sex, while Thucydides quotes with seeming approval the Greek proverb,—“A woman is best who is least spoken of among men, whether good or for evil.”

The myth of Pandora seems to have sprung up out of just sentiments as the above. This fable evidently reacted upon feelings and practices of the Greeks, just as the Oriental story of the Fall of Man through the temptation of Eve contributed to the giving of woman a position of inferiority and subjection in the early Christian church.

This unworthy conception of woman of course consigned her to a narrow and inferior place in the Greek home. Her position may be defined as being about halfway between Oriental seclusion and modern or Western freedom. Her main duties were to cook and spin, and to oversee the domestic slaves, of whom she herself was practically one. In the fashionable society of Ionian cities, she was seldom allowed to appear in public, or to meet, even in her own house, the male friends of her husband. In Sparta, however, and in Dorian states generally, she was accorded unusual freedom, and was a really important factor in society.

The seclusion and neglect to which women were condemned in Ionian communities, in contrast with the great liberty enjoyed by women in the Dorian cities, is doubtless to be attributed, in part at least, to the influence upon the former of Asiatic custom, entering Greece through Ionia.

The low position generally assigned the wife in the home had a most disastrous effect upon Greek morals. She could exert no such elevating or refining influence as she casts over the modern home. The men were led to seek social and intellectual sympathy and companionship outside the family circle, among a class of talented and often highly cultured women, known as *Hetairæ*. As the most noted and brilliant representative of this class stands *Aspasia*, the friend of Pericles. Her conversation possessed attraction for the most prominent and accomplished men of Athens, such persons as Socrates and Anaxagoras often assembling at her house. Yet the influence of this class was most harmful to social morality, so that to the degradation of woman in the home may be traced the source of the most serious stain that rests upon Greek civilization.

Friendship among the Greeks.—From speaking of the inferior rank assigned woman in the Greek home, we are led by a natural transition to speak of Greek friendship between men. While it seems quite certain that that romantic sentiment to which we give distinctively the name of love, was not the universal and absorbing passion among the Greeks that it is among modern

ivilized peoples, it is equally certain that the ancient Greeks possessed a capacity for friendship between man and man such as is rarely or never seen among the men of modern times. It would scarcely be incorrect to say that the Greek men "fell in love" with each other. An ardent and romantic attachment sprang up between companions, which possessed all the higher elements of that chivalrous sentiment which the modern man seems capable of entertaining only for one of the opposite sex. "The chivalry of Hellas found its motive force," writes Symonds, "in friendship rather than in the love of woman. . . . Fraternity in arms played for the Greek race the same part as the idealization of woman for the knighthood of Feudal Europe."

Greek literature and history afford innumerable instances of this wonderful and happy capacity of the Greeks for friendship. The memory easily recalls the Homeric picture of the friendship between Achilles and Patroclus; the attachment, stronger than death, between Damon and Pythias; the friendship of the patriot heroes Pelopidas and Epaminondas, of Alexander and Hephæstion; and the attachments that united, in bonds dissolvable only by death, the members of the Sacred Band of Thebes.

Theatrical Entertainments.—Among the ancient Greeks the theatre was a state establishment, "a part of the constitution. This arose from the religious origin and character of the drama (see p. 311), all matters pertaining to the popular worship being the care and concern of the state. Theatrical performances, including religious acts, were presented only during religious festivals—certain festivals observed in honor of Dionysus,—and attended by all classes, rich and poor, men, women, and children. The women, however, except the Hetairæ, were, it would be permitted to witness tragedies only; the comic stage was gross to allow of their presence.

The upper ranges of seats in the theatre were reserved for women; the chairs bordering the orchestra were for the king of the state and other persons of distinction; while the inferior tiers of seats were occupied by the general audience.

spectators sat under the open sky ; and the pieces followed one after the other in close succession from early morning till night-fall.

There were companies of players who strolled about the country, just as the English actors of Shakespeare's time were wont to do. Such bands often accompanied the army to the field in time of war. While the better class of actors were highly honored, ordinary players were held in very low esteem, in which matter the Greek stage presents another parallel to that of England in the sixteenth century. And as in the Elizabethan age the writers of plays were frequently also performers, so in Greece, particularly during the early period of the drama, the author often became an actor, and assisted in the presentation of his own pieces. Still another parallel is found in the fact that the female parts in the Greek dramas, as in the early English theatre, were taken by men.

The stage machinery of the Greek theatre and the costumes of the actors were ingenious and elaborate. There were movable scenes ; trap-doors and various machines for introducing the infernal and celestial divinities and swinging them through the air ; contrivances for imitating all the familiar sounds of the country, the roar and crash of storm and thunder, and all the noises that are counterfeited on the modern stage. The tragic actor increased his height and size by wearing thick-soled buskins, an enormous mask, and padded garments. The actor in comedy wore thin-soled slippers, or socks. The *sock* being thus a characteristic part of the make-up of the ancient comic actor, and the *buskin* that of the tragic actor, these foot-coverings have come to be used



GREEK TRAGIC FIGURE.

as the symbols respectively of comedy and tragedy, as in the familiar lines of Dryden : —

“Great Fletcher never treads in buskins here,
Nor greater Jonson dares in socks appear.”

The chorus were often gorgeously and fantastically costumed. Thus in the play of the “Birds” by Aristophanes, they were arrayed each to represent some gay-plumaged bird ; while in the “Clouds,” by the same poet, to counterfeit clouds they appeared in the midst of fleecy drapery, and enveloped in the smoke of incense. By similar devices of drapery and masks, all the divinities and monsters known to Greek mythology were brought before the spectators.

The expenses of the choruses were defrayed by rich citizens, who at Athens were chosen by the different tribes in turn. The person elected to provide the chorus was known as the *choragus*. He often spent large sums in competition with other leaders. The choragus who presented the best chorus was awarded a prize, and was allowed the privilege of erecting, at his own expense, a monument in commemoration of his victory (see p. 293, choragic monument of Lysicrates).

The theatre exerted a great influence upon Greek life. It performed for ancient Greek society somewhat the same service as that rendered to modern society by the pulpit and the press. During the best days of Hellas the frequent rehearsal upon the stage of the chief incidents in the lives of the gods and the heroes served to deepen and strengthen the religious faith of the people ; and later, when with the Macedonian the days of decline came, it was one of the chief agents in the diffusion of Greek literary culture over the world. Theatres arose everywhere, and it was chiefly through the popular representations of the stage that a knowledge of the best productions of Greek literature was imparted to the mixed population of the Hellenistic cities of Egypt and Western Asia, and to the inhabitants of the cities of Italy as well.

Banquets and Symposia. — Banquets and drinking-parties

among the Greeks possessed some features which set them apart from similar entertainment among other people.

The banquet proper was partaken, in later times, by the guest in a reclining position, upon couches or divans, arranged about the table in the Oriental manner. After the usual courses, a libation was poured out and a hymn sung in honor of the gods, and then followed that characteristic part of the entertainment known as the *symposium*.

The symposium was "the intellectual side of the feast." It consisted of general conversation, riddles, and convivial songs rendered to the accompaniment of the lyre passed from hand to hand. Generally professional singers and musicians, dancing-girls, jugglers, and jesters, were called in to contribute to the merry-making. All the while the wine-bowl circulated freely, the rule being that a man might drink "as much as he could carry home without a guide, — unless he were far gone in years." Here also the Greeks applied their maxim, "Never too much." Besotted drunkenness, though by no means unknown in Greece, was always regarded as a most disgraceful thing.

The banqueters usually consumed the night in merry-making, sometimes being broken in upon from the street by other bands of revellers, who made themselves self-invited guests.

The symposium must at times, when the conversation was sustained by such persons as Socrates and Aristophanes, have been "a feast of reason and a flow of soul" indeed. Xenophon in his "Banquet" and Plato in his "Symposium" have each left us a striking report of such an entertainment.

Occupations. — The enormous body of slaves in ancient Greece (see next paragraph) relieved the free population from most of those forms of labor classed as drudgery. The æsthetic Greek regarded as degrading any kind of manual labor that marred the symmetry or beauty of the body.

At Sparta, and in other states where oligarchical constitutions prevailed, the citizens formed a sort of military caste, strikingly similar to the military aristocracy of Feudal Europe. Their chief

occupation was martial and gymnastic exercises and the administration of public affairs. The Spartans, it will be recalled, were forbidden by law to engage in trade. In other aristocratic states, as at Thebes, a man by engaging in trade disqualified himself from full citizenship.

In the democratic states, however, speaking generally, war and trade were regarded with less contempt. A considerable portion of the citizens were traders, artisans, and farmers.

Life at Athens presented some peculiar features. All being included in what we would term the corporate limits of the city, the roll of Athenian citizens included a large body of what we would call tenant farmers, whose residence was outside the city walls. The plains, and the slopes of the half-encircling hills, were dotted with beautiful villas and inviting farmhouses. "It is probable," says the well-known student of Greek life, in speaking of the appearance of the country about Athens just before the Peloponnesian war, "that as a scene of unambitious affluence, taste, high cultivation, and rustic contentment, nothing was ever beheld to compare with Attica."¹

And then Athens being the head of a great empire of subject cities, a large number of Athenian citizens were necessarily employed as salaried officials in the minor positions of the imperial service, and thus politics became a profession. In any case, the meetings of the popular assembly and the discussion of matters of state engrossed more or less of the time and attention of every citizen.

Again, the great Athenian jury-courts, which were busy with cases from all parts of the empire, gave constant employment to nearly one-fourth of the citizens, the fee that the jurymen received enabling him to live without other business. It is said that, in the early morning, when the jurymen were passing through the streets to the different courts, Athens appeared like a city wholly given up to the single business of law. Furthermore, the great public works, such as temples and commemorative monuments,

¹ St. John, *History of the Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece*.

were in constant process of erection, afforded employment for a vast number of artists and skilled workmen of every class.

In the Agora, again, at any time of the day, a numerous class might have been found whose sole occupation, as in the case of Socrates, was to talk. The writer of the "Acts of the Apostles" was so impressed with this feature of life at Athens that he summarized the habits of the people by saying, "All the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing."

Slavery. — There is a dark side to Greek life. Hellenic art, culture, refinement — "these good things were planted, like exquisite exotic flowers, upon the black, rank soil of slavery."

The proportion of slaves to the free population in many of the states was astonishingly large. In Corinth and Ægina there were ten slaves to every freeman. In Attica the proportion was four to one; that is to say, out of a population of about 500,000, 400,000 were slaves.¹ Almost every freeman was a slave owner. It was accounted a real hardship to have to get along with less than half a dozen slaves.

This large class of slaves was formed in various ways. In the prehistoric period, the fortunes of war had brought the entire population of whole provinces into a servile condition, as in certain parts of the Peloponnesus. During later times, the ordinary captives of war still further augmented the ranks of these unfortunates. Their number was also largely added to by the slave traffic carried on with the barbarian peoples of Asia Minor. Criminals and debtors, too, were often condemned to servitude; while foundlings were usually brought up as slaves.

The relation of master and slave was regarded by the Greek as being, not only a legal, but a natural one. A free community, in his view, could not exist without slavery. It formed the natural basis of both the family and the state, — the relation of master and slave being regarded as "strictly analogous to the relation of

¹ The population of Attica in 317 B.C. is reckoned at about 527,000. That of Athens in its best days was probably not far from 150,000.

soul and body." Even Aristotle and other Greek philosophers approved the maxim that "slaves were simply domestic animals possessed of intelligence."¹ They were regarded just as necessary in the economy of the family as cooking utensils.

In general, Greek slaves were not treated harshly — judging their treatment by the standard of humanity that prevailed in antiquity. Some held places of honor in the family, and enjoyed the confidence and even the friendship of their master. Yet at Sparta, where slavery assumed the form of serfdom, the lot of the slave was peculiarly hard and unendurable. Even at Athens we hear much, in connection with the state silver mines at Laurium (in southern Attica), of a labor contract-system which certainly was characterized by much callousness of feeling towards the slave, if we may judge from the conditions of the usual agreement, which bound the contractor to pay an annual rental equal to one-half the value of the slave (which implies that the poor creatures were worn out rapidly), and at the expiration of the contract to return to the owner simply *the same number* of slaves as had been hired.

If ever slavery was justified by its fruits, it was in Greece. The brilliant civilization of the Greeks was its product, and could never have existed without it. As one truthfully says, "Without the slaves the Attic democracy would have been an impossibility, for they alone enabled the poor, as well as the rich, to take a part in public affairs." Relieving the citizen of all drudgery, the system created a class characterized by elegant leisure, refinement, and culture.

¹ This harsh, selfish theory, it should be noted, was somewhat modified and relaxed, when the slave class, through the numerous captives of the unfortunate civil wars, came to be made up in considerable part of cultured Greeks, instead of being, as was the case in earlier times, composed almost exclusively of barbarians, or of inferior branches of the Hellenic race, between whom and their cultured masters there was the same difference in mental qualities as existed between the negro slaves and their masters in our own country. The sentiment that a slave was an unfortunate person, rather than an inferior being, came to prevail — a sentiment which aided powerfully in preparing the way for the Christian doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man.

We find an almost exact historical parallel to all this in the feudal aristocracy of Mediæval Europe. Such a society has been well likened to a great pyramid, whose top may be gilded with light, while its base lies in dark shadows. The civilization of ancient Hellas was splendid and attractive, but it rested with a crushing weight upon all the lower orders of Greek society.



INDEX

AND

PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY.

NOTE. — In the case of words whose correct pronunciation has not seemed clearly indicated by their accentuation and syllabication, the sounds of the letters have been denoted thus: *ā*, like *a* in *gray*; *ā*, like *a* in *have*; *ā*, like *a* in *far*; *ē*, like *ee* in *feet*; *ē*, like *e* in *end*; *e* and *ch*, like *h*; *ç*, like *s*; *g*, like *j*; *g*, like *s*.

A

Aaron, 109.
Abraham, 7.
Academy, the, 232.
Accadians, 59, 68–72.
Ac'cad, 59.
A-chæ'ans, the, 156, 157, 169, 170.
Achæan League, 280.
Achaia (a-kā'ya), 152, 169.
A-chil'tēs, 167, 180, note.
A-crop'o-lis, Athenian, 289.
Adrastus, 165, 166.
Æ-g'na, 236.
Æ'gos-pot'a-mi, capture of Athenian
fleet at, 250.
Æ-ne'as, 168.
Æ-o'li-ans, the, 157, 170.
Æ'o-lus, 176.
Æ'schi-nēs, 324.
Æ'schy-lus, 313.
Æ'scu-la'pi-us, 344, note.
Æ-to'li-an League, 280.
Ag'a-mem'non, 166.
Ag'es-san'der, 300.
A-ges'ti-la'us, 254, 255.
Ag'o-ra, the, 171.

Ag'ri-gen'tum, 190.
Ah'ri-man, 146.
Al-cæ'us, 359.
Al'ci-bi'a-dēs, 247, 248, 249, 250.
Ale'mæ-on'i-dæ, first banishment from
Athens, 202, 203; second banish-
ment, 205; contract to rebuild the
Delphian temple, 205, 206.
Alexander the Great, 261–270.
Alexandria, founding of, 264; under
the Ptolemies, 277, 278.
Alexandrian Literature, 324, 326.
Museum and Library,
277, 278.
Alphabets, 124–126.
A'ly-at'tēs III., 129, 133.
A-ma'sis, 31.
A-men'em-hat' III., 21.
Am'mon, Zeus, 265.
A-mo'sis, 23.
Am'u-noph III., 24.
Am'phi-a-ra'us, 165.
Am-phic'ty-on'ic Council, the, 183,
184.
Am'y-tis, 97.
A-na'cre-on, 310.

- An'ax-ag'o-ras, 330.
 A-nax'i-man'der, 328.
 An'ax-im'e-nēs, 328.
 An-tal'çi-das, Peace of, 253.
 Antioch, 275.
 An-ti'o-chus IV., E-piph'a-nēs, 276;
 III., the Great, 276.
 An-tip'a-ter, 279.
 An'ti-phon, 322, note.
 Antiquity of man, 2.
 A-pel'lēs, 303.
 Aph'ro-di'te, 176.
 A'pis, 38.
 A-poc'ry-pha, 117.
 A-pol'lo, 175; oracles of, 178, 179.
 Arabians, 8.
 Ar-bē'la, battle of, 265.
 Arcadia, 152, 153.
 Ar'ehi-me'dēs, 342.
 Architecture, Assyrian, 89-92.
 Babylonian, 101-105.
 Chaldean, 64, 65.
 Grecian, 283-294.
 Pelasgian, 284.
 Persian, 148-151.
 Architecture, orders of, 285.
 Archons, the, 201.
 A're-op'a-gus, court of the, 203, 204,
 234, note.
 A'res, 175.
 Ar'go-lis, southern part of, conquered
 by Sparta, 199.
 Argonauts, 164.
 Argos, 191, 198.
 Ar-is-tar'ehus, 343.
 Ar-is-ti'dēs, the Just, 215, 228-230.
 Ar-is-toph'a-nēs, 317.
 Ar-is-tot'le, 335-337, 345; views re-
 specting slavery, 356.
 Ar-me'ni-a, 253.
 Ar'ta-ba'nus, 319.
 Ar'ta-pher'nēs, 141, 211.
 Artaxerxes (ar'tax-erx'ēs)
 253, 254.
 Ar'te-mis, 176.
 Ar'te-mis'i-a, 291.
 Ar-te-mis'i-um, battle of, 22.
 Ar'y-an family, members o
 grations of, 8-10; early
 the Aryans, 10-12; impo
 Aryan studies, 12.
 As-pa'si-a, 349.
 As'shur-ban'i-pal, 81, 82, 9;
 As'shur-naz'ir-pal, 77, 78.
 Assyria, political history o
 influence of, upon civiliza
 Assyrian libraries, 92-94.
 Assyrian monarchy, 76-83;
 the, 84, 85; royal sports,
 cities, 88; palaces, 89, 9;
 Assyrians, character of, 86
 of, 85; their palaces and
 89-92.
 As-ty'a-gēs, 129, 130, 133.
 A-the'na, 175.
 Athens, early growth of,
 site of, 200; kings of,
 pares for Persian vengea
 abandoned in Persian V
 rebuilding of, 225-227;
 Walls, 235, note; pest
 244; under the Counci
 Hundred, 250; conditio
 of Peloponnesian War, 2
 the Thirty Tyrants, 252.
 Athenian constitution, ref
 Solon, 203; by Cleisth
 207.
 Athenian supremacy, 225-2
 Athenian Empire, strength
 ness of, 239-241.
 A-then'o-do'rus, 300.

A'thos, 216.
 A'tre-us, treasury of, 284.
 At'ta-lus III., 276, note.
 At'ti-ca, 163; population of, 199, 200;
 townships of, 200, note, 207, 355;
 state of, at time of Peloponnesian
 War, 354.
 Au-re'li-us, Marcus, 338.

B.

Babylon, destroyed by Sennacherib,
 81; restored by Esarhaddon, 81;
 taken by Cyrus, 99; great edifices
 of, 101-105.
 Babylonia, geology of, 57; produc-
 tions of, 57.
 Babylonian monarchy, 99-101.
 Bactria, 266, 267, note.
 Basque (bask), 5.
 Be'his-tun' Rock, 139.
 Bel-shaz'zar, 99, 100, note.
 Beni-Hassan (bā'nee-hās'sān), tombs
 of, 22, 285.
 Be-ro'sus, 325.
 Bes'sus, 143.
 Birs-Nimrud, ruins of, 101-103.
 Boe-o'ti-a, 152.
 Bor-sip'pa, 101, 104.
 Botta, M., 92.
 Bras'i-das, 246.
 Bren'nus, 279.
 By-zan'ti-um, 260.

C.

Cad'mus, 158.
 Cā'lah, 78.
 Cal'chas, 178, note.
 Cambunian Mountains, 153.
 Cam-by'sēs, 135, 136.
 Canaanites, 7, 120, 123, note.
 Cār'che-mish, 24, 25, 31.

Car-mā'ni-a, 268.
 Carthage, 123.
 Cas-san'der, 274.
 Cayster, the, 128.
 Çe'crops, 158.
 Çe-cro'pi-a, 158.
 Çelts, 9, 13, note.
 Çer'be-rus, 177.
 Çhær'o-ne'a, battle of, 261.
 Çhal'cid'i-çi, 259.
 Çhal'çis, 208.
 Çhaldæan monarchy, 57-63.
 Çhaldæans, mixed character of, 59;
 arts, religion, and general culture
 of, 64-75.
 Champollion (sham-pol'e-on), 50.
 Çha'rēs, 300.
 Çha-ryb'dis, 177.
 Çhe'ops, 19, 43.
 Çhed-or-lā'o-mer, 62.
 Çhi-mæ'ra, the, 177.
 Çhi'os, 153.
 Çho-rā'gus, 352.
 Çhristianity and Neo-Platonism, 340,
 341.
 Çhronology, Assyrian, 106.
 Babylonian, 106.
 Chaldæan, 106.
 Egyptian, 17, 33.
 Grecian, 272.
 of the Seleucidæ, 282.
 of the Ptolemies, 282.
 Çim-me'ri-ans, 129.
 Çimon, 232, 233.
 Cla-zom'e-næ, 254.
 Cleis'the-nēs, reforms of, 206, 207.
 Cle-om'e-nēs, 208, 298.
 Cleomenic War, 280.
 Cle'on, 245, 246, 247.
 Cle'o-pā'tra, 279.
 Cli'tus, 267.

Clyt'ém-nēs'tra, 168.
 Co'drus, 200.
 Colonies, Greek, 189, 190.
 Co-los'sus at Rhodes, 300.
 Cor-çy'ra, 154.
 Corcyræans, 242.
 Corinth, Isthmus of, 152.
 Corinth, Congress at, 216-218.
 Corinthian War, 254.
 Co-rœ'bus, 181.
 Cor'o-ne'a, battle of, 237.
 Cos-mog'ra-phy of the Greeks, 174.
 Crete, 154.
 Crœ'sus, 130, 131.
 Cro'ton, 189.
 Cryp'ti-a, 197.
 Cu-nax'a, battle of, 253.
 Cuneiform writing, 65-67.
 Çy-ax'a-rēs, 83.
 Çyc'la-dēs, the, 153.
 Çy'lon, rebellion of, 202.
 Çyn'ics, the, 338.
 Çy-rē'ne, 195.
 Çyrus the Great, 134-135.
 the Younger, 253.
 Cythera (si-thee'ra), island of, 154.

D.

Da'mon, 350.
 Da-na'us, 158.
 Darius I., 137-141, 210-212.
 III., 142, 143, 264, 265.
 Da'tis, Persian general, 141, 211.
 David, King, 112.
 Deb'o-rah, 111.
 Deç'e-le'a, 249.
 De'li-um, battle of, 246.
 Delos, island of, 153.
 Delos, Confederacy of, 229, 230; converted into an empire by the Athenians, 230, 232.
 Delphi, oracle of, 152, 179, 206, 222.
 Delphian temple, 205, 288.
 De-me'ter, 176.
 De-moc'ri-tus, 331.
 De-mos'the-nēs, the general, 246, 248, note, 249.
 Demosthenes, the orator, 261, 279, 322.
 Di-a'na, temple of, at Ephesus, 286.
 Dicasteries, 234, note.
 Di'o-do'rus Sic'u-lus, 326.
 Di-og'e-nēs, 338.
 Di'o-nys'i-us, tyrant of Syracuse, 334.
 Di'o-ny'sus, 176, 311; theatre of, at Athens, 294.
 Divination among the Greeks, 178.
 Do-do'na, oracle at, 152, 156, 179.
 Dorians, the, 156, 157, 170.
 Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus, 168.
 Do-ris'cus, plain of, 219.
 Draco, laws of, 201, 202.
 Dragon, the, 177.
 Drama, the Greek, 311-318.

E.

Education among the Greeks, 346-348.
 Egypt, geology of, 15; climate of, 16; delta of the Nile, 16; dynasties and chronology, 17-19; political history of, 19-32.
 Egyptians, classes among, 34; the priesthood, 34; the warrior class, 35; religious doctrines, 35; animal worship, 37-39; judgment of the dead, 40; tombs, 41; pyramids, 42; palaces and temples, 44; sculptures, 46-49; writing and literature, 50-52; science, 52; art of embalming, 53; royal mummies, 54.

E/la-mites, 61.
 Elgin (ĕl-gĭn), Lord, 291, note.
 Elijah, the prophet, 115.
 El-Kasr mound at Babylon, 103.
 Elysium (e-lizh/i-um), 175, 180.
 Em-ped'o-clĕs, 331.
 E-pam'i-non/das, 255, 256.
 Eph'i-al'tĕs, 234, note.
 Eph'ors, 194.
 Ep'ic-te'tus, 338.
 Ep'i-cu'rus, 339.
 E-pig'o-ni, War of the, 166.
 E-pi'rus, 152.
 E-re'tri-a, 211.
 Er'a-tos'the-nĕs, 343.
 E'ros, 176.
 E'sar-had'don I., 81.
 II., 82, 83.
 Ethiopia, 17, 18.
 Ethiopians, 136.
 Etrurians, 5.
 Eu'clid, 342.
 Eu-bo'e-a, island of, 153.
 Eu'me-nĕs II., 276.
 Eu-men'i-dĕs, 176.
 Euphrates, valley of the, 57.
 Eu-rip'i-dĕs, 315.
 Eu-rym'e-don, battle of the, 232.
 E'vil-Me-ro'dach, 99.

F.

Fates, the, 176.
 Fayoom (fi-oom'), district of the, 21, note.
 Fire-worshippers, 147, note.
 Furies, the, 176, 177.

G.

Ga'dĕa, 123.
 Ga-lĕ'ti-a, 279.

Ga-le'nus, 345.
 Games, sacred, of the Greeks, 181; influence of, 182.
 Gauls, the, 279.
 Ĝe-dro'si-a, 268.
 Ĝe'l'on, tyrant of Syracuse, 216.
 Genesis, Chaldean account of, 72.
 Go-ma'tĕs, 136.
 Gor'di-um, 263.
 Gordius, 263.
 Gor'gi-as, 331.
 Gor'gons, 176.
 Græco-Persian War, 210-224.
 Gra-ni'cus, battle of the, 263.
 Grecian migrations to Asia Minor, 170.
 Greece, divisions of, 152; mountains of, 153; islands about, 153; influence of country upon inhabitants, 154.
 Greeks, genius of the, 159; local patriotism of, 159; their legends and myths, 162-170; society in the Heroic Age, 171-173; religion of the, 174-185; their colonies, 189, 190; social life of the, 346-357; friendship among, 349; occupations among, 353.
 Gu-de'a, 61, note.
 Ĝy'ĝes, 128, 129.
 Ĝy-lip'pus, 249.

H.

Ha'des, realm of, 174; the god, 176.
 Hal'i-car-nas'sus, mausoleum of, 291.
 Ha'lys, the, 129.
 Hamites, 6.
 Hanging gardens of Babylon, 104.
 Harpies, the, 176, 177.
 He'be, 176.
 Hector, 167.

- Hebrews, early migrations of, 7; enter Egypt, 22, 23; in Egypt, 28, 108; Patriarchal Age, 107; the Exodus, 109; conquest of Canaan, 110; the Judges, 111; founding of the monarchy, 111; division of the monarchy, 114; kingdom of Israel, 115; kingdom of Judah, 115; religion and literature, 117.
- Hel'i-con, Mount, 153.
- Hellas, the name, 154.
- Hel'len-ism, meaning of term, 258, note.
- Hel-le'nēs, the, 156-158. (See *Greeks*.)
- Hellespontine bridges, 216, 218.
- Hel'les-pont, passage of, by Xerxes, 218.
- He'lots, the, 191, 192, note, 197, 233.
- He-tai'ræ, the, 349, 350.
- He-phæ'stus, 174, 175, 177.
- He'ra, 175.
- Her'a-clēs, 162, 163.
- Her'a-cl'i'dæ, returning of the, 168, 169.
- Her'a-cl'i'tus, 328.
- Her'mēs, 175; statues of, at Athens, mutilated, 248, note.
- He-rod'o-tus, 318.
- He-ros'tra-tus, 286.
- Hez'e-ki'ah, king of Judah, 80.
- He'si-od, 309.
- Hes-per'i-dēs, garden of the, 175.
- Hestia, 176.
- Hieroglyphics, Egyptian, 50.
Chaldæan, 65.
- Him'e-ra, battle of, 223, note.
- Hindu Kush Mountains, 89.
- Hindus enter India, 9.
- Hip-par'chus, 205, 343.
- Hip'pi-as*, 205, 206, 209, 211.
- Hip'po, 123.
- Hip-poc'ra-tēs, 344.
- Hiram, King, 121, 126.
- Hittites, war with the Egyptian kings, 25, 27; with the Assyrian kings, 77; their relation to the kingdom of Lydia, 128, 132.
- Homer, 307.
- Ho'rus, 36.
- Hun-gā'ri-ans, 5.
- Hyk'sos, 22, 23.
- Hy-met'tus, Mount, 153.
- Hy-pā'ti-a, 341.
- I.
- Ic-ti'nus, 289.
- Il'i-ad, the, 306, 308.
- Il'i-os, 166.
- India, partly subdued by Darius I., 139.
- In-fant'i-cide among the Greeks, 346, note.
- Ionian Confederacy, 170.
- Ionian islands, 154.
- Ionians, the, 156, 157, 170.
- Ip'sus, battle of, 274.
- I'ris, 176.
- I-sæ'us, 322, note.
- I-sag'o-ras, 208.
- I'sis, 36.
- I-soc'ra-tēs, 322, note.
- Israel, captivity of, 79, 115; kingdom of, 115; chronology of kings, 119.
- Is'sus, battle of, 264.
- Ith'a-ca, 154.
- I-tho'me, Mount, 256.
- Iz-du-bār', Epic of, 73, 74.
- J.
- Jealousy, divine, Greek doctrine of, 184.

Jér-o-bō'am, 114.
 Jerusalem, 98, 112.
 Joseph, 108.
 Josephus, 118.
 Joshua, 110.
 Judges, chronology of, 119.
 Judah, captivity of, 98, 116; kingdom of, 115; chronology of kings of, 119.
 Julian, the Apostate, 341.

K.

Ka'desh, battle of, 27.
 Ka'ra, 20.
 Kar'nak, Temple of, 24; Hall of Columns at, 25, 44.
 Khor-sā-bād', 80, 88.
 Kleruchies, 189, 209.
 Kre'on, king of Thebes, 166.
 Ku'dur-Na-khun'ta, 61.

L.

La'bas-so-rā'cus, 99.
 Labyrinth, the, 21, 22.
 Laç-e-dæ'mon, 191.
 La-co'ni-a, 153.
 Laius (lā-yus), 164.
 Lam'a-chus, 248, note.
 La'mi-an War, 279.
 La-oc'o-on group, 301.
 Lau'ri-um, 356.
 Layard, 89, 92.
 Le-on'i-das, 220, 221.
 Lesbos, island of, 153, 170.
 Leuc'tra, battle of, 255.
 Literature, Assyrian, 92-94.
 Chaldæan, 67-74.
 Egyptian, 51.
 Hebrew, 117, 118.
 Greek, 305-326.

Long Walls, the, of Athens, 235, note, 236; destruction of, 251.
 Luxor, Palace of, 24, 44.
 Ly-ce'um, the, 201.
 Lycia, 130.
 Ly-cur'gus, 192, 193.
 Lydia, the country and people, 128; its history, 128-132; connecting link between the East and the West, 131.
 Ly-san'der, 250.
 Lys'i-as, 322, note.
 Ly-sic'ra-tēs, choragic monument of, 284.
 Ly-sim'a-chus, 274.
 Ly-sip'pus, 300.

M.

Mac'ca-bees, the, 276.
 Mac'e-do'ni-an supremacy, 258-271.
 Mac'e-do'ni-a, population of, 258; under Philip II., 259-261; after the death of Alexander, 279.
 Mā'gi-an-ism, 147.
 Mag-ne'si-a, battle of, 276.
 Magna Græcia, 189.
 Mas-sa'li-a, 190.
 Man'e-tho, 17, 18, 325.
 Man'ti-ne'a, battle of, 256.
 Mar'a-thon, battle of, 211, 213.
 Mar-do'ni-us, 140.
 Mau-so'lus, 291.
 Medes, the, 133.
 Meg'a-cles, 202.
 Meg'a-lop'o-lis, 256.
 Me-nan'der, 318, note.
 Mē'nēs, 19.
 Men'e-la'us, 166.
 Me-neph'tha, 28.
 Men-ka'ra, 20.
 Me-rō'dach-Bāl'a-dan, 96, 97.

Mes-se'na, 199.
 Mes-se'ne, 256.
 Mes-se'ni-a, 198.
 Mes-se'ni-an Wars, 198.
 Memnon, the Vocal, 48.
 Mi'das, 263.
 Mi-le'tus, 140, 190.
 Mil-ti'a-dēs, 211, 212, 213.
 Mi'nos, 162, 164.
 Min'o-taur, the, 163.
 Mith-ri-dā'tēs the Great, 273.
 Moe'ris, Lake, 21, note.
 Moses, 109, 110.
 Mo'sul, 88.
 Muses, the, 176.
 Myc'a-le, battle of, 223.
 Myt'i-le'ne, revolt of, 245.

N.

Nab'o-na'di-us, 99, 100.
 Nab'o-nas'sar, 91.
 Nab'o-po-las'sar, 96.
 Nau'cra-tis, 29, note, 190.
 Nax'os, 231.
 Ne-ar'chus, 268.
 Neb-u-ehad-nez'zar, 97-99.
 Ne'cho II., 30, 31.
 Nem'e-sis, 176; doctrine of, 312.
 Ne'o-Pla'to-nists, the, 340, 341.
 Ner-i-glis'sar, 99.
 Nestor, 167.
 Niç'i-as, Peace of, 246.
 Nicias, 248, note, 249, note.
 Nile, deposits of, 15; inundations of, 16; cataracts of, 17.
 Nin'e-veh, 80; destroyed by Medes and Babylonians, 83; ruins of, 88; Royal Library at, 92.
 Ni'o-be, the, group, 298.
 Ni-to'cris, Queen, 20, note.
 Nymphs, the, 176.

O.

O-dys'seus, 167, 168, 306.
 Od'ys-sey, the, 306-308.
 Ed'i-pus, King, 165.
 Olympian Council, 175.
 Games, 181, 182.
 Olympus, Mount, 153.
 O-lyn'thi-an Confederacy, 259.
 O-lyn'thus, 259.
 Oracles, Greek, 178-180.
 Or'mazd, 145.
 O-ron'tēs, the, 27.
 O-si'ris, 36, note, 38.
 Os'sa, Mount, 153.
 Os'tra-cism, 207, 208.

P.

Pac-to'lus, the, 128.
 Painting, Greek, 301-304.
 Palmyra, 113.
 Pan-ath'e-næ'a, the Greater, note.
 Pan-do'ra, myth of, 348.
 Papyrus paper, 50.
 Paris, son of Priam, 166.
 Pa'ros, 213.
 Parrhasius (par-rā'shī-us), 302.
 Parsees (see *Fire-worshippers*).
 Par'the-non, treasures of the, note; description of, 289.
 Parthia, 276, note.
 Par'nas'sus, Mount, 153.
 Pa-tro'clus, 167.
 Pau-sa'ni-as, 229, note, 344.
 Pelasgians, the, 155, 156.
 Pelasgian architecture, 284.
 Pe'li-on, Mount, 153.
 Pe'lops, 158.
 Pe-lop'i-das, 255.
 Pel'o-pon-nē'sus, the divisions of, 1
 invaded by the Dorians, 168.

Peloponnesian (-zhan) War, the, 242-252.

Pe-nel'o-pe, 168, 172.

Pen-tel'i-cus, Mount, 153.

Pe'pi, 20, note.

Per-dic'cas, 273, note.

Pe'ri-an'der, 188.

Per'i-clēs, fosters the naval power of Athens, 235; his social policy, 238; his death, 244; as an orator, 322.

Pericles, the Age of, 234, 241.

Peace of, 237.

Per'i-œ'ci, the, 191.

Per'ga-mus, 276, note.

Per-sep'o-lis, 150, 266.

Persian Empire, established by Cyrus, 134; political history of, 133-143; table of kings, 143; nature of government, 144.

Persians, relation to the Medes, 133; literature and religion, 145-148.

Phā'lanx, the, 259, note.

Pha-le'rum, 236.

Pha'ros, the, at Alexandria, 277.

Phi'di-as, 289, 296-298.

Phi-dip'pi-dēs, 211.

Philip II., king of Macedonia, 259-261.

Phi-lip'pi, 260, note.

Phi'lo, 118, 340.

Phocians, 260, 288.

Pho'cis, 152.

Phœ-ni-c'i-a, products of, 120.

Phœnicians, their early migrations, 120; their commerce, 122; colonies, 123; routes of trade, 123; arts disseminated by, 124; enterprises aided by, 126.

Pindar, 310.

Piracy in Greece, 173.

Pis'is-trat'i-dæ, 188, 205, 206.

Pi-sis'tra-tus, 204, 205.

Pla-tæ'a, 243, 245, 246.

Pla-tæ'a, battle of, 223.

Plato, 334.

Plo-ti'nus, 340.

Plu'tarch, 326.

Po-lyb'i-us, 325.

Po-lyc'ra-tēs, 188, note.

Pol'y-clē'tus, 298.

Pol-y-do'rus, 300.

Po-lyx'e-na, 302, note.

Pontus, 273, note.

Po'rus, 267.

Poseidon (po-si'don), 175.

Pot'i-dæ'a, 242.

Prax-it'e-lēs, 298.

Pri-e'ne, 287, note.

Prod'i-cus, 331.

Prop'y-læ'a, the, of the Acropolis at Athens, 238.

Pro-tag'o-ras, 331.

Pro-tog'e-nēs, 303.

Psam-met'i-chus I., 28-30.

III., 31.

Ptol'e-mies, kingdom of the, 277-279.

Ptolemy, Claudius, 344.

Euergetes, 278.

Philadelphus, 278.

Soter, 277.

Py'los, 246.

Pyramids, 42, 43.

Pyramid Kings, 19.

Py-thag'o-ras, 329.

Pyr'rho, 339, 340.

Pyth'i-as, 350.

Pyth'i-an games, 184.

R.

Races of mankind, 2, 3; table of the, 13.

Ra-mē'sēs I., 25.

II., 25-28; mummy of, 54.

Rā'phi-a, battle of, 79.

Rē'ho-bō'am, 114.

Rhe'gi-um, 199.

Rhodes, 153, 154, 273, note; Colossus at, 300.

S.

Sacred War, First, 183.

Second, 260.

Sages, the Seven, 327.

Sā'is, 29.

Sal'a-mis, battle of, 223.

Samaria, 79.

Sa'mos, 153, 154.

Samson, 111.

Sappho (saffo), 309.

Sar'a-cus, 82, 83.

Sar'dis, capital of Lydia, 128; sacked by the Cimmerians, 129; captured by Cyrus, 131; sacked by the Greeks, 140.

Sār'gon I., 60, 69.

Sargon, Assyrian king, 79, 80.

Saul, king of the Hebrews, 112.

Scar-a-bæ'i, 49.

Sco'pas, 291, 298.

Scyl'la, 177.

Se-ken'en-Ra', 55.

Sel'eu-ci'a, 275.

Se-leu'cus Ni-ca'tor, 274, 275.

Se-leu'ci-dæ, kingdom of the, 274-276.

Semitic peoples, 7, 8.

Sen-nach'e-rib, 80, 81, 94, note.

Sep'tu-a-gint, the, 325.

Set (Typhon), 37.

Se'ti I., 25, 54.

Sha'ma-nē'ger II., 78.

Sheba, Queen of, 114.

Shepherd Kings, 22, 23.

Shu'mir, 59.

Si-çil'i-an Expedition, the, 247-249.

Sidon, 121.

Si-mon'i-dēs of Çeos, 310.

Sis'e-ra, 111.

Siwah (see'wā), 265.

Skeptics, the, 339.

Slavery in Greece, 355.

Slavonians, 9.

Soc'ra-tēs, 252, 332-334.

Sog'di-a'na, 266, 267.

Solomon, King, 113.

So'lon, laws of, 203, 204; tablets of his laws, 234, note.

Sophists, the, 331.

Soph'o-clēs, 315.

Sos'i-clēs, 209.

Sparta, the early growth of, 190-199; earthquake at, 233.

Spartan constitution, 194, 195; lands and money, 195; public tables, 196; education, 196, 197.

Spartans, the, 191. (See *Sparta*.)

Sphac-te'ri-a, 246.

Sphinx, the, 48.

Spor'a-dēs, the, 153.

Sta-gi'ra, 336.

Stoics, the, 337-339.

Stra'bo, 344.

Stra-te'gi, 207.

Su'ni-um, 287, note.

Susa, capital of Elam, 61, 138, 266.

Su-si-a'na, 82.

Syb'a-ris, 189.

Sym-po'si-a, 352.

Syracuse, 190, 248.

Syria, kingdom of, 274-276.

T.

Tad'mor, 113.

Tal'mud, 118.
 Ta-ren'tum, 189.
 Tar'ta-rus, 174.
 Te'ge-a, 199.
 Tempe, Vale of, 152.
 Tha'les, 328.
 Theatres, Greek, 293, 350.
 Thebes, in Egypt, 20.
 Thebes, in Greece, 164; supremacy of, 255-257; destroyed by Alexander the Great, 263.
 The-mis'to-clēs, in Persian War, 214, 215, 216, 217; as an envoy, 226; naval policy of, 227; character of, 228; as an orator, 322.
 Ther-mop'y-læ, battle of, 220.
 The-oc'ri-tus, 325.
 Theseum, temple of, 322.
 The'seus, 162, 166, 200, 232.
 Thes'sa-ly, 152.
 Thirty Years' Truce, 237.
 Thoth'mēs III., 23.
 Thrace, kingdom of, 274.
 Thrace, partly conquered by Philip II., 260.
 Thucydides (thu-sid'i-dēz), 320.
 Tig'lath-i-nin', 63.
 Tig'lath-Pi-lē'zer I., 76, 77.
 II., 78, 79.
 Tigris, valley of the, 57.
 Ti'mon, 248.
 Ti-re'si-as, 178, note.
 Ti'ryns, 285.
 Trojan War, 166-168, 170, note.
 Troy (see *Ilios*).

Turanian peoples, 4-6.
 Turks, the, 5.
 Ty'phon (see *Set*).
 Tyrants, Greek, 187, 188.
 Tyre, captured by Nebuchadnezzar, 98; history of, 121; siege of, by Alexander, 264.
 Tyr-tæ'us, 198.

U.

Ur, city of, 61.
 Ur-ēa, 60, 61.
 Usurtasen III., 21.
 U'ti-ca, 123.

W.

Wolf, views of, on Homeric poems, 308.
 Woman, social position of, among the Greeks, 348.

X.

Xan-thip'pe, 333.
 Xen'o-phon, 253, 321.
 Xerxes (zērks'ēz) I., reign of, 141; prepares to invade Greece, 215, 216.

Z.

Zēd-e-kī'ah, 98.
 Ze'no, 338.
 Zeūs, 175; oracles of, 178, 179.
 Zeuxis (zūks'iss), 302.
 Zo-ro-as'ter, 145.
 Zoroastrianism, 145-148.





ANCIENT HISTORY

FOR
COLLEGES AND HIGH SCHOOLS.

BY
WILLIAM F. ALLEN
AND
P. V. N. MYERS.

PART II.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

BY
WILLIAM F. ALLEN,
LATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

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To

PROFESSOR HENRY W. TORREY,

WHO FIRST AWAKENED ME TO AN INTEREST

IN HISTORICAL STUDY.

NOTE.

On December 8, 1889, the last night of my husband's life, he made the final corrections in the proof sheets of the history, and pronounced the work ready for the public. The preface still, however, remained to be prepared, and at my request, Professor Turner, first his pupil and later his friend and assistant, with whom he has had daily conversations in regard to his history, has prepared a preface, embodying my husband's aims and plans for the work.

MARGARET ANDREWS ALLEN.

MADISON, WISCONSIN,
Jan. 1, 1890.

PREFACE.

IN this book Professor Allen desired briefly to relate the history of the Roman people. To him Roman society presented itself as an entirety, so that the political, economic, literary, and religious elements in the life of the Roman people could not be understood in isolation, but only in relation with each other. While thus he considered society as a whole, he found in Roman history two fundamentally important series of events, each of which influenced the other: first, the policy and process by which the Roman Dominion was secured and organized during the Republic, its reorganization under the Empire, and final disruption at the time of the German migrations; and secondly, the social and economic causes of the failure of self-government among the Romans, and the working of the same forces under the Empire. In connection with these fundamental considerations, the land question is treated, and the history of literature and religion is carefully traced.

To illustrate and revivify more fully the life of the times, references have been made throughout the book to carefully selected historical novels, and to popular works for collateral reading. Professor Allen's conception of history, and the estimate which he placed upon the historical novel is shown by the following quotation from his paper upon "Historical Fiction," read shortly before his death, at a meeting of the Madison Literary Club:—

"The outline of events—dates, dynastic changes, decisive battles, wars of conquest, rise and fall of empires—must be learned as history. But when we have learned these, what, after all, do we possess? Only a skeleton, to be clothed with the flesh and blood of history. These facts have no more value in themselves than

the names and positions of the stars to one who has no knowledge of the constitution and movements of the heavenly bodies ; or the minute description of every variety of beetle or lichen, apart from the laws of growth and classification. Except for the gratification of intellectual curiosity, enabling us to understand the allusions in literature to historical names and events, the value of historical study consists entirely in two things : first, it teaches the relations of cause and effect, as they are exemplified in the working of historical forces, the interplay of human passions and interests ; secondly, it introduces us to the life of a past generation, so that its thoughts, its emotions, its habits, its concerns, may in a measure become as real to us as that of the age in which we live, and the people whom we meet every day. These we may call the philosophical and the picturesque aspects of history ; and I do not know of any other benefit conferred by historical study. No historical fact is of any value except so far as it helps us to understand human nature or the working of historic forces.

“Now the first of these, the study of historical causes and effects, lies out of the range of historical fiction as completely as is the case with the systematic study of events. Both of these — events and their interpretation — may come incidentally into historical fiction, but only incidentally. The methods are totally different. These subjects, especially the relation of cause and effect, must be treated with a degree of abstraction, and almost wholly by analysis ; but fiction, as far as it is skilful, avoids abstractions, eschews analysis. Its method is synthetic and concrete. It is plain that this concrete method of fiction is exactly adapted to the second of the two objects specified, — the picturesque aspect of history, the delineations of life and society. But what I want especially to point out is that this is precisely what formal instruction in history, or formal historical treatises, cannot do at all, or can do very imperfectly.”

Teachers will notice that the more important dates are incorporated in the text, while the free use of dates in the margin serves to give more detailed guidance to the reader.

PREFACE.

vii

Particular care was taken in the selection of maps and illustrations. The colored maps are reproductions of the charts accompanying Professor Freeman's *Historical Geography of Europe*. The cuts are from Prang's *Illustrations of the History of Art*, Jaeger's *Weltgeschichte*, and other equally good authorities.

Professor Allen had a strong admiration for Theodor Mommsen as the master of Roman history. To him, more than to any other authority, would he have acknowledged his indebtedness. He seldom differed with Mommsen, and then only after most careful consideration; but he was an earnest student of the original sources, and he did not hesitate to use his own judgment and to avail himself of the researches of all the best authorities. This acknowledgment, the only one possible under the circumstances, is gratefully made in Professor Allen's name.

F. J. T.



TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CHAPTER I. — Italy.....	1
PERIOD I. — THE MONARCHY (to B.C. 509).	
CHAPTER II. — Patrician Rome.	
I. History and Tradition.....	10
II. Institutions.....	18
III. Religion	22
CHAPTER III. — The Tarquins.....	29
PERIOD II. — THE EARLY REPUBLIC (B.C. 509-367).	
CHAPTER IV. — Social Controversies.	
I. The Tribune of the Plebs: to 494 ¹	38
II. The Agrarian Laws: to 471.....	44
CHAPTER V. — The Contest between the Orders.	
I. The Contest for Civil Rights: to 445.....	52
II. The Contest for Political Rights: to 396.....	61
III. The Triumph of the Plebs: to 367.....	68
PERIOD III. — THE ITALIAN WARS (B.C. 367-266).	
CHAPTER VI. — The Conquest of Latium: to 338.....	77
CHAPTER VII. — The Conquest of Italy.	
I. The Second Samnite War: to 304	84
II. The Third Samnite War: to 286.....	92
III. The War with Pyrrhus: to 266.....	96
PERIOD IV. — OF FOREIGN CONQUEST (B.C. 266-133).	
CHAPTER VIII. — The First Punic War: to 218	104

¹ The dates mark the period covered in the text by the Part to which they are affixed, and are, therefore, not always that of the termination of the event which gives a name to the Part: see the Chronological Synopsis, *post.*

	PAGE
CHAPTER IX.—The Second Punic War.	
I. To the Revolt of Capua: to 216	115
II. To the End of the War: to 201	122
CHAPTER X.—The Wars in the East.	
I. The Second Macedonian War: to 197.....	131
II. The Wars with Antiochus and Perseus: to 168	134
CHAPTER XI.—The Supremacy of Rome: to 133.....	138
PERIOD V.—OF CIVIL DISSENSIONS (B.C. 133–27).	
CHAPTER XII.—The Gracchi: to 121.	
I. The Social and Economical Condition of Italy.....	147
II. Tiberius Gracchus	154
III. Caius Gracchus.....	158
CHAPTER XIII.—Marius.	
I. The Contest of Parties: to 100....	166
II. The Social War: to 90.....	172
CHAPTER XIV.—Sulla.	
I. The First Civil War: to 82.....	176
II. The Constitution of Sulla: to 79.....	181
CHAPTER XV.—Pompey.	
I. The Roman People	186
II. The Conquest of the East: to 63.....	191
III. The First Triumvirate: to 54.....	197
CHAPTER XVI.—Cæsar.	
I. The Conquest of Gaul: to 51.....	205
II. The Second Civil War: to 44	210
III. The Death of Cæsar.....	220
CHAPTER XVII.—Octavian: to 27.....	226
PERIOD VI.—THE EARLY EMPIRE (B.C. 27–A.D. 193).	
CHAPTER XVIII.—Augustus.	
I. The Reign of Augustus: to A.D. 14.....	231
II. The Augustan Age.....	238
CHAPTER XIX.—The Julian and Claudian Emperors.	
I. The Julian Cæsars: to 41.....	243
II. The Claudian Cæsars: to 68.....	250
CHAPTER XX.—The Flavian House: to 96.....	255
CHAPTER XXI.—The Five Good Emperors.	
I. Trajan: to 138.....	261
II. The Antonines: to 193.....	269

CONTENTS.

xi

PAGE

PERIOD VII.—THE CENTURY OF TRANSITION (A.D. 193-284).

CHAPTER XXII. — The Severi.	
I. The Dynasty: to 235.....	276
II. The Government	279
III. The Religion	282
IV. Foreign Relations	284
CHAPTER XXIII. — The Third Century: to 284.....	287
CHAPTER XXIV. — Affairs in the East: to 284.....	289

PERIOD VIII.—THE LATER EMPIRE (A.D. 284-476)

CHAPTER XXV. — Reorganization of the Empire.	
I. Diocletian: to 314	296
II. Constantine the Great: to 337.....	302
CHAPTER XXVI. — The Triumph of Christianity: to 391.....	311
CHAPTER XXVII. — The Barbarian Invasions: to 419.	
I. The Visigoths upon the Danube.....	316
II. Stilicho.....	322
III. Alaric.....	325
CHAPTER XXVIII. — Aetius: to 454	329
CHAPTER XXIX. — The Fall of the Empire: to 476.....	336



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
Mystic Deities of Etruria.....	7
Gate at Volaterræ.....	8
The Roman <i>As</i>	12
Plan of Rome under the Kings	16
Reverse of the <i>As</i>	24
A Vestal Virgin	25
Restoration of Capitol and Cloaca Maxima	31
Walls of Signia.....	46
The Curule Chair.....	63
Etruscan Archer.....	67
Samnite Warrior.....	85
Sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus.....	103
Column of Duilius	107
Portrait of Marcellus (coin).....	123
Portrait of Scipio Africanus	126
Etruscan Tomb at Corneto.....	130
Philip V. (coin).....	132
Antiochus the Great (coin)	134
Perseus (coin)	136
The Wounded Gaul.....	137
Suovetaurilia.....	146
Marius.....	170
Italian Coin in the Social War.....	174
Mithradates VI. (coin).....	176
Sulla	181
Pompey (statue)	192

	PAGE
Cicero	197
Roman Rider and Sueve.....	207
Cæsar.....	214
Gladiators	225
The Young Cæsar	226
Lictors.....	230
Augustus (statue)	234
Street in Pompeii.....	242
Agrippina (coin)	243
Tiberius.....	245
Germanicus.....	247
Vespasian (coin)	256
Arch of Titus.....	257
Roman Soldier.....	260
Trajan	262
Siege of a Dacian Stronghold.....	266
Hadrian.....	268
Antoninus Pius (coin).....	269
Marcus Aurelius receiving the Submission of Germans	274
Commodus as Hercules.....	275
Septimius Severus (coin)	277
Caracalla.....	278
Prætorians.....	286
Triumph of Sapor.....	290
Aurelian (coin)	292
Ruins of Temple of the Sun.....	293
Diocletian.....	296
Christ as the Good Shepherd.....	300
Arch of Constantine.....	303
Constantine.....	305
Actius	331

LIST OF MAPS.

COLORED.

	PAGE
I. Italy before the Growth of the Roman Power	10
II. The Mediterranean Lands, at the Beginning of the Second Punic War	114
III. The Roman Dominions, at the End of the Mithradatic War.....	196
IV. The Roman Empire, at the Death of Augustus.....	236
V. The Roman Empire under Trajan	260
VI. The Roman Empire Divided into Præfectures	308

BLACK.

I. Rome under the Kings.....	16
II. The Ager Romanus, B.C. 450.....	66
III. The Ager Romanus, B.C. 338.....	81
IV. Central Italy, at the Time of the Second Punic War.....	118
V. Plan of the Battle of Cannæ.....	121
VI. Rome under the Empire	293



PART II.

ROME.

CHAPTER I.

ITALY.

The Mediterranean Lands.—The Roman Empire is the great central fact in the history of nations. All the nations of the ancient world, except those in the far east, were one after another conquered by Rome, and incorporated in her empire; and the nations of the modern world began with the disruption of this empire. The nations of antiquity, which were thus gathered under the dominion of Rome, occupied the lands which bordered the Mediterranean Sea—the “circle of lands known to the ancients,” *orbis terrarum veteribus notus*. In this Mediterranean circle of lands, bounded by an impassable desert on the south, and a succession of almost equally impassable mountain ranges on the north, the events of ancient history took place.

Natural Entrances into the Basin of the Mediterranean.—

There were only five points at which these natural limits could be easily passed, and at which therefore ancient history went outside of the circle of Mediterranean lands. These were: in the far East, where the river Euphrates approaches so near the sea as to afford a natural channel of intercourse with the countries of the Orient; in Egypt, where the Nile and the Red Sea, parallel to each other for a long distance, make an easy passage to the East, either by caravan or by the Isthmus of Suez; by the waters which connect the Black Sea with the Mediterranean; by the pass of the Julian Alps, at the head of the Adriatic Sea, into the valley

of the Save, the only easy passage through the Alps ; and west of Italy, where the river Rhone, flowing southerly into the sea, gives a ready entrance into the countries of the north. The three first of these have at all times been the great routes of oriental commerce ; by the Julian Alps the Germanic invaders reached Italy ; by the Rhone Cæsar made his way into inner Gaul, Germany, and Britain. These five points are marked by the five great commercial cities of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, Trieste (in ancient times, Aquileia), and Marseilles.

The Coasts of the Mediterranean.—The Mediterranean Sea is long and narrow, stretching from east to west. The northern and southern coasts differ widely in character. The African coast is in general devoid of prominent features, whether promontories or bays. There are only two points upon this coast which are by nature well designed for commerce : first, where the great river Nile flows from the south, creating the fertile land of Egypt, and again where, west of the shallow Syrtis, a bold headland thrusts itself into the sea, directly opposite Italy. On this headland stood the rich commercial city of Carthage, the chief rival and enemy of Rome ; at the mouth of the Nile the
B.C. 332. great emporium of Alexandria was founded by Alexander the Great.

Northern Coast of the Mediterranean.—The northern coast of the Mediterranean, on the other hand, is broken into four large peninsulas, — Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and Spain. These peninsulas have been the scene of illustrious events through the whole course of history. As the earliest recorded history of mankind was in the countries of the East, and civilization moved from the east to the west, the four peninsulas came in this order into the field of history. Asia Minor played an important part in the annals of the great oriental empires ; then Greece took the lead ; after Greece, Rome ; the greatness of the Spanish peninsula belongs to modern times.

The Peninsula of Italy.—Italy differs from the three other peninsulas in being long and narrow in shape. It stretches into

the sea in a general southeasterly direction, at its extremity bending sharply to the south, so as to present rudely the shape of a boot, the heel of which is turned towards Greece.¹ This southeasterly direction brings it very near to Greece and Illyricum, so that the Adriatic Sea, which separates it from them, is long and narrow, like the peninsula itself. To the west of it are three large islands, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, so situated that the waters between them and Italy are almost enclosed by them; these waters are called the Tyrrhenian Sea. A long stretch of water separates these islands from the westernmost peninsula, that of Spain. This easterly trend of the Italian peninsula gives it an almost central position in the Mediterranean Sea.

The Mountain Systems. — Italy is separated from the countries to the north by the highest range of mountains in Europe, the Alps. These mountains form a sort of semicircle, coming down quite to the sea upon the west (the Maritime Alps), and thus separating Italy from Gaul as well as Germany by a barrier of great difficulty; but on the east (the Julian Alps) they open by a low and easy pass into the valleys of the Save and Danube. This pass of the Julian Alps was the principal highway into Italy at the time of the barbarian invasions. The great mountain chain of Italy, upon which the peninsula is built, is that of the Apennines, which, starting from the Maritime Alps in an easterly direction, bends by degrees to the southeast and then to south, along the whole extent of the peninsula: the mountains of Sicily are a continuation of this chain. This island was once no doubt a part of the mainland, but was torn from it by some convulsion of nature. This mountain chain presents in its general course the form of a flattened arc, with its convex side towards the northeast: the longest stretches of land, and therefore the largest rivers, are of course upon the inside of the arc, or the western coast of Italy.

¹ The illustration has been carried out further by comparing the island of Sicily to a foot-ball.

Cisalpine Gaul.—The great basin between the Alps and the northern Apennines is drained by the river Padus (*Po*), which flows into the Adriatic Sea. This region was in early times not considered a part of Italy, but was known as Cisalpine Gaul, or “Gaul-this-side-of-the-Alps,” being inhabited by settlers from Gaul: it is now known as Lombardy.

The River Systems.—In Italy proper there are west of the Apennines three principal river systems, the seat in modern times of the three great cities of Florence, Rome, and Naples, and in ancient times of the territories of Etruria, Latium, and Campania. The northernmost of these rivers is the Arnus (*Arno*); the central, much the largest, is the Tiber, occupying nearly a central position in the peninsula; in Campania, a level region of remarkable fertility, there are two important rivers,—the Liris, flowing from the north, parallel with the coast, and the Volturnus, which rises among the high mountains of Central Italy. The valley of the Liris, with its confluent the Trebis, serves to connect Campania directly with Rome; through this valley ran the so-called Latin Way (*Via Latina*), and it is at present the route of the railroad from Naples to Rome. The Volturnus affords a passage into the heart of the Samnite country. The only river necessary to mention on the eastern coast of Italy is the Aufidus, which flows through

B.O. 216. the broad pasture land of Apulia: upon its banks was fought the disastrous battle of Cannæ.

The Italian Race.—Italy was chiefly occupied by nations of the so-called Italian race, a branch of the Aryan family of nations, to which the Germans, Slavs, and Celts also belong. There were two principal branches of the Italian race, the Latins and the Umbro-Sabellians. The Latins (to which race also the natives of Sicily belonged in part) occupied a rather limited territory south of the Tiber, between the mountains and the sea: Rome was a Latin city. The Umbro-Sabellian race embraced a large number of nations spread widely through the peninsula: of these the most important were the Umbrians, furthest north; then the Sabines near to Latium, the Samnites upon the upper waters of the Vol-

turnus, and further south the Lucanians. Of all these the Samnites were the most powerful and important.

The Remnants of Earlier Nations. — Besides these nations of Italian race, there are found other nations of foreign stock : part of them earlier inhabitants who had been pushed into out-of-the-way corners of the land when the Italians entered the peninsula — like the Britons in Wales ; part of them invaders of a later date. Of the earlier inhabitants we count the Japygians, in Calabria,¹ the extreme southeastern corner (the *heel*) of Italy ; the Venetians, in the northeast, who have given their name to the modern city of Venice ; and the Ligurians in the northwest. The Japygians and Venetians were probably of the Aryan race, distantly related to the Italians : the Ligurians appear to have been akin to the Iberians of Spain and Gaul. They were subdued by the Romans in the third and second centuries before Christ, — in the period of the Punic Wars, — in a long series of obstinate contests. The city of Genoa is situated in the Ligurian territory, and when it was reorganized in the time of the French Revolution, it took the name of the Ligurian Republic.

The Intruding Nations. — 1. *The Etruscans.* The intruding nations are of more importance. Chief among these were the Etruscans, who occupied the extensive country north of the Tiber, between the mountains and the sea ; their chief seat was in the valley of the Arno. It is not known with certainty what was their origin ; but there are indications that they entered Italy from the north, occupied the valley of the Po for a while, and then conquered the region which is known by their name, Etruria. This region had before been occupied by the Umbrians, the northernmost of the Italian peoples ; but they were now crowded back into the mountain region east of the upper Tiber, which river separated them from the Etruscans.

The Etruscan Confederacy. — The Etruscans formed a con-

¹ The name *Calabria* has in modern times been shifted to a completely different region, the *toe* of the boot.

federacy of twelve cities, the names of which are not known with certainty. Among them were probably Fæsulæ (now *Fiesole* near Florence) ; Arretium and "lordly Volaterræ," also in the valley of the Arno ; Clusium, at a point which commands alike the valleys of the Tiber and the Arno (now *Chiusi*, an important railroad junction) ; Veii, about ten miles from Rome — the most formidable enemy of Rome in the first century of the republic ; and Cære and Tarquinii, also near Rome, on the seacoast. The chief city of the confederacy was Volsinii.

Etruscans in Other Parts of Italy. — There was another confederacy of twelve cities in the valley of the Po, probably older, but less important, as the Gauls conquered this region from them : the capital of this group was Felsina (*Bologna*) ; other towns were Mantua and Ravenna. South of the Tiber the Etruscans never got a permanent foothold. When they were at the height of their power, in the sixth century B.C., an Etruscan family ruled for a while in Rome, and even established its dominion over Latium ; but this came to an end with the Roman republic. In Campania they laid the foundations of a third confederacy, of which the chief city was Capua ; but this was captured
B.O. 420. by the Samnites, not long before the conquest of the Po valley by the Gauls. With the growth of the Roman republic the power of the Etruscans decayed, and after
B.O. 396. the conquest of Veii by Rome they played no large part in history.

Civilization of the Etruscans. — At the commencement of the Roman republic the Etruscans were far the most powerful people of Italy. In alliance with the Carthaginians they had
B.O. 537. defeated the Greeks in the earliest sea-fight on record, near Corsica, and had taken possession of that island, the Carthaginians occupying the neighboring island of Sardinia and the western half of Sicily. The government of the Etruscans was aristocratic, but with elected kings, called *Lucumos*. They were a wealthy people, more advanced in civilization than their neighbors of Italian race, but of a gross and barbaric taste. Their religion was a sombre

superstition. In every city special reverence was paid to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The Etruscan kings of Rome introduced this worship into that city, and this group of deities is known from their temple on the Capitoline Mount as the "Capitoline Triad."



MYSTIC DEITIES OF ETRURIA.

Their Language.—The Etruscans used an alphabet derived from that of the Greeks, and have left an abundance of inscriptions; but the most laborious and long-continued labors of

philologists have not yet succeeded in deciphering the inscriptions, or even in determining positively to what race the Etruscans



GATE AT VOLATERRÆ, SHOWING THE PRINCIPLE OF THE ARCH.

belonged. Their monuments, in the form of walls, tombs, etc., are numerous and well preserved. It has been generally believed that the civilization of the Romans was largely influenced by that of the Etruscans; but, although there is no doubt that the Romans received from them the trappings and ceremonial of royalty, the institutions and civilization of Rome appear to have been mainly of independent growth, but influenced powerfully by the Greeks. The Etruscans were great build-

ers, and in the time of their domination in Rome, they adorned the city with splendid temples and other public works.

2. *The Gauls.* The Gauls, of Celtic race, crossed the Alps in successive streams in the first century of the republic (the fifth century before Christ), and took possession of the valley of the Po, expelling from it the Etruscans. This region was from this time known as Cisalpine Gaul (p. 4), this name extending as far as the first great bend of the peninsula upon the Adriatic, where the city of Sinigaglia (*Sena Gallica*) preserves the memory of their name. After the conquest of this region the Gauls proceeded to invade Etruria proper, even advancing as far as Rome, which B.C. 390. they captured and burned; for many years after this their raids were a constant terror to the inhabitants of Latium. They were organized in five tribes or nations,¹ and their chief city

¹ The Insubrians, about Milan; the Cenomani, east of them; the Lingones south of the Po and upon the coast; the Boii, west of them; and the Senones south of the Lingones.

was Mediolanum (*Milan*). They were conquered by the Romans at about the time of the Second Punic War.

3. *The Greeks.* The third intruding nation — earlier, however, than the Gauls — was the Greeks, who established colonies along the southern and western coasts of Italy in the eighth and seventh centuries before Christ. These colonies were so rich and prosperous that this region of country was known as Great Greece (*Magna Græcia*); its chief city was Tarentum. The most important Greek colonies were in Sicily, where their principal city, Syracuse, was one of the largest and most splendid in the world.

The Early Industry of Italy. — The nations of Italy were cultivators of the soil when they entered the peninsula, but they had not wholly outgrown the pastoral stage, and the care of cattle still continued to form a leading part of their industry. All the institutions and the manners and customs of the early period are those of peasants dwelling on their own lands and cultivating them with their own hands. Barley and spelt were their principal crops; they cultivated the vine at a very early date, and received the olive from the Greeks. Cattle made a large part of their wealth, and values were reckoned in cattle until some time after the establishment of the republic. Pasturage was at all times an important part of their industry, especially east of the mountains. The plains of Apulia supported great herds of cattle during the winter, which were then driven in the summer to the mountain regions of Samnium and Lucania. The Greeks in the south were supported principally by commerce. The Etruscans, too, being more highly civilized than the nations of Italian race, had an active foreign trade; and it was the admirable commercial situation of Rome, with the commerce which grew out of it, that gave this city its first impulse to greatness.

PERIOD I.—THE MONARCHY.

CHAPTER II.

PATRICIAN ROME.

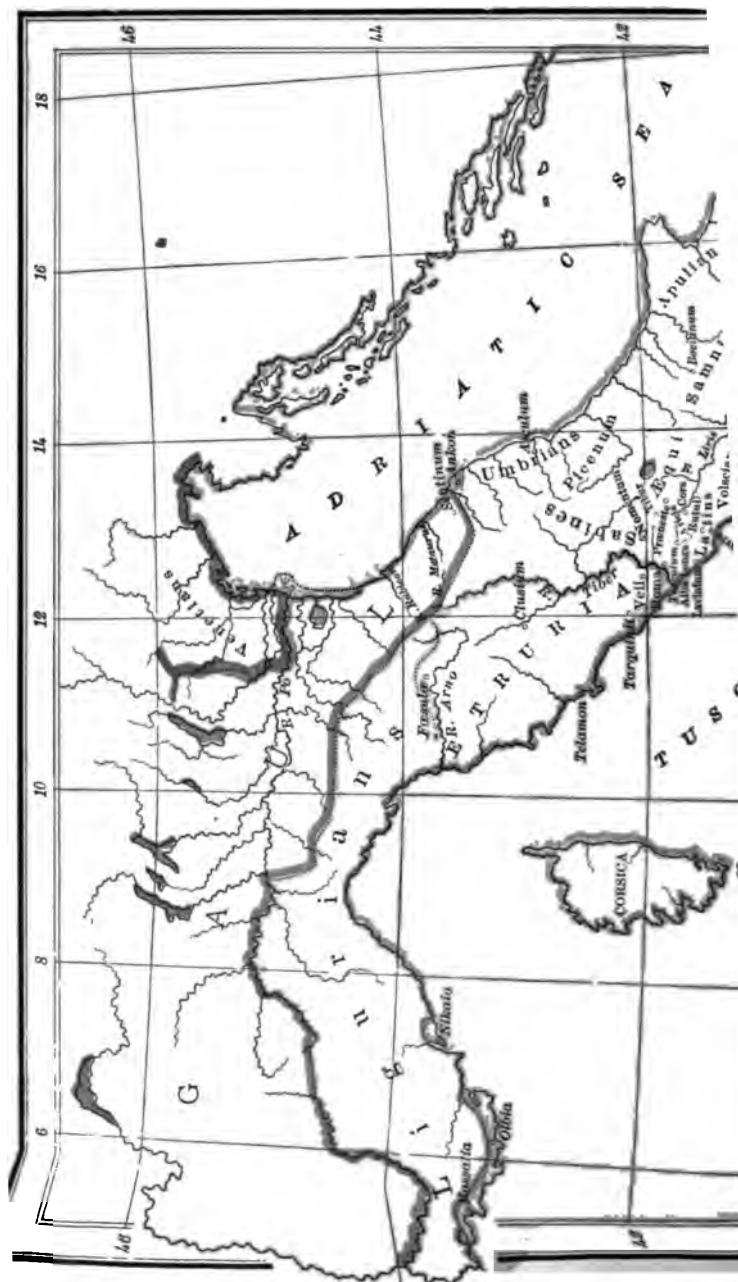
I. HISTORY AND TRADITION.

Latium.—We have seen that the Tiber was the largest and most central river of the Italian peninsula. South of the Tiber, between the Apennines and the sea, stretched Latium, the “flat land,” about half as large as the state of Rhode Island.¹ In the centre of Latium is the Alban Mount, a volcanic group, nearly circular in shape, wholly surrounded by the low country of Latium. Many of the towns of the Latins were situated upon spurs of the Alban Mount; for the low lands (now known as the *Campagna*) were exceedingly unhealthy, and the inhabitants settled upon elevated spots, both for health and for security against attack.

The Latin Confederacy.—The Latin towns formed a confederacy, which at first consisted of thirty towns; but in the course of time the strongest of these conquered and annexed their weaker neighbors, so that when we reach historical times there were not more than twelve or fifteen of these which remained independent. The chief town of the confederacy was Alba Longa, the “long white town”; but this town was conquered by Rome, which now succeeded to the presidency of the league. Every year the so-called Latin Festival was celebrated by the Roman magistrates upon the summit of the Alban Mount; and for the purposes of this festival the league always continued to consist

¹ This was the original Latium; the name was afterwards extended to the country south of it, as far as the Vulturnus.







of thirty members. By the conquest of Alba Longa and other towns Rome came into possession of about one-third of the territory of Latium.

The Surrounding Nations. — The Latins were surrounded on all sides by nations of foreign race. North of the Tiber were the Etruscans, of whom we have already spoken (p. 5) as being the most powerful nation of Italy. The wars with the Etruscan city of Veii were the most serious in the early history of the republic ; and the capture of this town, B.C. 396, forms the most important turning-point in the growth of the power of Rome. Among the Apennines east of Rome were the Sabines, a simple and hardy people of Italian race. It is believed that the city of Rome was formed by the union of a Sabine settlement with a Latin town upon the Tiber. Further east, among the mountains, were the Æquians in the interior and the Volscians near the sea ; and in the valley between them, watered by the river Treverus, a branch of the Liris, dwelt the Hernicans. The Sabines, Æquians, Volscians, and Hernicans all belonged to the Umbro-Sabellian branch of the Italian race ; but the Hernicans, being lowlanders like the Latins, united with them in an alliance to repel the raids of the Sabine, Æquian, and Volscian mountaineers (see Chap. IV.).

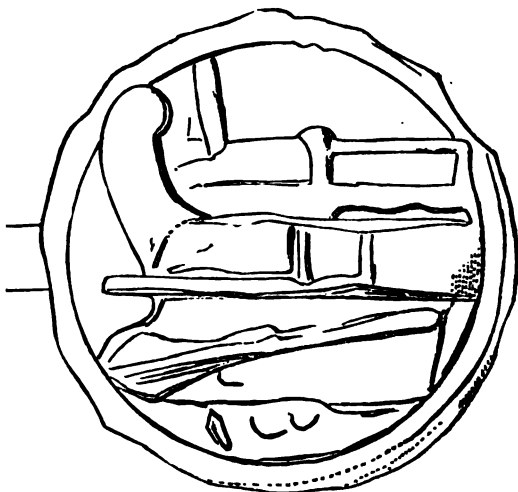
Rome. — The city of Rome was situated upon a group of low hills upon the left bank of the Tiber, about fourteen miles from its mouth : it thus occupied very nearly a central position in Italy, and upon the largest and most important river of the peninsula. The hills upon which it was built were low, but sufficiently elevated to be healthy and easily defended.¹ It was a Latin town, probably a colony of Alba Longa ; but at a very early date it was united with a Sabine community.

Situation of Rome: Its Military Importance. — The situation of Rome upon the river gave it two great advantages over all the other towns of Latium. First, there is a high hill upon the Etruscan side of the river, directly opposite, which formed a natural

¹ The Esquiline, the highest of the hills, is about 218 feet above the level of the sea; the Janiculum, upon the other bank of the river, is 273 feet.

fortress to protect Latium against the powerful city of Veii, only ten miles away. This hill, the Janiculum, was held by the Romans, and connected with the city by a wooden bridge (the *pons sublicius*). The Romans were thus the chief champions of the Latins against their most formidable enemies; and this fact kept them in a constant state of warlike preparation and activity. All free men were soldiers in those days, but the Romans surpassed all the nations of antiquity in military prowess.

Its Commercial Importance.—The second advantage that Rome possessed came from its central situation, on the largest



THE ROMAN AS. (Size of the Original.)

navigable river of Italy. Just above the bridge was an island in the Tiber, and this point was naturally the head of navigation for larger craft. So Rome became an active commercial town, not merely for trade up the river, but for foreign trade; and when the Romans had conquered the lower course of the river they founded the colony of Ostia at its mouth, for the purpose of carry-

ing on their foreign commerce. As the military position of Rome made the Romans the most warlike people of antiquity, so the commercial advantages of its situation made them the most careful accountants and the most business-like in their administration. Their greatness was built upon these two qualities. The importance of commerce and navigation to the early Romans is shown by the fact that the device upon their coins is the prow of a ship.

Rapid Growth of Rome. — The commercial and military advantages arising from the situation of Rome gave it a rapid growth in wealth and power.¹ The first settlers were no doubt peasants, like the rest of their countrymen, living by the care of flocks and the cultivation of the ground; but their early prosperity came from trade, and at the time at which we become acquainted with them they were already distinguished warriors.

History and Tradition. — The authentic history of Rome begins at about the beginning of the fifth century before the Christian era. From this time on, that is, from the establishment of the republic, we have a list of magistrates, and an account of events, very meagre and incomplete, it is true, but derived from contemporary records, and therefore serving as a basis for chronology. Before this time we have only tradition, handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. Not but that the Romans possessed the art of writing during this earlier period; but that they left no continuous record of contemporaneous origin, — only a few isolated monuments. But there can be no chronology, and therefore no genuine history, unless the record is continuous as well as contemporaneous. Nevertheless, the value of oral tradition is, so far as it goes, very great. We cannot rely upon it for an accurate outline of events, but it may preserve the memory of individual names and occurrences as well as of institutions and customs. Much, therefore, that has come down to us from this pre-historic period, is no doubt historical in character, although it cannot be assigned to any definite date.

¹ Read article by Goldwin Smith, "The Greatness of Rome," in the *Contemporary Review*, May, 1878.

Mythical Period. — As we go back in the narration of events, we come at last to a time when even tradition deserts us, and what has come down to us as history is really nothing but the product of the imagination, or even of conscious invention. This is the mythical period. In the history of all primitive nations the earliest narrated events must be understood to be mythical ; they may contain some germs of historical truth, but are for the most part pure fable. Then follow the traditions handed down by oral memory, incomplete, but truthful in their substance ; only with contemporaneous written records begins genuine history.

Early Roman History. — At the commencement of the historical period Rome was a republic, and it continued under a republican form of government for nearly five hundred years. But according to the tradition, which was very recent and positive, and which there is no reason to doubt, Rome had shortly before been governed by kings, and the names of seven of these kings were preserved in memory. The reigns of the kings belong to the traditional period, and the names and many of the events of the reigns of all but the two earliest may be accepted as genuine ; the first two kings belong to the realm of pure fable. During the last part of the monarchy the kings were of an Etruscan family of the name of Tarquin ; it was the tyranny of the last of this B.C. 509. family, Tarquin the Proud, that drove the Romans to rise in rebellion, overthrow the kingly rule, and set up a republic.

The Mythical Kings. — There were more than twenty different accounts of the way in which Rome was founded, but B.C. 753.¹ they all agree in representing its founder and first king as Romulus, who was believed to be a son of the god Mars. It is common for primitive nations to believe that their founders were of divine origin. For example, Cedric, the first king of Wessex, from whom the kings of England down to the present time have been descended, was believed to be sprung from the

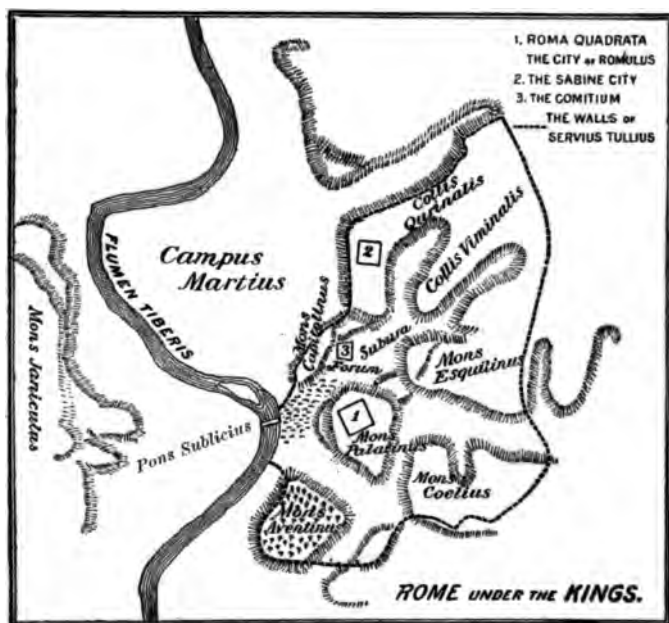
¹ These dates are those handed down by tradition, and must not be taken to be historically accurate.

god Odin ; and even Alexander the Great, in the full light of history, claimed to be the son of Zeus. Romulus was associated during a part of his reign with Titus Tatius, king of the Sabine settlement upon the Quirinal ; in the joint reign of these two kings we have the memory of the union of the Latin and Sabine communities. Romulus was regarded as not only the founder of the city, but as the creator of its political and military institutions ; while his successor, the Sabine Numa B.C. 715. Pompilius, a mild and peace-loving sovereign, was the organizer of the religious institutions. In these two kings, therefore, wholly mythical in character, were impersonated the fundamental institutions of the city.

✓ **The Kings of the Patrician Period.** — The kings who follow Romulus and Numa Pompilius may be considered as belonging to genuine tradition, and as having a certain historical character. Tullus Hostilius was a warlike king, who B.C. 672. conquered Alba Longa, and made Rome the head of the Latin confederacy. Even before his time the Romans had conquered the towns upon the Tiber to a distance of about twelve miles above the city ; and his successor Ancus Marcius extended these conquests to the mouth of the river, B.C. 640. where he founded the sea-port colony of Ostia. By these conquests the Roman territory, the *Ager Romanus*, which had at first extended only from two to five miles in each direction, was made to include about one-third of Latium. Upon the death of Ancus Marcius, an Etruscan by the name B.C. 616. of Lucius Tarquinius was made king, and his family continued on the throne until the overthrow of the monarchy. There is no reason to doubt that kings of these names ruled in Rome, and performed some of the actions that are related of them ; but it cannot be supposed that the dates of their accession are correctly handed down by memory, and it is altogether likely that there were other kings whose names have been forgotten, either because they did nothing deserving to be remembered, or because their actions have been ascribed to the more distinguished rulers.

According to the traditionary dates, the reigns of these kings averaged nearly thirty-five years, not an impossible thing, but a very unusual average for seven successive rulers.¹

The Early City. — The original city was upon the Palatine Hill, the most isolated of the hills of Rome, and therefore the one best fitted for an independent settlement. The Palatine city was called



Roma Quadrata, or "Square Rome"; some massive walls of this early town have been discovered in recent years. By degrees the town outgrew its walls and spread over the surrounding heights, and then, as we have seen, united with a Sabine city upon the

¹ The seven first Capetian rulers of France reigned 267 years (from 956 to 1223), an average of 38 years, in every case son succeeding father; but I know no other case of so large an average.

Quirinal. The original Romans now formed the tribe of *Ramnes*, while the Sabines were known as *Tities*. A third tribe, the *Luceres*, was added afterwards, perhaps when Tullus Hostilius conquered Alba Longa and transferred its citizens to Rome, settling them upon the Coelian Hill. In the valley between the Palatine and the Quirinal, swampy and subject to overflow, was the *Forum* or market-place, and beside it, upon a spot somewhat more elevated and dryer, a space was enclosed called the *Comitium*, for assemblies and other public purposes. The citadel of the new city was upon a precipitous spur of the Quirinal, called the Capitoline.¹

The Ager Romanus. — The original territory of Rome was probably of about the same dimensions as that of most of the other Latin towns, and appears to have extended about two miles to the north and west, and five or six miles to the east and south, being thus of nearly the size of a Western "township." It outgrew these limits, however, long before the historical period. Romulus, as we have already said, is related to have conquered the towns to a distance of twelve or fifteen miles up the river, and to have annexed their territory; some of these towns, if not all, were probably Sabine. Tullus Hostilius conquered Alba Longa, to the southeast, and annexed its territory, including the summit of the Alban Mount, and Ancus Marcius subdued the towns along the lower course of the river, as far as its mouth.

The Enlarged Domain. — At this period, therefore, the Roman domain extended about fifteen miles to the northeast, the southeast, and the southwest, and comprised the entire course of the Tiber to a distance of twenty-five or thirty miles from its mouth, except the stronghold of Fidenæ, about five miles above Rome, which served as a base of operations upon the Latin side of the river for the neighboring Etruscan city of Veii, just as the Janiculum did for the Romans upon the Etruscan side of the river. The *ager Romanus* was, however, very irregular in shape. The course of the Anio, the principal branch of the Tiber upon the east, was occupied by the powerful cities of Gabii and Tibur, while Tusculum

¹ See plan, p. 16.

held the northern slopes of the Alban Mount, and to the south the Roman territory bordered upon those of Aricia, Ardea, and Laurentum. The *ager Romanus* at this epoch comprised about one-third of Latium, and it was not permanently enlarged after this time until about a hundred years after the establishment of the republic, except by the annexation of Gabii by the last Tarquin.

II. INSTITUTIONS.

Patrician Rome. — The reigns of these first four kings of Roman tradition mark a distinct period of time, which must have continued much longer than tradition has it, and which we may call *Patrician Rome*, because the only citizens at this period were the members of those families which were afterwards known as patrician. There were other inhabitants, but these were either held in servitude, or were wholly without political rights.

The Gentile System. — In this period the Roman people, like all primitive communities, consisted of a number of family groups called *gentes* ("clans"), the members of each of which believed themselves to be descended from a common ancestor.¹ Each *gens* consisted of a number of families, each under the authority of the "father of the family" (*pater-familias*), who ruled with absolute sway over his wife and children, even having the right to put them to death. The members of these families were called *patricians*, or "sons of the fathers" (*patres*); and no one but those who belonged to these patrician families had any share in the government. Each clan belonged to one of the three tribes of which the Roman people were composed (p. 17), and each tribe was divided into ten curies (*curiae*), groups intermediate between the tribes and the clans. Every Roman citizen thus belonged at once to a family, a *gens*, a *curia*, and a tribe.

¹ The name of the *gens* was a patronymic, indicating descent from this ancestor; e.g., the Julian *gens* (*gens Iulia*) claimed to have derived their name from that of Iulus, son of Æneas.

Divisions of Land.—It is believed that when the several branches of the Italian race, in their migration, moved into the peninsula from the north, they were already organized in these family groups or clans, each settling by itself in a territory of its own. They afterwards associated themselves into larger organizations, but each clan still continued to occupy its own district of land. The names of the early divisions of the Roman domain, so far as they are preserved, are derived from those of patrician clans; and we are informed that each curia and each tribe also had a territory of its own.

The Government of Rome.—The Romans were governed by an elected king,¹ who was also the chief priest of the people, their judge, and their commander in war. The people were a collection of families, each under its *pater-familias*, and the king was the *pater-familias* of the whole people. These heads of families, who had absolute power, each in his own household, composed a Senate, or Council of Elders (*senior* means “elder”), which served as a council to the king. The senators, being all heads of families, or *patres-familias*, were called the *patres*, “fathers.” Afterwards—indeed, in the earliest historical times,—the senators were appointed by the king.² Their number was three hundred, and this continued to be the regular number of senators until the last century of the republic. Besides the Senate, there was an assembly, composed of the body of citizens; that is, of all capable of bearing arms, whether they were heads of families or not. This assembly met and voted by curies; a vote was never taken of the people of a whole, but each curia voted by itself, and the majority of the curies decided the question. The assembly thus organized was called *comitia curiata*.

¹ In the elective character of the monarchy the Romans differed from the Greeks, whose kings reigned by hereditary title. Under the Tarquinian dynasty the Roman monarchy also appears to have become hereditary:

² In the republic the appointment of senators was made at first by the consuls and then by the censors; in the last century of the republic all who had held certain offices became members of the Senate without formal appointment.

The Auspices. — The Roman. believed that their city was under the immediate care and protection of the gods, and that the gods would express their will to them by signs, called *auspices*. These auspices were interpreted by a body of priests, called *augurs*, and no public action was ever entered upon without consulting the gods by auspices. The auspices therefore formed the foundation of the public authority, and were regarded as belonging to the Senate, because the Senate was composed of all persons who had authority in their families. But although the auspices belonged to the Senate, they were temporarily lodged in the hands of the king, or (under the republic) of the elected magistrate, and he alone had the right to consult the gods in behalf of the state. When there were no magistrates, as on the death of the king, or a failure to elect consuls, the auspices returned to the Senate, where they belonged (*auspicia ad patres redierunt*) ; this was called an *interregnum*, and the city was governed by an *interrex* until the vacancy was filled by a new election.¹ In virtue of the auspices the Senate possessed the right to nullify any action of the assembly which appeared to conflict with the religion or constitution of the state.

The Army. — The army, or "levy" (*legio*), was composed of one thousand men from each tribe (*milites*, from *mille*, "thousand"), and the commander of each tribe was called tribune (*tribunus*). There was also a body of cavalry, consisting of three companies ("centuries") of one hundred men each, one from each tribe. This number was afterwards doubled, and subsequently raised to eighteen.

The Dependent Classes. — The Romans also had slaves, for the most part persons who had been captured in war. Each *gens* had, likewise a number of serfs, called *clients*, who cultivated the lands of the gens, bore its name and took part in its sacrifices. The clients probably belonged to some foreign race which had been subjugated by the Latins, but not reduced to slavery. They were personally free, but had no legal or political rights ; each client had to be

¹ The *interrex* governed for only five days, and there was sometimes a long succession of *interreges* before the vacancy could be filled.

represented by some patrician head of a family, who was called his *patron*. When a slave was emancipated, he became the client of his former master, and was known as a *freedman* (*libertus*). A second dependent class consisted of traders and handicraftsmen, of foreign birth, who, like the clients, had to be represented by a patrician patron. This class became very numerous with the growth of foreign commerce, especially after the foundation of the seaport colony of Ostia (p. 15).

The Rural Plebeians.—There was another class, more important than either the clients or the resident foreigners;—the inhabitants of the conquered Latin towns, who had not been admitted to the patriciate. These were, unlike the clients, of the same race with the Romans, and had the same fundamental institutions. They were peasants, as the Romans were originally, and when they had lost their political independence, they had retained their personal freedom, a part of their land, and full rights of property and trade (*commercium*). Many of them were prosperous and wealthy farmers. Being foreigners in Rome, however, they had not the right of intermarriage (*conubium*) with patricians; for in early society this right exists only by special agreement. Their legal status was that of the clients, and they have been called the clients of the state. This class was known as *plebeians*; but they were distinguished on one hand from the clients by being freeholders, and on the other from the resident foreigners by being peasants; in the course of time these other two classes were associated with them, and the name plebeian was applied to all who were not patricians. It was this class of free peasants, whom we may call the rural plebeians, that carried on the long contest for social and political equality during the first century of the republic.

The Patrician Gentes.—It will be seen by this description that each patrician gens formed a little community by itself, the state being an association of these communities. No doubt at first the lands of the gens belonged to the gens as a community: but in the very earliest historical accounts we find every man owning his own land. Perhaps each gens was originally under a single

head : but when we come to the knowledge of them they appear rather as aristocracies, each containing several powerful noblemen. They of course differed greatly in number and wealth ; but one of these clans, with its slaves and clients, must have been a powerful and formidable body.

Power of the Gentes. — The patrician noblemen remind us, in their turbulent independence, of the barons of the Middle Ages.

It is related that the Fabian gens voluntarily carried on B.O. 479. a war against Veii by its own resources ; the number of its members at this time is given as three hundred and six, besides three or four thousand clients. Appius Claudius, the founder of the Claudian gens, emigrated from the Sabine country with over five thousand clients, from which it appears that the Sabines also had a nobility like the Roman patriciate. We find a similar nobility in other Latin towns ; but the Roman patricians differed from the others in having made large fortunes by foreign commerce. We shall better understand the importance of this fact when we come to the economic disturbances of the early republic. The Roman patricians may therefore be described as a rich landed and commercial nobility, with a large body of serfs (clients) and slaves. The rural plebeians, on the other hand, were free peasants, the common freemen of the Italian race ; while the clients were, in all probability, the remains of a subjugated population of foreign stock.

III. RELIGION.

Religion. — The religion of the Romans was a form of nature-worship. They believed in the existence of special spirits (*numina*) who controlled the several departments and operations of nature. To these they gave names, conceiving of them as male and female ; thus Vulcan was the god of fire, and Neptune of the sea, while every process of growth in plants or in the human body had its special deity.¹ But, although they personified the powers of nature

¹ *E.g.*, Ossipāgo, who knits the joints of the child's body; Carna, who strengthens his flesh; Nodōtus, who forms the joints in the growing plant;

in this way, and gave them names, they did not, like the Greeks, imagine them as like human beings, living together in a world by themselves, and from time to time taking part in the affairs of men. Rather, they looked upon them as abstract powers, whose only function it was to direct the operations of nature. They had no statues of their gods in the earliest times, but worshipped them in symbolic forms or "fetishes." Thus Jupiter was symbolized by a piece of flint, Mars by a spear, Vesta by the sacred flame. They also personified the abstract qualities themselves, such as Honor, Modesty, Panic, Harmony: to these deified qualities they built temples and offered sacrifices. In a religion like this there could be very few myths, or stories about the actions of their gods, such as the Greeks delighted in. On the other hand, they had very elaborate and solemn forms of worship, which they exercised with the greatest formality and precision.

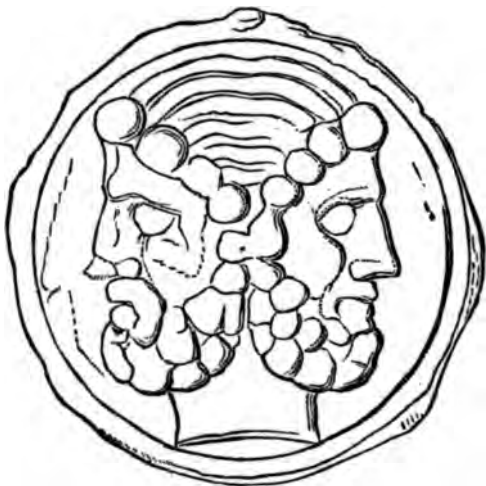
The Chief Gods of Rome. — Their chief god was Jupiter, god of the sky and the atmosphere; he was the special guardian of the vine, which depends so much upon the weather for its fruitfulness. In the time of the Tarquins, Jupiter was associated with Juno and Minerva to form what is known as the Capitoline Triad (p. 7). Mars,¹ the god of heroic strength, was the special protecting deity of the Italian race, especially of the Romans; and when the Romans grew into a great military nation, they identified him with the Greek Ares, and made him the special god of war. The original goddess of war was Bellona (from *bellum*, "war"). The Sabine Romans had also their god of war, Quirinus, a counterpart of Mars. Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus were distinguished above all other gods in the primitive religion, and each had a priest of his own, called a *flamen*.² Mars also had a company of priests called "leapers" (*Salii*), young men of noble birth, who every

Volutina, who wraps the leaves in folds. Saturnus (of sowing), Minerva (of memory), Flora (of flowers), were originally divinities of this class.

¹ The name is probably from the same root as *mors*, "death," and perhaps *mas*, "male."

² There were also twelve inferior *flamens*, of Vulcan, Flora, Pomona, etc.

year, in his month (*March*), went in a procession through the city, leaping and dancing, and beating their shields with spears. Janus (*Dianus*) and Diana were the god and goddess of the sun and moon ; but Janus' became especially the god of beginnings. Every prayer began with an invocation to him, and the first month of the year, *January*, was named for him. He was represented as having two faces turned in opposite directions. Many gods and goddesses of great importance in this early time afterwards became



HEAD OF JANUS, UPON THE REVERSE OF THE ROMAN AS.

insignificant ; others, like Ceres and Minerva, rose in importance ; while others, such as Apollo, Æsculapius, Bacchus, and Isis were, in the course of time, introduced from Greece and other countries.

The Worship of Vesta. — Vesta (*Ἑστία*), goddess of the hearth, is the only deity common to both Greeks and Romans, except Jupiter ("father Zeus"). The family altar, with its worship of the household gods and deified ancestors, was the centre of the life of every household. Every household had its *lar familiaris*¹ (house-

¹ In later times there were always two *lares*.

hold god of the family), who was worshipped in company with Vesta. In these sacred rights (*sacra*) was the life of the family. Each of the larger outgrowths of the family — the gens, the tribe, and the city itself — had its altar and its domestic worship, under the patronage of Vesta ; the clients of the gens also participated in these *sacra*. The sacred hearth of the city was in the round temple of Vesta, near the Forum.¹ Here she was served by the Vestal Virgins, at first four, afterwards six in number, maidens of free birth, whose duty it was to keep the fire always burning upon the altar. If it should be extinguished by any accident, it must be lighted from a "pure flame," which had not served human purposes, either by striking a spark with flint, or by rubbing together two dry sticks ; and if any one of the virgins should break her vows, it was a portent of dreadful meaning.



A VESTAL VIRGIN.

The Festivals. — The Romans being a community of peasants, all their festivals in early times were such as belonged to the life of shepherds and husbandmen. Among these were the *Palilia*, April 21, to Pales, the goddess of flocks : on this day it was believed

¹ The foundations of this temple and the remains of the residence of the Vestals have been recently excavated. The portrait of the Vestal, given in the text, is from a statue discovered here.

that the city had been founded by Romulus. On April 28 was the procession, on the farms, to propitiate *Robigo* (rust or mildew), the chief enemy of the growing crops. Towards the end of May were the *Ambarvalia*,¹ or procession to purify and bless the fields; it ended with the *Suovetaurilia*, or lustratory sacrifice of a bull, a swine, and a sheep. A similar celebration in behalf of the city was made at the same season by an association (*collegium*) of noble young men, called the Arval Brothers (*Fratres Arvales*). This institution was kept up with great devotion, even during the empire; and a number of inscriptions, describing the ceremony in all details, have been discovered in their sacred grove, in a spot near the Tiber, about five miles from the city. In August were the *Consualia*, or festival to Consus, the god of the granary (from *condo*, to store away), sometimes called the Equestrian Neptune. It was at this festival that the Romans, under Romulus, were believed to have provided themselves wives by seizing the Sabine maidens, who had come as spectators of the games. On December 17 was the festival of Saturn, the god of sowing: the *Saturnalia*. On this occasion slaves were allowed their freedom for the day, and indulged themselves in boisterous merriment. In September were the Great or Roman Games, — horse-races and such-like. These were held in the Circus Maximus, in the valley between the Palatine and the Aventine.

The Priesthoods. — The public exercises of religion were under the management of the king, who was the chief priest of the city, assisted by a board (*collegium*) of "pontiffs," at this time four in number, afterwards fifteen. A similar board, called the *Augurs*, had the duty of interpreting the auspices or signs sent by the gods to the king or other magistrate in behalf of the city. A company of Herald's (*Fetiales*) had the duty of performing the ceremonies in the declaration of war, and other offices of an international character. The *Luperci*, of whom there were two companies, performed, on the fifteenth of February, a strange ceremony, running

¹ See an interesting description of this festival in Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*.

nearly naked through the city, and striking whomever they met with thongs made of the hides of newly slaughtered goats. Their course followed the enclosure of the earliest city, around the Palatine.

The Calendar. — The Romans reckoned time by the course of the moon; the appearance of the new moon was proclaimed (*calare*) by the pontiffs, and this first day of the month was known as the *Kalends*. A cycle (*annus*) of ten months was employed for contracts and treaties, but at a very early period a year of twelve months was adopted, to bring the reckoning by moons into correspondence with the course of the sun.

Money. — As a standard of weight they employed the *as* (pound), divided into twelve *uncie* (ounces).¹ The Romans coined no money until about the time of the B.C. 461. Decemvirs, but copper was cast in pound bars, and in all purchases the copper was weighed. As late as the time of the Decemvirs fines were imposed in oxen and sheep instead of money.

Art. — There are no indications among the early Romans of the fine artistic sense which distinguished their kinsmen the Greeks at the same stage of advancement. The æsthetic qualities were not absent from the Italian peoples, as has been shown at more than one epoch since; but they were held in check by the severe and practical turn which the Roman mind took in every department. No doubt, like every body of peasants, they had their simple tunes and their popular songs, celebrating the brave deeds of their fathers. From such songs, handed down in family circles, are derived the legends of Coriolanus, Camillus, and other worthies of the olden time.²

The Roman Character. — The Roman religion, which was at bottom identical with that of the Greeks, had received a totally different bent, and came to consist almost exclusively in observ-

¹ The ounce was divided into 24 scruples: from this our table of Apothecaries' Weight is derived.

² See Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*.

ance and ceremonial. It was, therefore, excessively formal and mechanical. But if their religion was devoid of beauty, it exerted a wholesome influence on character. The Romans were a serious, just people, although stern and severe ; and their religion, in its primitive condition, was almost wholly free from the indecencies and excitements which are found even among the Greeks, and still more in the religions of Asia. In the best time of the republic they had the simple manners and homely virtues of peasants. At a later period they lost their seriousness, while their sternness degenerated into wanton cruelty, and the native simplicity of their religion was obscured by immoralities and orgies, mostly of oriental origin.

In short, the genius of the Romans was essentially practical. Their religion consisted wholly in works ; art and literature were foreign to their genius : but even in their earliest estate we note, in their military achievements, their political contests, and their system of law, the three fields in which they were destined to make their greatest contributions to civilization, — war, government, and jurisprudence.

CHAPTER III.

THE TARQUINS.

The Tarquinian Dynasty. — According to tradition, Ancus Marcius, the fourth king, was followed by three successive kings of Etruscan origin, belonging to the family of Tarquin, — Lucius Tarquinius the Elder (*Priscus*) ; his son-in-law, B.C. 616. Servius Tullius ; and son, Lucius Tarquinius the Proud B.C. 578. (*Superbus*). It is evident that the story in this form is B.C. 534. impossible, for the younger Tarquin is represented to have been still a young man after the long reign (forty-four years) of the alleged usurper, Servius Tullius. There is no reason to doubt, however, that a line of kings of this name reigned in Rome, and that it was of Etruscan origin. The last Tarquin was expelled, on the ground of tyranny, at about the beginning of the fifth century before Christ,¹ and a republican government established.

Achievements of the Tarquins. — The rule of the Tarquins is marked by three principal achievements: the establishment of their power over all Latium, the construction of great public works, and the abolition of the exclusive privileges of the patricians.

1. The Tarquinian Empire. — We have seen (p. 17) that the Roman territory, *ager Romanus*, at the accession of this dynasty, had been extended by the conquests of Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Marcius, and earlier kings, so as to reach from the mouth of the Tiber to a point about thirty miles up the river, and also in a southeasterly direction to the Alban Mount, including the summit of this mountain: making in all about a third of Latium. On the river the Romans did not succeed in permanently holding the stronghold of Fidenæ, about five miles from Rome, near to Veii and generally in alliance with it. Below the city, on the other

¹ The traditionary date was B.C. 509.

hand, they held both banks of the river. On the Alban Mount the Roman territory thrust itself like a wedge between that of two Latin towns, Tusculum and Aricia.

The Conquests of the Tarquins.—To this extensive territory the Tarquins added nearly all the rest of Latium; not, however, annexing it to the Roman domain, but holding it as tributary. In the confusion of the revolution which put an end to the monarchy, the Latins regained their independence, and the Roman territory had nearly the same extent at the commencement of the republic which it had had under Ancus Marcius.

2. The Public Works of the Tarquins.—The most important of the public works of this period were three in number. First, the splendid temple of Jupiter, with side chapels to Juno and Minerva,¹ upon the Capitoline Hill. This building was known as the Capitolium, or Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and was regarded as the seat of the Roman dominion.² Secondly, a magnificent set of sewers, the principal of which was the great sewer, *Cloaca Maxima*, which drained the marshy valley between the hills, and rendered the ground fit for the purposes of the market-place (*Forum*) and the place of public assemblies (*Comitium*). In this structure the principle of the arch was employed, which was in use in other parts of Italy also at this early period.³ These sewers are still in

¹ Until this time Minerva, the goddess of memory or mind; does not seem to have been one of the chief deities.

² The foundations of this building have been recently discovered. As this temple was the central seat of the Roman religion and nationality, and was frequently used for meetings of the Senate, the name *capitol* has come to be applied very generally to buildings which are the seat of government. Thus Shakespeare makes Julius Cæsar assassinated in the *Capitol*. But the Roman capitol did not correspond in any respect with the capitol at Washington, except in these occasional sessions of the Senate.

³ The round arch, with its extension into the vault and dome, is, as we shall see, the distinctive feature of ancient Italian architecture. The Greeks employed horizontal beams resting upon columns; the pointed arch is the characteristic feature of the architecture of the middle ages. See the arched gateway of Volaterræ, p. 8.

use. Thirdly, the city walls, which were now for the first time made to include both the Sabine and the Roman towns (p. 16), as well as the Aventine, an extensive hill at this time uninhabited, but afterwards assigned to the plebeians, and the fortified hill, Janiculum, on the opposite bank of the river. These walls were the work of Servius Tullius, the greatest king of this dynasty, although, according to a tradition, a usurper.



THE CAPITOLINE AND CLOACA MAXIMA. A RESTORATION.

3. The Reforms of Servius Tullius. — The extension of civil rights to the plebeians was also the work of this king, although the elder Tarquin is said to have planned some such reform, but to have been prevented by religious obstacles. The idea of the constitution of Servius Tullius, as it is called, was perhaps borrowed from the Greeks, for it is in many features the same as that of Solon, established in Athens a few years before B.C. 594, the traditionary date of Servius Tullius. The principle of the reform is what is known as *timocracy*, according to which the

power is lodged in the hands of the rich, instead of those of high birth. By the patrician constitution, the members of the original families possessed all the power in the state: by the timocratic reforms of Servius Tullius a certain preponderance was given to the richest citizens.

The Classes and Centuries. — The original object of this reform was to increase the military force of the city, and to equalize the public burdens, by imposing military service upon all owners of land (*locupletes*), whereas these had before rested upon the patricians alone. The reform applied, therefore, only to the rural plebeians, or free peasants, not to the clients or to the city plebs. For this purpose the landowners (patricians and plebeians alike) were divided into five "classes," according to the amount of their landed property, and each of these classes again was divided into a number of "centuries." The centuries of each class were in two equal groups: the *juniores*, containing the citizens of military age (below forty-six), and the *seniores*, composed of those above the age of active service.

Military Service. — Military service was an exclusive privilege of citizens, as is the case in all early communities: therefore the admission of the plebeians to military service was in effect to recognize them as citizens, although not fully qualified citizens. From this the right to vote followed necessarily, although not at once. Each soldier equipped and provided himself at his own expense, and the armor and equipment of each class was more complete and costly than that of the class next below.¹ Besides the one

¹ The centuriate organization was as follows:

First class: 40 centuries each of active and reserve . . .	80
18 centuries of cavalry	18
Second, third, and fourth classes, 20 centuries each . . .	60
Fifth class, 30; mechanics, musicians, etc., 5	35
	193

The three first classes were heavy-armed, and composed the phalanx: the first class (with leather helmet, round shield (*clipeus*), breastplate, greaves, spear, and sword) composing four ranks; the second class (omitting the

hundred and seventy centuries of infantry, there were also eighteen centuries of cavalry, composed of young men of the first class, who received a horse, and provision for its keeping, from the state (*equites equo publico*). These centuries, like those of the infantry, were open to patricians and plebeians alike; but it is reasonable to suppose that this privileged service was practically confined to the patricians. As these eighteen centuries, when added to the eighty centuries of infantry of the first class, made a majority of the whole number of centuries, it is easy to see that, when the centuries were used as a voting organization, the first class was able to outvote all the others. The smiths, carpenters, musicians, and citizens below the rating of the fifth class made five additional centuries.

The Local Tribes. — Servius Tullius also divided the city into four districts, called "tribes,"¹ for administrative and financial purposes. The names of these — *Suburana*, *Palatina*, *Esquilina*, and *Collina* — were derived from those of the principal hills of the city, and the valley between. The territory outside of the city walls also fell into a number of smaller districts (*pagi*), which were afterwards formed into sixteen so-called "rural" tribes; and in the course of time the whole number of tribes was brought to thirty-five.² These tribes were made the basis for the military levy, each furnishing an equal number of men to each century of the army. From the tribes also was levied a land-tax, *tributum*, when required by the exigencies of the state, to be repaid when the treasury should be full.

breastplate) and the third (omitting also the greaves) composing one rank each. Behind these stood the fourth class, armed with spear and darts, and the fifth, who had nothing but slings.

¹ The tribes of Servius Tullius, in their origin purely territorial, must not be confounded with the three patrician tribes, which were primarily divisions of the people, although each tribe was resident in a definite district.

² It is Mommsen's view that the rural districts were formed into tribes at the time that the land was made private property; ownership in severalty being at first confined, as in the German village communities, to the homestead, while the cultivated fields were held in common.

The Comitia Centuriata. — Servius Tullius did not interfere with the patrician institutions, — the three tribes, the curies, and the *comitia curiata*; the new arrangement was only for military purposes. But those that support the state with their contributions, and defend it with their blood, cannot be prevented from having a voice in its management; and in the course of time the custom grew up of summoning all the citizens, instead of the patricians alone, to vote on public questions. For this purpose the organization by centuries was well suited, and the assembly thus organized was called *comitia centuriata*. We cannot tell certainly whether this assembly was used under the monarchy, but during the republic it was the regular organ of public action.

The Relation of Rome to Latium. — In the reign of Servius Tullius a temple of Diana was built upon Mount Aventine, as a common sanctuary for Romans and Latins. The Aventine was at this time unoccupied, and although it was within the walls of the city, like the Capitoline or citadel, it was not included in B.C. 456. either of the four city tribes; it was afterwards assigned to the plebeians for their special residence. The regulations for the festival and markets held at this temple, and the treaties with the cities which combined to build it, were carved in Greek letters upon a bronze pillar set up in the temple; this pillar was still in existence at the close of the republic. That this temple was erected in Rome shows that this city was now regarded as the head of the Latin nationality. Tarquin the Proud established a still more complete authority over the whole of Latium; but it was the personal dominion of the king, not an enlargement of the power and territory of the city, and when the kingly power was overthrown, the empire over Latium was lost.

Conquests of Tarquin the Proud. — The only permanent acquisition of territory made by the city under the Tarquins, was that of the neighboring city of Gabii, which entered into a treaty with Tarquin the Proud by which its citizens became Roman citizens, and its territory a part of the *ager Romanus*, while the city still continued to govern itself in local concerns. This treaty too was in existence

at the Christian era, inscribed upon an ox-hide stretched over a wooden shield. Two colonies were also planted by this king as military posts in the furthest part of Latium — Circeii upon the coast, and Signia on a spur of the Volscian mountains, commanding the valley of the Trerus ; but authority over both was lost when the Latins regained their independence, at the expulsion of the Tarquins.

The Republic. — The revolution by which the kingly office was abolished is placed by tradition in the year B.C. 509. But the chronicles of these years are so confused and incomplete, that all we can say with certainty is that it took place at about the end of the sixth century before Christ. The Romans were acquainted with the art of writing at this epoch, as is shown by the two treaties mentioned in the last section ; there was also a commercial treaty with Carthage, made in the first year of the republic, and extant in the later republic, which illustrates the commercial importance of Rome at this time.¹ But although the Romans possessed the art of writing, they do not appear to have kept a regular chronicle of events until the time of the republic, and even then the records for a long time consisted of hardly more than lists of magistrates, battles and triumphs, disasters and portents.

War with the Etruscans. — The revolution which overthrew the monarchy led to a war with the Etruscans and Latins, which, according to the account, lasted fourteen years, and brought Rome to the verge of destruction. Lars Porsena, king of Clusium — at this time the leading Etruscan city, — gained a decisive victory, and compelled the Romans to an ignominious peace, by which they ceded a considerable tract of territory to the Etruscan city of Veii, gave up their weapons, and agreed in future to use no iron except for purposes of agriculture.² The Romans would not,

¹ The date of the several treaties with Carthage is subject to great controversy, the two highest authorities, Polybius and Diodorus, being directly in contradiction with each other ; but I cannot see sufficient reason to reject with Mommsen the express statement of Polybius in relation to a document which he had probably seen with his own eyes.

² An agreement similar in object to those by which modern nations bind themselves to *dismantle their fortresses*.

however, consent to receive back the Tarquins, and the banished family remained in exile ; the tomb of the family was discovered a few years ago in the Etruscan city of Cære. The war was at last ended by the decisive victory of the Romans at Lake **B.O. 496.** Regillus ; by this the independence of the Roman republic was secured.

Greek Influence. — It was a tradition among the Romans that the battle of Lake Regillus was saved to them by the aid of the Greek gods Castor and Pollux, and that these gods brought to the city the first tidings of the victory. In gratitude for this assistance they built a temple to Castor and Pollux on the spot, near the temple of Vesta, where they had made their appearance.¹ This is only one out of a number of evidences of an early and active intercourse of the Romans with the Greeks of Magna Græcia and Sicily. The Roman alphabet is derived from that of the Greeks, and the method of reckoning time and the system of weights and measures were modified by intercourse with the Greeks. We have seen too that the institutions of Servius Tullius bore a Greek stamp, and we shall find strong indications of the same influence in the decemviral legislation.

The Sibylline Books. — Still more important, as an agency in introducing Greek forms of worship, was the purchase of the Sibylline books by Tarquin the Proud, and the appointment of a special "college" or board of priests to take charge of them. These books were in Greek, and contained prophecies in reference to Rome. The commissioners who had charge of them (known afterwards as the "Board of Fifteen in charge of sacred rites," *Quindecimviri sacris faciundis*), consulted these books in times of public danger or embarrassment, and by their direction many Greek forms of worship were from time to time introduced into Rome.

Etruscan Influence. — But while the Greek influence upon the

¹ Three columns are still standing of the Temple of Castor. They mark the spot of the original temple, but themselves belong to a later edifice, built in the time of the empire.

civilization of the Romans was early and powerful, that of the Etruscans does not appear to have been very marked. The Etruscans were nearer than the Greeks, and they were the richest and most powerful people of Italy. But they were of wholly foreign race, while the Greeks were a people nearly related to the Romans. The trappings and ceremonial of royalty: the lictors with their axes and bundles of rods (*fascēs*), the purple robe, and the curule chair, were introduced into Rome by the Etruscan kings, and these were retained by the chief magistrates of the republic.

Public Works. — The great buildings and other public works of the Tarquinian period were constructed, it is true, by the forced labor of the poorer citizens, but under the direction of Etruscan architects and builders. The name of a street opening into the Forum, *Vicus Tuscus*, is evidence of an Etruscan settlement, probably made at this time. As it led through a low and marshy quarter, it cannot have been occupied by the upper classes; but was probably the residence of Etruscan workmen. The era of great public works came suddenly to an end with the expulsion of the Etruscan dynasty of kings, and it is many a year before we meet with a renewed activity in this line. Even in buildings, therefore, the Etruscan influence was not permanent; and in the language, religion, and institutions of the early Romans, we find few traces of any foreign influence except that of the Greeks.

PERIOD II.—THE EARLY REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER IV.

SOCIAL CONTROVERSIES.

I. THE TRIBUNATE OF THE PLEBS.

The Magistrates.—The government established at Rome, after the expulsion of the kings, was an aristocratic republic, in which the controlling power was in the hands of the patricians. Two consuls were elected every year as chief magistrates, and these consuls must be patricians. These magistrates exercised the full powers of the king, only that they were obliged to allow an appeal to be taken from their decisions in criminal cases,¹ to the assembly of the people : in this way it came about that the Assembly became the supreme criminal court. This was, however, only within the limits of the city, and, as a symbol of this limitation of their power, the axes were within these limits removed from the bundles of rods carried by their attendants, the lictors : beyond these limits the axes were replaced in the *fasces*, and the consuls resumed their full authority. In times of great public danger either of the consuls could appoint a dictator, who, for a term of six months, exercised the full and unlimited power of king ; and he, too, must be a patrician.

The Assemblies.—But although the patricians kept the substance of power in their own hands, they could not undo the work of Servius Tullius, who had incorporated the plebeians in the military force ; neither would it have been safe to attempt to carry

¹ "Where sentence of capital or corporal punishment had been pronounced otherwise than by martial law,—a regulation which by a later law (of uncertain date, but passed before 451) was extended to heavy fines."—MOMMSEN.

on the new republic without the aid of the plebeians. They therefore took the assembly of centuries, the *comitia centuriata*, in which patricians and plebeians voted on an equality, and made it the regular organ of popular action, the "great assembly." This assembly received the power to elect magistrates, make laws, declare war, and pass judgment in criminal cases. It must not be supposed, however, that the plebeians were fully on an equality with the patricians even in this assembly. It will be remembered that the first class, composed of the richest citizens, could outvote all the rest. Now the patricians were, with hardly an exception, rich, while the plebeians were mostly poor. The patricians therefore really controlled the votes of the assembly. The old assembly by curies was not abolished, but became now entirely unimportant.

The Senate. — Another privilege granted to the plebeians was that some of their leading men — the richest among the rural plebeians — were allowed to sit in the Senate, but without the right to debate, and with powers inferior to those of the patrician members of the Senate.¹ Out of this there grew up an aristocracy among the plebeians, which in the course of time associated itself with the patrician aristocracy, and formed a new nobility.

Civil Dissensions. — Hardly were the wars at an end which established the independence of the republic, when we find the Roman people in a condition of extreme distress and destitution, and torn by dissensions. We have seen (p. 35) that the revolution which expelled the Tarquins also brought to an end the domination which they had established over the Latin cities; for a hundred years after this time the Romans were engaged in a constant struggle to regain this lost ascendancy. At the same time the commerce, which had been the foundation of their power, was cut off, or at least seriously crippled: it is long before Roman commerce revived, and it never again became relatively as important as it appears to have been in the early patrician state.² From this

¹ The *auspices*, with the right to cancel the action of the *comitia*, and to assume power in an interregnum (p. 20), belonged to the patrician senators alone.

² In the later republic senators were prohibited by law from engaging in commerce.

time the Romans were an essentially military people. Now when we consider that, besides the loss of empire and of commercial preponderance, they had seen their land laid waste and their property destroyed by the ravages of war, and that the burden of incessant military service forced them to neglect the cultivation of their fields, we find it easy to understand how there followed a degree of impoverishment and distress which caused social convulsions of the most formidable character. It was a condition of things like that which caused Shay's rebellion after the American Revolution.

Sufferings of the Poorer Classes. — These calamities fell principally upon the poorer classes, and as the poorer classes were all plebeians, while the patricians were a wealthy aristocracy, the disturbances which followed are usually spoken of as if they arose out of the political disqualifications of the plebeians. But as a matter of fact they had very little to do with these political disqualifications, or with the great struggle between patricians and plebeians, which began a generation later. The plebeians were peasants, and there were among them rich peasants, who, as we have seen (p. 39), were admitted to the Senate, and thus in part associated with the governing class. It was the poor among the plebeians — that is, the small peasants, owners of little freeholds, which they cultivated with their own hands — upon whom the burden fell. The condition of the poor was a hard one at any rate, because the times were hard; but now the distress of the hard times was brought to a crisis by the harsh and abusive execution of the laws by the magistrates.

A Characteristic Incident of the Times. — There were two ways in which the poor peasants were exposed to abuses on the part of the magistrates: in the requisition of military service, and in the enforcement of the law of debt. Both of these abuses find illustration in an incident which, whether historically true or not, depicts accurately the condition of the peasants. "An old man, dressed in rags, with long tangled hair and beard, screaming and calling for help, rushed into the market-place. The crowd having

gathered around him, he stood in full sight, and said : ' I was born free ; I served my full time in my youth, fought in twenty-eight battles, and often received testimonials of bravery in the wars ; but in the troublous times which came upon the city I was obliged to incur debt, in order to pay the taxes which were levied upon me, because my fields had been laid waste and my property consumed in the hard times. Then when I could not pay my debt, I was seized as a slave by my creditor, with my two sons ; my master laying hard tasks upon me, which I refused to perform, I was beaten with many stripes.' At the same time he showed his breast marked with scars, and his back covered with blood."¹

The Condition of the Debtors. — The treatment inflicted upon this man was wholly within the lawful powers of creditors towards delinquent debtors. They even had the right, when there were several creditors, to cut the debtor in pieces, and each take a share proportioned to his debt.² They did not have these powers, however, until after a formal judgment by the consul. This harsh law of debt, giving the creditor absolute power over the body of the debtor, is found in other early nations,³ but was nowhere so severe as in Rome. In Athens, just a hundred years before this time, the evil had reached such a height that the great statesman, Solon, was appointed commissioner, with extraordinary authority, to devise some remedy for it. Solon wisely abolished the law which gave the creditor this power ; but the Romans had not the foresight to do this, and the laws of debt continued to be a source of contention and abuses for nearly two hundred years.⁴

Importance of this Question in Roman History. — We shall better understand the importance of this question in Roman history if we bear in mind that Rome, like Athens, was an active

¹ Dion. Hal., vi. 26. The same story is related by Livy, ii. 23.

² "Cut him to pieces like a butcher," Dio says ; but he adds that this right was never exercised as a matter of fact. Before judgment the debtor was known as *nexus*, after judgment as *addictus*.

³ See, for example, 2 Kings iv. 1.

⁴ Their worst features were abolished B.C. 326.

commercial city, and that its commercial prosperity had been greatly impaired by the disturbed condition of things at the establishment of the republic. The law of debt could not work much harm so long as the Romans were a simple community of peasants, or so long as they enjoyed the brilliant prosperity which was brought in by foreign commerce. But with the crippling of this commerce all classes in the community were cramped in their resources ; and the peasants were the ones, as is always the case, who felt it first and most severely.

Military Service. — The plebeians were not only the sufferers from the law of debt : they were the ones upon whom fell the chief burdens of military service. In all countries it is the peasants who form the rank and file of the army. The plebeians stood, it is true, nominally upon an equality with the patricians in this respect, since the levy for the army was made from the classes and centuries (p. 32), which consisted of both orders alike. But the levy for each year was made at the discretion of the consuls, and as a matter of course fell chiefly upon the plebeians. The patrician young men served in the cavalry, while the old men were in the centuries of reserves. It is mentioned as an unusual thing, that a certain patrician served on foot in the legion.¹

The Powers of the Magistrates. — In two ways, therefore, the peasants were subject to abuses of authority by the consul. First, in the conscription for the year he had it in his power to be harsh or considerate, fair or unfair. Cases are often mentioned of plebeians who were forced into the army when they had already rendered all the military service that was due from them, or were obliged to serve in the ranks when they had a right to a higher position. Secondly, it was the consul who, in the exercise of his judicial powers, decided the cases of delinquent debtors ; and here, too, a severe magistrate would hold strictly to the letter of the law, while one of kindly disposition was able to temper justice with mercy. It is related that at this very time a dictator who tried to administer justice mercifully, found himself so thwarted

¹ Livy, iii. 27.

by the relentless temper of the creditors, that he abdicated his office, rather than lend himself to its abuse.¹ The poor plebeians could not look for aid to the wealthier members of their own order, because the magistrates were exclusively patricians, while the creditors were those members of the patrician order who had made themselves rich by commerce.

The First Secession of the Plebs.—Soon matters came to a crisis. The Latin war had been ended by the battle of Lake Regillus, and Latins and Romans alike were engaged in a war with the Sabines, Æquians, and Volscians. The plebeians composing the army seized this opportunity for vindicating their rights. They marched out of the city to a hill about three miles distant, just beyond the river Anio, and encamped there, refusing to fight the battles of the patricians until their wrongs should be redressed. This is known as the First Secession of the Plebs, and the hill which they occupied was thereafter called the Sacred Mount. There was talk among them of never returning to Rome, but of sending for their wives and children, and building a new city upon this spot. This would have been a fatal blow to the prosperity of the city, for the plebeians were the tillers of the soil and the rank and file of the army, and could not be spared. The patricians therefore offered a compromise, which was accepted after some hesitation. No change was made in the laws. Those suffering from debt or its consequences were relieved for the present; and for the future a novel guaranty was offered them against the abuses of the law.

The Tribune of the Plebs.—This guaranty was the right to appoint officers from their own number, called *tribunes*, to protect them against abuses at the hands of the magistrates. These abuses, it will be remembered, were of two kinds: the unjust imposition of military duties and the harsh execution of the laws of debt. As it was only the acts of magistrates which were subjects of complaint, the remedy consisted in allowing the newly appointed tribunes to interfere and prevent such acts. This power of the tribunes was

¹ Livy, ii. 31.

called *jus auxilii*, "power of assistance." The tribunes were at first two in number, then five, and afterwards ten. Whenever the consul, or his assistant, the quæstor, undertook to enforce the law of debt with undue severity, or to compel a citizen to serve in the army when no service was due from him, or in any other way to treat him unjustly or oppressively, the tribunes had the right absolutely to nullify this action. This power of protection was extended to patricians as well as plebeians.¹ In order to ensure its free exercise, the persons of the tribunes were made sacred; the whole people bound themselves by oath to protect them in the exercise of their office, and any one who violated this sanctity was outlawed and could lawfully be put to death.

The Plebeian Assembly. — Besides the *jus auxilii*, or power to protect against abuses of magisterial authority, the tribunes had the right to call meetings of the plebeians, in order to take action in matters which concerned their collective interests. By the establishment of this assembly, presided over by the tribunes, the *Plebs* became a separate organized body, a state within the state. It elected its own officers, managed its own collective concerns, punished the misdemeanors of its members, and very soon found itself, with a compact organization and able and determined leaders, a controlling force in the state.

II. THE AGRARIAN LAWS.

The Triple Alliance. — The year after the secession B.C. 493. to the Sacred Mount, a treaty of alliance was made by the consul Spurius Cassius with the Latin Confederacy, B.C. 486. and a few years later the Confederacy of the Hernicans joined the league. The object of this alliance was the protection of these three nations of lowlanders against the raids of the Sabine, Æquian and Volscian mountaineers. It continued in force about one hundred and fifty years, until B.C. 338. By the terms of this treaty all three members of the league were on a

¹ See, for an example, Livy, iii. 13.

footing of entire equality. They agreed to "have peace with one another as long as the heavens and the earth shall endure"; they were to assist each other in all defensive wars, and to divide booty and spoils equally. But although the league was in form one of equality, it was a matter of course that a rich and populous city like Rome should have the leadership or "hegemony" over a multitude of small towns, just as Athens had done in the case of the Confederacy of Delos; and, just as Athens had turned her hegemony into an empire, so in like manner Rome soon came to treat her Latin and Hernican allies as dependents, and at last converted them into subjects.

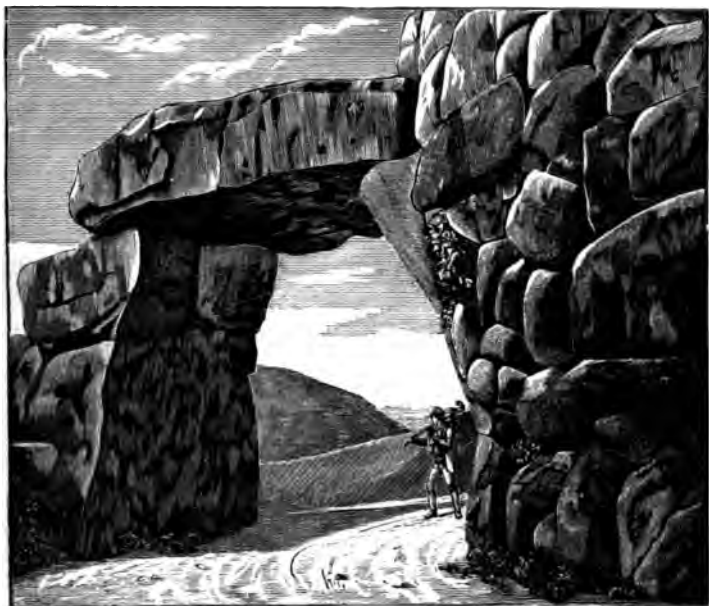
The Latin Confederacy. — The Latin Confederacy consisted at this time of twelve or fifteen independent cities, of which Aricia was the chief, although Tusculum was the nearest and most closely connected with Rome. Like Rome, it had at its head two Prætors.¹ Of the Hernicans there were only five or six cities.

The Latin Colonies. — For the purpose of common defence the allied powers established at this time two military posts, Norba and Signia,² in strong positions upon the Volscian frontier. These towns were called Latin colonies, because the colonists, in case they were Roman citizens, lost their Roman citizenship by going to the colonies, and became Latins, while the towns themselves were made members of the Latin Confederacy. Each settler received two *jugera* of land (about one acre), with rights of pasture, etc., in the common field. Thus, while belonging to a garrison of soldiers upon the borders of a hostile land, the colonist was at the same time a husbandman, with a lot of land and a household of his own. When the Romans entered upon their great career of conquest, about a hundred years after this time, they made use of military posts of this class, — the Latin colonies, — to secure their conquests, establishing a number of them after every success-

¹ The Roman magistrates whom we know as *consuls* were at first called *prætors*.

² The colony of Signia was said to have been founded by the last Tarquin (p. 35); but its possession was lost in the early years of the republic.

ful war. The massive walls of Norba and Signia, the earliest, and for many years the only Latin colonies,¹ are still in large part preserved.²



WALLS OF SIGNIA.

Spurius Cassius. — Spurius Cassius, the statesman who negotiated both these treaties, with the Latins and with the Hernicans, fell under the suspicion of aiming to make himself king, B.C. 485. and was put to death for treason by vote of the people.

¹ Circeii (p. 35), was lost shortly after the expulsion of the Tarquins, and was not re-established until 393.

² These walls were probably standing long before the founding of the Roman colony. They are what are known as *Cyclopean* walls, built of huge blocks of unhewn stone, without cement. They are sometimes called *Pelasgic*; but there is no sufficient evidence that the Pelasgians were ever in Italy.

It is not certain what was the precise nature of the charges against him, but they are represented as having some connection with the controversies about the public lands, which began at this time. Spurius Cassius was the first man who proposed an agrarian law in Rome.

The Public Lands.—It was the practice of the ancients, when they had carried on a war successfully, to punish the vanquished nation by taking from it a part of its territory, generally one-third. By this policy the Romans had come into possession of large tracts of land, which were the property of the city, and were known as public land, *ager publicus*. This public land of the Romans may be compared to the public land of the United States, and, like that, it could be sold, rented, or given as homesteads to actual settlers. If it was sold or given away, it ceased to be *ager publicus*, and became *ager privatus*. But all these methods required that the land should be accurately surveyed and registered; and when the lands were distant, or exposed to hostile raids, or when, for any other reason, it was not convenient to make a permanent disposition of them, another method was adopted, which was convenient as a temporary arrangement, but became the source of great injustice and dissensions.

Occupation.—The method in question was, to allow it to be occupied, under the general supervision of the magistrates, by any person who cared to make use of it. The occupier took as much vacant land as he pleased, within such natural limits as were found suitable, very much like an American "squatter," only that it was done by authority of law. For this he paid to the city, not a fixed sum of money, as in the case of leasehold land, but a fixed proportion of the produce (a tenth of cultivated land, a fifth of orchards and vineyards), or so much a head for cattle pastured upon the land. Land thus occupied, which was the property of the state, but in the possession of individuals, was called *ager occupatus*, and the tenure was called *possessio*.

Patrician Occupation.—Only patricians were allowed to occupy land in this manner, because they alone were fully quali-

fied citizens. The plebeians had been made citizens by the laws of Servius Tullius (p. 31), but they had not yet the full rights of citizenship, and were in certain respects still regarded as foreigners. It was not until more than a hundred years after this time, B.C. 367, that the Licinian Laws gave them the full rights of citizenship, and along with these the right to occupy the public lands.

Possession a New Form of Property. — As the magistrates, who had charge of the public lands, were all patricians, it came about that the greater part of the lands fell into the occupation of wealthy patricians, who added them to their private estates, and cultivated them by means of their slaves and clients. The quæstors, whose business it was, were slack in collecting the dues, and the state, which had the right to resume the property, neglected to do so. The occupiers had no legal title, and could not maintain their possession by any regular legal process; but the consul (afterwards the prætor¹), who administered the law in civil cases, would always protect them against any third party; and thus possession came to be a species of legal estate almost as valid as true ownership. The occupied lands were bought and sold, and passed by inheritance; so that at last the possessors regarded them as to all intents and purposes their own.

The Agrarian Laws. — It followed from this system of occupation that there was placed upon the plebeians more than their share of the public burdens. We have seen that they formed the rank and file of the army, and were the chief sufferers from the invasions and raids of the neighboring nations (p. 42); moreover, when a land-tax (*tributum*) was imposed, in order to meet the needs of war, it fell in undue proportion upon the plebeians, because the "occupied" lands were not subject to this tax. We do not hear of this exclusion from the public lands as one of the grievances which led to the secession of B.C. 494; but after order was restored, it appears to have occurred to Spurius Cassius, the most eminent statesman of his time, that the public lands afforded

¹ The administration of civil justice was transferred from the consuls to a new magistrate, called prætor, by the Licinian laws, B.C. 367.

a means of remedying the evils, and preventing future distress. He brought forward a proposition that the B.C. 486. state should take into its possession the occupied lands, as it had a right to do, and parcel them out among the poorer citizens, — a measure very similar in its object to our homestead law. According to tradition it was on the charge of seeking to gain popularity with the plebeians by this measure, that Spurius Cassius was accused of treason. However just and beneficent his proposition was, it brought upon him the opposition and enmity of his own class, and was probably the cause of his condemnation and death.

Distributions of Land. (1) **Colonies.** — There were two ways of giving land to poor citizens. One was that of establishing military colonies, which has been already described (p. 45). This method made provision for a number of poor plebeians, by giving them land and a home ; but it required them to move to a distance from their old homes, and to give up their Roman citizenship and become foreigners (Latins). This method was therefore unacceptable : and at any rate it was not until a hundred years after this time that it became common.

(2) **Assignment.** — The other method was to assign lots of land in full property to individuals (*viritim*, i.e. "man by man") : this was known as *Assignatio*. This was the aim of the agrarian laws of Spurius Cassius, and it will be easily understood that the patrician occupiers resisted the measure with the greatest determination. For the present they succeeded in preventing its passage, and the agrarian demands were not satisfied until Rome entered upon her great career of conquest, about a hundred years later ; then portions of the conquered land were distributed by assignment, and a great number of Latin colonies were established.

The Agrarian Contests. — The contest upon the agrarian law continued with the greatest bitterness and persistency for about thirty years, and brought the city to the verge of civil war. It was indeed rather a contest between two hostile nations than a controversy between two parties in the same nation ; for the patricians

were the only fully qualified Roman citizens, and controlled the magistrates and assemblies of the city, while the plebeians were now an independently organized body, with officers and assemblies of their own. Probably the plebeians were already the strongest in numbers, even counting the clients of the patrician clans as a part of the patrician forces ; and at any rate the veto power of the tribunes, giving them the right of almost unlimited obstruction, joined with their sacred character, which made it sacrilege to injure or obstruct them, gave the plebeians an enormous advantage.

Usurpation of Power by the Tribunes. — It was easy for officers in possession of such privileges as those of the tribunes, to stretch their right of self-protection into a right of punishing any who should stand in their way. They began to carry things with a high hand, and even summoned consuls before them, threatening them with chastisement or death. On several occasions patricians were heavily fined or driven into exile, and soon the plebeian assembly was in practical possession of a power not unlike that of the *comitia*. This was, it is true, a usurped and illegal power, — an “organized lynch-law” it has been called ; but the patricians were unable to resist it. The dissensions became so violent that it sometimes seemed as if the machinery of government would come to a stop. It can be well imagined that a city torn by such internal contests as these rapidly lost strength and energy in military relations also.

Wars with Neighboring Nations. — All this time the Romans were harassed by a succession of petty wars with the Sabines, Æquians, and Volscians on the south of the Tiber, and the Etruscans of Veii on the other side of the river. They were so seriously weakened by the dissensions within the walls and the loss of foreign commerce, that even with the alliance of the Latins and the Hernicans, the contest often seemed hopeless. The well-known story of Coriolanus, which belongs to this period, is a lively illustration of the civil discord of the time, and the disasters resulting from it.¹

¹ The story of Coriolanus has very little historical foundation in fact, but is of great value as a picture of the times.

The Destruction of the Fabian Gens. — Another incident, somewhat later in time, and better authenticated, affords a striking example, at once of the power and coherence of a patrician class, and of the spirit of heroic patriotism that inspires its members. At one time, when the city was in great straits, in the war against Veii, the Fabian gens offered to carry on the war by its own resources. This was one of the proudest and most powerful clans among the Romans, and one of the most active in the contest of the orders. Like the followers of a mediæval baron or a Highland chieftain, they gathered, three hundred and six in number, "all patricians," with three or four thousand clients, and marched to the attack of Veii. But their strength was not equal to their spirit; they were taken in ambuscade and cut off almost to a man. The arch of the gate by which they had marched out, between the Capitoline and the river, was ever after regarded as unlucky (called *Porta Scelerata*).

CHAPTER V.

THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE ORDERS.

I. THE CONTEST FOR CIVIL RIGHTS.

The New Leaders of the Plebeians.—In the early republic, as we have seen, the contests were social rather than political. It was the poor peasants that suffered from the abuses of magisterial power in exacting military service and executing the laws of debt, and that felt as a hardship the engrossment of the public lands by the patricians. The rich plebeians, the better class of peasants, had little interest personally in these controversies. But they, no less than the poorer members of their order, began to feel as a grievance their exclusion from the full rights of citizenship, and they soon saw that they could use the new organization, with its officials and assembly, as an instrument for the attainment of full political equality. The contest which now ensued was carried on with a persistency and a far-seeing sagacity which show these rural plebeians to have been a class possessed of high political capacities. It lasted for more than a hundred years, and ended B.C. 367. with a complete victory, by which they obtained a full equality with the patricians in all essential particulars. In this contest the rich plebeians placed themselves at the head of their order as its champions and leaders.

The Publilian Law.—The first object of the new leaders was to obtain a better organization of their order. The assembly of the plebeians for the first twenty years was organized by curies (p. 18); for as the curies were local divisions they afforded a convenient basis for assemblies of the plebeians residing within their limits. But in the curies the clients of the patricians, and the traders and handicraftsmen of the city, voted on an equality with the free peasants; and the patricians were able to influence the action of

the assembly through their clients. It was resolved, therefore, that in future the plebeian assembly should be organized by the local tribes (p. 33), which had been formed for the purposes of military and financial administration, and in which, therefore, only freeholders were taken into account. The new Tribal Assembly of the plebeians was established by the so-called B.C. 471. Publilian Law,¹ and shortly afterwards the number of tribunes was raised to ten. This assembly, with its ten tribunes, became in time one of the most important institutions in the state, taking upon itself to pass ordinances for the whole body of citizens; while the tribunes stretched their veto power into a right to nullify almost any action of any magistrate.

Disastrous Wars.—A few years after the passage of the Publilian Law, the patricians undertook to partially satisfy the agrarian demands by establishing a colony at Antium, a B.C. 467. Volscian town upon the sea-coast, which the fortunes of war had just put in their power. But the colony was unpopular (see p. 49), and the city was soon re-conquered by the Volscians. Indeed these were years of disaster. The Volscians not only re-conquered Antium, but got possession of Velitræ, on the southern slope of the Alban Mount. The Æquians, the most active of their enemies at this period, gained even more important advantages. They seized Mount Algidus, the pass which commanded the road afterwards known as the *Latin Way*, which led from Rome to the country of the Hernicans in the valley of the Trerus. The triple alliance was thus cut in two. The Hernicans, as well as the more distant of the Latin towns, were cut off from communication with Rome, and this important stronghold served as a base of operation for the Æquians in a succession of predatory raids. Even the great Latin cities of Tibur and Præneste, neighbors of the Æquians, withdrew from alliance with Rome, and stood neutral in the contest.

¹ All laws during the Roman Republic must be passed by an assembly of the people, upon the proposition of the presiding magistrate, and they took the name of the magistrate who proposed them. The law in question was proposed by the tribune Publius Volero.

Change of Policy by the Plebeian Leaders.—The agrarian agitation had now been kept up for nearly thirty years without result, and the plebeian leaders saw that it was time to change their policy. From this time on their efforts were directed no longer to secure a merely remedial measure which could benefit only a few, but to remove the disabilities under which the entire body of the plebeians rested, and which were the real source of their hardships. What enabled the patricians to engross the public lands, was the fact that they were the only citizens with full rights; it would be of very little advantage to procure assignments of land for this man and that man, so long as the legal and constitutional relation of the two orders was not fundamentally changed. The contest for the agrarian law was quietly dropped, and new and more vital issues were presented. The great struggle which now began, and which ended, after about a hundred years, in the so-called "equalization of the orders," may be divided into two distinct periods. During the first of these the efforts of the plebeians were especially directed towards equality in civil rights; in the second their aim was political equality.

The Terentilian Rogation.¹—The new contest began B.C. 461, with a proposition by the tribune Gaius Terentilius Harsa, that the laws should be written down, or, as we should call it, codified. In all early communities law is derived from custom, and is interpreted by tradition. In Rome the custom upon which law rested was of course that of the patricians, the only fully qualified citizens, and the tradition was that of the patrician magistrates. The plebeians, enjoying only a partial and incomplete citizenship, were subject to an administration of law which was wholly at the discretion of the patrician magistrates. More than this: as the law was *customary* law, and had never been written down, the plebeians were judged by laws and rules of pro-

¹ A proposition of law was called a "rogation," from *rogo*, "ask," because the presiding magistrate asked the people if they would order it (*jubere*), to take effect. The Terentilian rogation never became a law, although the substance of it was adopted.

cedure which were not understood by themselves, and which were interpreted and executed by patrician magistrates. So long as the knowledge and the administration of the laws were the exclusive possession of the patricians, there was no security for justice, even in the simplest controversies of property and contract.¹

Opposition to the Law. — This demand for the codification of the laws seems to us perfectly fair and reasonable ; but it was a blow struck at the fundamental institutions of the state, and the patricians saw clearly that this first step towards destroying their exclusive privileges would in time necessarily lead to a radical revolution in the principles of the government. They met it, therefore, with a most furious and determined opposition, which they kept up for nearly ten years.

Kæso Quinctius. — The opposition was led by a party of young bloods, of patrician families, at the head of whom was Kæso Quinctius, son of the famous Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, a handsome, high-spirited young man, of remarkable bodily strength and prowess in war. Under his lead the hot-headed young patricians resisted the passage of the law by breaking up the plebeian assemblies, beating and otherwise maltreating their officers, even laying violent hands on the tribunes in contempt of their sacred character. The tribunes, driven to desperation, disregarded the law in their turn, and stretched the power of their assembly far beyond its lawful limits. Kæso was summoned before it on a capital charge requiring enormous bail ; and when he escaped by night and went into exile, the bail was exacted from his father with such severity that he was obliged to sell his property and retire to a little farm beyond the Tiber, where he lived with his wife in a poor cottage, cultivating his fields with his own hands.

Appius Herdonius. — The next year, while the city B.O. 460. was still divided into two hostile camps, and the agitation for the Terentilian Law was at its height, an event occurred of the most startling character. A Sabine nobleman, Appius

¹ On this point consult the first chapter of Maine's *Ancient Law*.

Herdonius by name, with a band of followers and a company of Roman exiles, floated down the Tiber by night, landed just above the city, and entering it by an unguarded gate, took possession of the citadel¹ overlooking the Forum. It is probable that the banished Roman patricians had associated themselves with the enemy of their country, just as is related in the case of Coriolanus. Probably Kæso Quinctius was among them; for although his name is not mentioned on the occasion, it disappears from this time, and he is spoken of a year or two later as being already dead. Herdonius expected to be joined by the disaffected party in the city, and by the slaves, whom he called upon to rise. But the moderate party among the patricians, at their head the consul Publius Valerius, were patriotic Romans; and the plebeians, although perplexed and suspicious, were on the alert. Herdonius was caught in a trap. With the help of a body of troops from the friendly city of Tusculum, Valerius and the plebeians stormed the citadel and put to death the whole party. Valerius was himself killed in the assault.

Cincinnatus. — It was a perilous season for Rome. The political quarrels had reached the dimensions of civil war, and the foreign enemies were every day growing stronger and bolder.

Appius Herdonius was a Sabine; the occupation of
 B.C. 460. Mount Algidus by the Æquians was a more permanent and disastrous loss. It gave the Æquians a base of

B.C. 459. operations from which they were able even to capture Tusculum; the Romans, by helping in its recovery, requited the good service which the Tusculans had done them in recapturing the Roman citadel from Herdonius. The

B.C. 458. following year a Roman army was attacked in its camp near Mount Algidus and nearly brought to destruction.

The panic at Rome was great. For a moment party strifes were forgotten, and the veteran Cincinnatus, the father of Kæso Quinctius, was called from his retirement and made dictator. In sixteen

¹ The height now occupied by the church of Sta. Maria in Araceli; they seem also to have occupied the neighboring height of the Capitolium.

days, as the story goes, he had relieved the beleaguered army, recaptured Mount Algidus, and defeated the army of the enemy, and sent it under the yoke. But the success, if it was ever gained in reality,¹ was of short duration. The Æquians soon recovered the pass, and the confederacy was for several years actually cut in two (see p. 53). From this time for about forty years it was all that the Romans could do to hold their own; and during this interval the petty wars with Sabines, Æquians, Volscians, and Etruscans cease to possess any interest or importance for us.

Compromises.—Both parties were now weary of their long controversies, and, we may suppose, both parties saw with alarm that while the city was distracted with their dissensions, the enemy were growing stronger and more active. The years that followed were marked by compromises upon all the points of dispute. The attempt to resume the occupied lands was dropped, and the district of the Aventine, within the walls, but B.C. 456. unoccupied, and therefore not included in any of the local tribes, was given to the plebeians;² it was divided up into building lots, and became the distinctively plebeian quarter. Two years afterwards the jurisdiction of the B.C. 454. tribunes was regulated by a law³ which gave them authority to pass judgment in cases punishable by fine. On the other hand they lost the power which they had illegally exercised of punishing by death or banishment; offences which were subject to these penalties were reserved for the centuriate assembly, which consisted of the entire people.⁴ The law made two sheep and thirty kine the maximum of fines to be imposed by the tribunes.⁵ By a law passed a few years later these values B.C. 430.

¹ In all the events of this period, and indeed long after, it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between history and tradition. The substance is no doubt true, but the details are largely poetic creation.

² This was by the Icilian Law.

³ The Aternian-Tarpeian Law.

⁴ This rule was fixed by the law of the Twelve Tables (p. 59).

⁵ This probably means that small offences were fined one or two sheep, and that the next highest penalty was one beeve, and so on to thirty.

were commuted into money, at the rate of one hundred *asses* for each head of cattle, and ten *asses* for a sheep.¹ If a higher fine was imposed by a magistrate, an appeal could be taken to the assembly.

Commission to Greece. — As a part of the compromise policy, the proposition of the Terentilian Law was laid aside, and it was agreed to send a commission of three patricians to Greece, in order to examine the laws of Athens and other cities, and report at home such changes as might be desirable in those of Rome. Athens was at this time at the height of its power and splendor. Its institutions had been radically reformed by Solon about one hundred and fifty years before, and had since then been remodelled from time to time in a more democratic spirit. This epoch is known as the Age of Pericles, when, under the inspiration of this great statesman, the art and literature, as well as the power of Athens, were at their height.

The Decemvirate. — The commissioners returned in B.C. 452. two years, bringing with them a Greek named Hermodorus, a native of Ephesus, to assist in compiling the code; a statue was afterwards erected in his honor upon the comitium. The Romans now elected a board of ten commissioners, all patricians, known as the *Decemviri* ("ten men"), to revise and codify the laws; and, as was the usual practice among the ancients,² placed the government of the city in their hands while B.C. 451. they were engaged in the work. All the regular magistrates, as well plebeian as patrician, — consuls, quæstors, tribunes, and ædiles, — were suspended for the time; and the right of appeal to the public assembly in criminal cases, no less than the right of the tribunes to assist against abuses of magisterial power, was also suspended.³

¹ This was the Julian-Papirian Law. The *as* was a pound of copper (p. 27); the estimated value of neat cattle was therefore one hundred pounds of copper each, which would be, at the present value of copper, about \$15.00.

² Other examples are those of Solon in Athens (B.C. 594), and Sulla (B.C. 82), and the Triumvirs (B.C. 41), in Rome.

³ Niebuhr and many other scholars have been of the opinion that it was part of the scheme to have this board of ten (like the nine Archons in Athens)

Second Year of the Decemvirate. — The work of codification was not completed the first year; a second board of ten commissioners (three of whom were plebeians) were therefore elected, who finished the work and made it public. The B.C. 450. new code was engraved upon twelve columns (ten of them being the work of the first board), and was known as the Law of the Twelve Tables.¹ The Twelve Tables formed the basis of all Roman law, and were regularly committed to memory by Roman school-boys, as the most essential part of their education.

Its Overthrow. — When the second year of the Decemvirate was at an end, the commissioners did not lay down their office, but continued to hold it illegally for several months. They are accused also of gross tyranny and cruelty; the odium falling chiefly upon Appius Claudius, the most active and influential among them.² By their oppression the plebeians were driven to secede a second time, — first gathering in the plebeian quarter, B.C. 449. the Aventine, and thence marching out, as before, to the Sacred Mount. The Decemvirs were forced to abdicate, and were punished with death, after which the regular machinery of government was again put in operation. The new consuls, Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, carried a law making it an offence punishable with death to procure the election of any magistrate without the right of appeal from his decisions.³ Other laws of these consuls will be spoken of in the next chapter.

take the place of the magistrates as a permanent form of government. It is hard to believe, however, in view of the contests of the next seventy-five years, that the patricians were now ready to share the substance of power with the plebeians.

¹ *Tabulae* (Tablets or Tables) was the name given to any flat surface used for writing or engraving; usually of wood, spread with wax, but in the case of inscriptions, of bronze or marble.

² The legend tells of two gross cases of abuse: the unjust judgment of Appius Claudius, decreeing a plebeian girl, named Virginia, to be the slave of his client, from which fate her father rescued her by stabbing her to the heart; and the death of a brave soldier, Sicinius Dentatus.

³ This did not apply to the dictators, who were not elected, but appointed, and who were not subject to appeal for nearly two centuries after this time.

The Twelve Tables. — Only fragments of the Twelve Tables have come down to us, and we know very little of their details. The code was largely occupied with describing and regulating the legal procedure, so as to put an end to the capricious administration of law by the magistrates: this was probably the principal object of the Terentilian rogation. The Twelve Tables did not merely codify the old customary law, but altered and ameliorated it so as to make it better suited to the needs of an advancing civilization. The law of debt was not abolished, but its harshness was somewhat mitigated. The death penalty, which had been lawlessly exercised by the tribunes, was now reserved to the centuriate assembly,¹ while the plebeian assembly, presided over by the tribunes and ædiles, became the regular organ for the punishment of inferior offences.

Changes in Family Law. — The most significant work of the new code was in relaxing the family organization upon which the patrician institutions had rested, and thus preparing the way for a modern organization of society. It contained provisions for freeing both wife and sons from the absolute power of the head of the family, *pater-familias*. What is even more important, it laid the foundation for the social assimilation of patricians and plebeians. Until this time the patricians alone had a recognized system of *gentes*. The clients belonged to the *gentes* of their patrons, as dependent members, but the plebeian family organization, of precisely the same nature as the patrician, had not been recognized by Roman law. The law of the Twelve Tables gave recognition to the gentile system of the plebeians, and at the same time, by granting to the clients the right of holding property and some independence of action in relation to their patrons, it relaxed and gradually abolished the institution of clientage. From this time the clients appear no longer as unqualified adherents of the patricians, but are by degrees merged in the great body of the plebeians.

¹ This was presided over by the consuls, but the tribunes might bring prosecutions before it.

The Canuleian Law. — The laws of the Twelve Tables mark a turning point of vital importance in the social history of the Romans. Not only the strict organization of the patrician families, but their exclusive privileges, are now at an end. The next step, completing the civil equality of the two orders, followed much more rapidly than could have been expected.

Only four years after the overthrow of the decemvirate, B.C. 445, the tribune, Gaius Canuleius, carried a law to extend to the plebeians the *conubium*, or right of marriage with patricians.

Right of Intermarriage. — Primitive nations, as a rule, prohibit intermarriage with foreigners: and the plebeians, being citizens of Latin towns which were originally independent of Rome, were foreigners to the patricians. It is true, the Servian constitution had made them citizens, but citizens with inferior rights; and even the law of the Twelve Tables had contained the prohibition of intermarriage. But the plebeians had now been admitted step by step, not into the patrician organization, but into a permanent political association with the patricians. They had even received the right to have a gentile organization of their own similar to that of the patricians. It was therefore only a short step further to allow the families to intermarry. By the passage of the Canuleian Law, the plebeians secured entire equality in civil rights, and the two orders were rapidly merged into one people. Having now secured civil equality, the sagacious plebeian leaders next proceeded to contend for political equality.

II. THE CONTEST FOR POLITICAL RIGHTS.

The Roman Constitution. — After the overthrow of the decemvirate the old form of government was restored, with some changes.

I. The Magistrates: two consuls, elected yearly in the centuriate assembly, with chief executive and military authority, and jurisdiction in civil cases. They were assisted by two quæstors, whose powers had originally been judicial, but who now had the treasury as their special charge. The quæstors had formerly been

appointed by the consuls, but were now elected in a newly organized assembly of the tribes, the *comitia tributa* — not to be confounded with the plebeian assembly — in which patricians and plebeians voted alike. All magistrates must be patricians.

II. The Senate, consisting of three hundred members, appointed by the consuls, chiefly patricians, but with a few plebeians. Its powers were chiefly advisory; but the patrician members had the right of nullifying laws on the ground of unconstitutionality, and of assuming the government if at any time the city was left without regular magistrates (*interregnum*).

III. The Assemblies, three in number, composed of patricians and plebeians without distinction. The principal assembly was the *comitia centuriata* (p. 34), organized according to age and property. This assembly elected the consuls and afterwards other higher magistrates, passed laws, declared war, and exercised criminal jurisdiction in all cases involving the punishment of death, bodily chastisement or exile. The newly formed *comitia tributa*, organized by tribes or local districts, elected the quæstors and the other inferior magistrates afterwards introduced, and had the power of making laws. The old patrician *comitia curiata* (p. 19), to which the plebeians had now been admitted, were kept up for certain formalities, especially for granting the *imperium*, or power to command, to the newly elected consuls.

IV. The Plebs, consisting of all who were not patricians — rural plebeians, clients, and city plebs; presided over by two tribunes, assisted by two ædiles. Its assembly,¹ composed exclusively of plebeians, was organized by tribes, and had full power to regulate the affairs of the plebeians. The tribunes had also not merely the *jus auxilii* (p. 43), but also the power of vetoing the action of any magistrate, unless specially exempted by law; especially of forbidding the adoption of ordinances of the Senate (*senatus consulta*), and the presentation of rogations (p. 54) to the people. The ædiles had the charge of the streets and markets. The assembly had the power of imposing fines upon

¹ Often known as *comitia tributa*, but properly *concilium tributum plebis*.

any citizen, and its ordinances (called *plebiscita*) appear to have had the force of laws when the Senate gave its approval.

The New Demands of the Plebeians.—The plebeians were now in possession of three out of the four essential rights of citizenship. The *commercium*, or right of property, they, as being Latins, had always enjoyed; the *suffragium*, or right of voting, had been extended to them at the establishment of the republic; the *conubium*, or right of intermarriage, they had just obtained by the Canuleian Law. They now proceeded to demand the only remaining right, the *honores*, or right of holding magistracies. The contest upon this issue, forming the second stage of the Contest of the Orders, continued for about eighty years, until it was determined by the Licinian laws, B.C. 367.

Privileges of the Consulate.—The office of consul carried with it, for the year of its tenure, the complete exercise of the kingly power, except so far as this power had been limited by the right of appeal to the people in criminal cases (p. 38). During his term of office the consul was distinguished by the royal insignia (p. 37): and after retiring from office he enjoyed, as a *consularis*, or man of consular rank, an especial dignity in the state, with the right to wear the consular dress on public occasions, to speak among the first in the Senate, and to set up in the hall of his house waxen masks of his ancestors, as tokens of nobility (the *jus imaginum*). These privileges, which were derived from the religious preëminence of their order, the patricians were not disposed to yield to the plebeians, even after they had consented to ally themselves with them in marriage. The executive and military authority of the office, on the other hand, could hardly be refused to the class which composed the rank and file of the army.

THE CURULE CHAIR.¹

The Military Tribune.—It was readily agreed, there-fore, in the very year after the passage of the Canuleian Law, to grant the plebeians the substance of magisterial authority, B.C. 444.

¹ On the reverse of a denarius of the Furian gens.

while still withholding from them all the privileges which conferred nobility. This was accomplished by temporarily suspending the office of consul, and placing the consular power in the hands of the military tribunes, six in number, who were the regular officers of the legion. These officers had heretofore been appointed by the consuls, from the two orders indifferently. Now they were to be elected by the people: but it usually happened that only three or four were chosen by the people, the rest being probably appointed as before, and not having consular power. Each year it was decided by a popular vote whether to elect consuls or military tribunes, and this compromise was continued for more than fifty years. The influence of the patricians was still so great in the elections, however, that it was forty-four years before a plebeian was elected military tribune with consular power.

B.O. 443. The Censorship.—The year after the establishment of the military tribunate, it was decided to withdraw from the consular magistrates a portion of their duties, and place them in the hands of a pair of new patrician magistrates, called *Censors*, elected for five years. The duties of this new office were to make out a list of the citizens, and distribute them into classes according to their property, as a basis for the military levy and taxation, as well as of voting; also the general superintendence of public works and contracts. Thus the patricians kept these important powers in their own hands. After the schedule of citizens and property was completed, a purifying ceremony or *lustrum* was accomplished, from which the name *lustrum* was given to the five-years interval. The work of the censors, it was found, could be completed in a year and a half; for the remainder of the *lustrum*, therefore, this office was left vacant.¹

¹ These original powers of the censors were afterwards enlarged so as to make their office the most dignified and powerful in the state. Especially they exercised the *lectio senatus*, or right of making out the list of senators, and the *regimen morum*, or right of punishing immoral and indecent acts: it is this function that has given the word *censor* its familiar meaning.

Quæstorship. — The quæstors, two in number, were originally assistants of the kings and the consuls, appointed by them, and having principally judicial functions. Now that the administration of criminal justice had passed completely to the public assemblies, the duties of the quæstors became chiefly fiscal, they having the charge of the treasury under the direction of the Senate and higher magistrates. After the decemvirate they were elected by the people in the newly organized *comitia tributa* (p. 62), and a few years later the office was B.C. 421. thrown open to the plebeians; as the quæstors did not have the use of the curule chair¹ or the *jus imaginum*, this concession was readily made by the patricians. At the same time two new quæstors were added, as quartermasters in the army; and the number was increased from time to time as there was need.

Renewed Strength of Rome. — The harmony established through these compromises infused great vigor into the administration of the republic. During the quarter of a century which followed the decemvirate there was a decided advance in the power of Rome. The old Latin city of Ardea was subdued on the occasion of some disturbances, and organized as a military B.C. 442. colony. Soon after, the dictator, Aulus Postumius, gained B.C. 431. a signal victory at Mt. Algidus over the Æquians and Volscians, and recovered this important post, thus restoring the territorial unity of the confederacy (p. 53). It is related that the victorious general put to death his own son, for leaving his post without orders during the battle in order to gain an unforeseen advantage. A similar occurrence is related in other wars, and we must believe that the stern Roman discipline and sense of duty was carried on occasion even to this extreme.

New Conquests. — There now followed a rapid succession of conquests, and a great extension of the Roman territory. The

¹ The magistrates who had the right to use the curule chair (of the regular magistrates, the consul, prætor, censor, and curule ædile) were known as *curule magistrates*; the tenure of these magistracies conferred nobility upon the descendants.



capture of Fidenæ, the outpost of Veii, on the left bank of the Tiber, completed for Rome the occupation of that bank, and was the necessary step to the conquest of Veii. The defeat of the Æquians at Mt. Algidus had restored communication with the Hernican country (p. 53) ; the city of Labicum, in this neighborhood, was now annexed by Rome, and soon after the Æquian town of Bola. The Romans also captured the Volscian town of Anxur (afterwards known as Terracina). B.C. 426. B.C. 418. B.C. 415. B.C. 408.

Siege of Veii. — Inspired by these successes and by the consciousness of growing strength, the Romans now determined to rid themselves of their most powerful and formidable rival, the Etruscan city of Veii. This city, only ten miles distant from Rome, was the advance-guard of Etruscan power, as Rome was the outpost of the Latin nationality. If the Etruscans had been at this time as strong and as united as they had once been, it is not likely that they would have allowed the fall of Veii. But there were dissensions among them, and the other Etruscan cities refused to aid their confederate. Moreover the Etruscan power was itself upon the wane. The Gallic tribes from beyond the Alps had invaded the valley of the Po, and were at this moment engaged in the overthrow of the northern Etruscan empire ; while in the south the city of Capua, the capital of the Etruscan possessions in Campania, had just been captured by the Samnites. The undertaking to conquer Veii was not as hopeless as it would have seemed a half century earlier ; and, at any rate, Rome could not hope for wide empire, or even for permanent possession of her present conquests, so long as this inveterate enemy was at her gates.

Conquest of Veii. — The siege of Veii was kept up with various



ETRUSCAN ARCHER.

B.C. 424.

fortunes for ten years, and was at last brought to a triumphant conclusion in B.C. 396 by the Dictator Marcus Furius Camillus. The city was captured by means of a mine carried into its citadel. The contest had been one of life and death, and the vengeance inflicted by the victors upon their defeated enemies was terrible. The people of Veii were exterminated; the men were put to the sword, and the women and children sold into slavery. A portion of the peasant population became Roman citizens, retaining their estates; the rest of the land was divided up among the Roman people, while the walls and buildings of the city were left empty and deserted. The worship of Juno, the patron deity of Veii, was transferred to Rome, where a temple was built for her upon the Aventine. It was said that the soldier who first entered her temple after the capture of the city asked the image of the goddess whether she would go to Rome,¹ and that she answered by a nod.

Enlargement of the Roman Domain.—The next B.C. 395. year the neighboring city of Capena was also conquered and annexed. By these annexations the Roman territory was greatly enlarged: four new tribes were made, bringing the number to twenty-five, and two military colonies, Nepete B.C. 383. and Sutrium, were established upon the Etruscan frontier.

III. TRIUMPH OF THE PLEBS.

Reform in Military Organization.—The war with Veii was a critical event in the territorial growth of Rome. The removal of this rival left Rome without any obstacle to its growth, and from this time on there was a steady advance in its possessions and power. The larger enterprises which she now undertook demanded a greater concentration of resources, and a more efficient military organization; and at about this time a reform was made in the military system, which is generally believed to have been the work of the great commander of this age, Marcus Camillus. In the

¹ *Visne Romam ire, Juno?*—LIVY, v. 22.

first place, the siege of Veii itself was an enterprise wholly different from any previous one. Heretofore the army had been a militia, levied every year for a summer campaign, and serving without pay. But when a regular siege was commenced, to continue year in and year out until the city fell, it was necessary to have permanent works and troops in uninterrupted service, and these could not be had without pay. From this time the Roman army, without ceasing to be a militia — for every citizen, and none but citizens, must serve — was a body of paid troops.

The Phalangal Order. — Still more important was the change in organization and tactics. The early Roman army, like that of the Greeks, was a *phalanx*; that is, a compact body of troops, forming a continuous line without breaks or intervals: the centuries of the early army appear to have been only administrative divisions, of no consequence in the line of battle. An army drawn up in this order, and armed with long spears, was almost invincible in defence; but it could not move with ease or precision except upon level ground, and was unsuited to attack. The Greeks developed the phalanx to its highest degree of efficiency, by combining with it a large body of cavalry and light infantry. The Macedonian phalanx was a military organization of wonderful power, but proved no match for the Roman legion.

The Manipular Order. — The Romans developed their military system in precisely the opposite direction, securing a high degree of flexibility and individuality of action by surrendering the compactness and mass of the phalanx. This change was made by successive steps at various periods, but appears to have been begun at the present time, under the influence of Camillus. The legion was divided into thirty companies, called *maniples*, the average strength of which may be reckoned as one hundred and twenty heavy-armed men, and twenty light-armed, making 4200 in all.¹ Each manipule was commanded by two centurions, the legion being commanded by six military tribunes, two exercising com-

¹ The maniples were afterwards combined into ten battalions, called *cohorts*, and on the other hand subdivided each into two platoons, called *centuries*.

mand at a time. The division by classes was given up, and all the heavy armed troops were equipped alike, an oblong wooden shield covered with leather and protecting the whole body (*scutum*), being now substituted for the round brass *clipeus*.

Order of Battle.—The arrangement of the maniples when in order of battle was what was known as the *quincunx*. The army was formed in three ranks, the maniples of one standing behind the spaces of that in front; by this it was possible to withdraw the front line and advance those in the rear through the spaces between the maniples. The three ranks were distinguished from one another in age and equipment, and a regular system of reserves was adopted, the three lines coming successively into action.¹

The Cavalry.—The cavalry was always a secondary concern with the Romans, except in the very earliest period; but at the time of the war with Veii the practice came up of having a corps of volunteer cavalry (*equites equo privato*), composed of wealthy young men who had not found admittance into the eighteen centuries of public cavalry. In the course of time both bodies of cavalry became mere parade corps, while the Romans depended upon their auxiliaries for an active cavalry force.

The Battle of the Allia.—Six years after the conquest of Veii a terrible disaster befell the Roman people. Their city was captured and burned by an army of Gauls, who had come into collision with the Romans in the following manner. These Gauls had attacked the Etruscan city of Clusium, which was friendly to Rome, and the Romans had sent ambassadors to intercede for their allies. But the ambassadors, in contempt of their sacred character and obligations, took part in the battle on the side of the Etruscans, and one of them even slew a Gallic leader. At this the Gauls were so incensed that they turned their assault from Clusium against the nation of the faithless ambassadors. The two armies met, July 18, 390,² upon the River Allia, about eleven

¹ The soldiers of the first rank were called *hastati*, the second *principes*, the third *triarii*. This is the organization found in the Samnite and Punic Wars.

² This is the date usually given; really it was about three years later.

iles from Rome ; and the Romans sustained a defeat so unexpected and overwhelming, that this day (*dies Alliensis*) was always afterwards regarded as one of ill omen. The Roman army was destroyed. The survivors mostly escaped to the abandoned city of Veii near by, the fortifications of which were still standing, and here maintained themselves ; the magistrates and able-bodied men within the city withdrew into the Capitol, while the rest of the population scattered into the country and the neighboring towns.

Capture of the City.—The Gauls advanced slowly and cautiously into the city. They could not believe that it would be taken without another battle, and they feared an ambuscade. But they met no resistance. The streets and houses were deserted. At last they found their way to the Senate-house ; and here they found the senators, who had disdained to fly, seated in their usual order. At first they stood and gazed upon them with awe. Then a Gallic soldier laid his hand upon the white beard of a senator and stroked it. The senator, regarding it as an indignity, raised his ivory staff, and struck him upon the head. This broke the spell which the sight of the dignified assembly seemed to have cast over the invaders ; the senators were speedily massacred, and the city given up to pillage. The victors burned all parts of it within their reach, and in this conflagration perished most of the records of the earlier history.

Siege of the Capitol.—The Capitol still held out, and was stoutly besieged for seven months. At one time the besiegers nearly succeeded in capturing the garrison. A messenger from the Roman army at Veii scaled the rocky sides of the hill by night. His tracks were seen, and the next night the Gauls followed his footprints, and made their way nearly to the top. But the garrison were waked by the cackling of the sacred geese in the temple of Juno, and under the lead of Marcus Manlius, a distinguished patrician, repulsed the invaders. Another incident of the siege is the daring act of Kæso Fabius, a young man who passed in open day from the Capitol to the Quirinal Hill, in order to accomplish a certain religious ceremony which was due at that

pay a heavy fine — either for neglect of their interests in disposing of the plunder of Veii, or for the impiety displayed in his triumph.¹

Distress of the Common People. — But in all the splendor and glory which surrounded Rome and her aristocracy, the common people were reduced to extreme distress by the devastations of the wars. At no time were the exactions of the money-lenders, and the horrors of the law of debt, so keenly felt as in the years which followed the burning of the city by the Gauls. It is related that a leading patrician, Marcus Manlius — the most conspicuous person in Rome next to Camillus — tried to remedy the distress of the poor, just as had been done by Spurius Cassius, exactly a hundred years before. By his own means he redeemed numbers of unfortunate debtors, paying off their debts, and restoring them to freedom. It would seem that he was not contented with this, but was excited by his sympathy into actual sedition; however this may be, he was, like Cassius, accused of aiming at B.C. 384. royal power, and was put to death for treason.²

Renewal of Civil Contests. — Thus, after a long interval of calm, the social dissensions broke out again, — a twofold contest this time, poor against rich, plebeians against patricians. The contest was begun by two eminent plebeians, — Lucius Sextius and Gaius Licinius Stolo, a member of the same distinguished family as the first plebeian military tribune,³ and also connected by marriage with patricians of the highest rank. These two men, as tribunes, proposed a series of laws, a kind of “Omnibus

¹ The annals of these years are exceedingly confused, and the story of Camillus, as well as of the capture of Rome, is full of fabulous incidents, among which we may probably count his exile to Ardea, his rescue of Rome from the Gauls, and his recovery from them of the tribute money.

² There was a third “demagogue,” who ranked in tradition with Cassius and Manlius — Spurius Maelius, who in the year B.C. 439, in a time of great scarcity, relieved the necessities of the poor from his own means, and was put to death on the charge of treasonable designs — not by legal trial, like the two others, but by the authority of the dictator.

³ This family also produced two of the most distinguished nobles of the last century of the republic, — Crassus and Lucullus.

enemies rose on all sides, expecting to crush her in her distress : the Volscians, the Æquians, and the Etruscans all at once assailed her. But the hero Camillus was again made dictator, and by rapid and masterly movements defeated the three enemies, one after the other. The wars continued, however, at intervals, for several years, and even the old allies of Rome, the Latins, now united themselves with their old enemies. Out of it all Rome came victorious. The fertile territory of Pometia, now the *Pontine Marshes*, was conquered from the Volscians ; B.C. 386. new military colonies were established,¹ more dependent upon Rome than the older ones ; and the nearest Latin town, Tusculum, an old and faithful ally, whose timely succor had saved the city when surprised by Appius Herdonius B.C. 381. (p. 56), was annexed to Rome. In this period of glory we see a new activity in public works, for the first time since the age of the Tarquins. Part of the walls were rebuilt of hewn stone, and the Capitoline Hill was faced in the same material.

Camillus.—This period may be fitly called the age of Camillus, for this great general lived to an advanced age, the most conspicuous character among his countrymen, and closely connected with every important event. He was a man of genius and of unquestionable integrity. To him is no doubt due the reform in military organization which laid the foundation of the great empire of Rome (p. 67) ; he was at the same time the leading champion of patrician privileges, and near the end of his life took an active part in resisting the innovations of the Licinian laws. He has been compared to the Duke of Wellington, who, like him, gained his reputation in the field, and then distinguished himself as the leader of the conservatives in an unsuccessful resistance to reform. The chief faults of Camillus were arrogance and ostentation. One of his numerous triumphs he celebrated in a chariot drawn by white horses, an honor which properly belonged only to Jupiter and the sun-god. On this account he incurred the displeasure of the common people, who condemned him on some pretext to

¹ B.C. 393, Circeii ; 383, Sutrium and Nepete ; 382, Setia.

a certain proportion of slave labor should be employed ; for the rest there must be free laborers.

The Magistracies. — The chief magistracy was thus thrown open to the plebeians, and with this the long contest between the orders came to an end. It is true that, as a concession to the patricians, the consulship, when thrown open to the plebeians, was deprived for a second time of an important part of its functions, which were given to a new patrician magistrate. The administration of justice in civil cases was put into the hands of a new magistrate known as *Prætor*; and the prætor, as well as the censor, dictator, and interrex, must be patricians. Also two patrician ædiles (called *curule ædiles*) were elected, to match the plebeian ædiles. But now that plebeians had been admitted to the highest regular magistracy, it was impossible to exclude them long from the inferior ones. Within half a century all these offices, except that of interrex, which was patrician in its very nature, were thrown open to the plebeians, and shortly after all the priest-hoods of importance were also open to them.¹

The Social Legislation. — The social provisions of the Licinian laws were less effective. The unjust law of debt was not abolished or amended, but a temporary amelioration was applied to the present distresses. The three last provisions of the law were wisely devised, and showed a correct understanding of the social dangers ; but no machinery was provided for their execution, and they rapidly became a dead letter. One of the first who was punished for occupying more land than the law permitted, was the first proposer of the law, Gaius Licinius. But notwithstanding the inadequacy of these laws, so far as the causes of social evils were concerned, the Roman people now entered upon so rapid and triumphant a career of victory and economic prosperity, that it was nearly two hundred years before social questions again became a large factor in political controversies.

¹ These were the offices of pontifex, augur, and *epulones*. The *rex sacrificulus*, chief flamens, etc., were always patricians.

PERIOD OF ITALIAN WARS.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONQUEST OF LATIUM.

Relations of the Orders. — The relations between the patricians and plebeians during the thirty years which followed the passage of the Licinian laws were jealous and uneasy, but free from any open disturbance. It was natural that the patricians should continue to resist the advance of plebeian privileges, and on the other hand it is not surprising that the plebeians were timid in the exercise of their new powers. More than once the patrician magistrates, by sheer audacity — refusing to receive votes for plebeian candidates¹ — succeeded in preventing the election of plebeian magistrates; the plebeians were indignant, but helpless. But they grew bolder and acquired political experience; B.C. 339. and at last, to the horror of the patricians, a plebeian dictator was appointed, with a plebeian master of the horse.

The Publilian Laws of Philo. — The decisive victory of the plebeians, definitely securing the advantages gained by the Licinian Laws, came in the year 339, when the plebeian dictator, Quintus Publilius Philo, procured the passage of three laws of the greatest importance to his order. The first enlarged the powers of the plebeian assembly in some way not definitely known; the second took from the patrician members of the Senate the power of nullifying laws on the ground of unconstitutionality (p. 39); the third required that one of the two censors should be a plebeian. From this time, as will readily appear, the plebeians possessed even greater privileges than the patricians: for they had an assembly and officers of their own from which patricians were excluded, while they were themselves admitted to all the patrician offices.

¹The presiding magistrate had a large and undefined power in this direction.

Usury Laws. — The Licinian legislation had not altered the unjust laws of debt, but had only offered a temporary remedy for its abuses; and the years which followed were full of complaints of usurers, and attempts to regulate the trade of money-lending. The legal rate of interest was reduced from ten to five per cent, and at last the business of money-lending was forbidden.¹ This was one of those well-meaning but impracticable enactments of which the history of legislation is full; it was probably never executed, and at any rate it soon became a dead letter.

Growth of Territory. — Meantime the Roman power was steadily growing, and the Roman territory steadily enlarging. The most important acquisition of territory during this period B.C. 353. was the Etruscan city of Cære. As its Etruscan inhabitants were of foreign blood and speech, they did not receive full Roman citizenship. They were allowed to govern themselves in local concerns, but not to take part in the public affairs of Rome. This inferior form of citizenship was entitled "citizenship without suffrage," or "Cæritan rights," and was afterwards bestowed upon a number of other towns.

The Gallic Wars. — During this period the Gauls resumed their invasions, and for many years gave much annoyance to the Romans and other Latins. The accounts of these Gallic wars are enlivened by many heroic and romantic incidents, which are no doubt derived from family chronicles and popular songs. Thus the name of the hero Marcus Valerius Corvus is said to have been derived from the fact that he fought in single combat with a gigantic Gaul, and was assisted by a raven (*corvus*), which fluttered in the face of his antagonist, pecked at his eyes, etc., and thus distracted his attention. Titus Manlius Torquatus received his name, too, from a Gaul whom he slew, and whose necklace (*torques*) he stripped from the dead body and placed around his own neck.²

¹ By the Genucian Law, B.C. 342.

² The twisted chain which the Gauls wore about the neck is seen on the famous statue known as the Dying Gladiator, but which is now recognized to have represented a wounded Gaul, a work of the Pergamene period of art.

Treaty with the Samnites. — The growing power of Rome is evidenced by the treaties of equal alliance which she framed in these years with two powerful neighbors, both of whom afterwards became her most bitter enemies. These were the Samnites and the Carthaginians. The Samnite Confederacy, occupying the mountain region of central Italy, was now the most powerful nation of the Italian race. The Samnites had not long before conquered the Etruscan settlements in Campania, B.C. 424, of which the chief town was Capua, thus giving the first blow to the Etruscan ascendancy in Italy. On the other hand, by the conquest of the Pomptine territory, the B.C. 386. Romans became neighbors of the Samnites in Campania, and the two nations, in B.C. 354, now entered into a treaty of friendship and alliance.

Treaty with Carthage. — A few years later a treaty B.C. 348. was made with the Carthaginians, at this time the greatest maritime power in the western Mediterranean. A treaty had once before been made between Rome and Carthage (p. 35), when Rome was at the height of its commercial activity, just after the expulsion of the kings; but for long years the attention of the Romans had been engrossed by affairs nearer home, and the treaty now made was to all intents and purposes a new compact. By this treaty the authority of Rome over the Latin cities was recognized, and they were allowed to trade with Carthage and the Carthaginian possessions in Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, but were forbidden to sail beyond the bay of Carthage, or to trade in Spain.

First Samnite War. — The treaty with the Samnites did not prevent a war between the two nations, which broke out only eleven years later. It was a short war, and our B.C. 343. accounts of it are too confused and fragmentary to enable us to understand its events in detail. Its most important result was to bring the city of Capua under the power of Rome. The territory of this great city was annexed to the Roman domain, and its inhabitants received the same rights as those of Cære (p. 78).

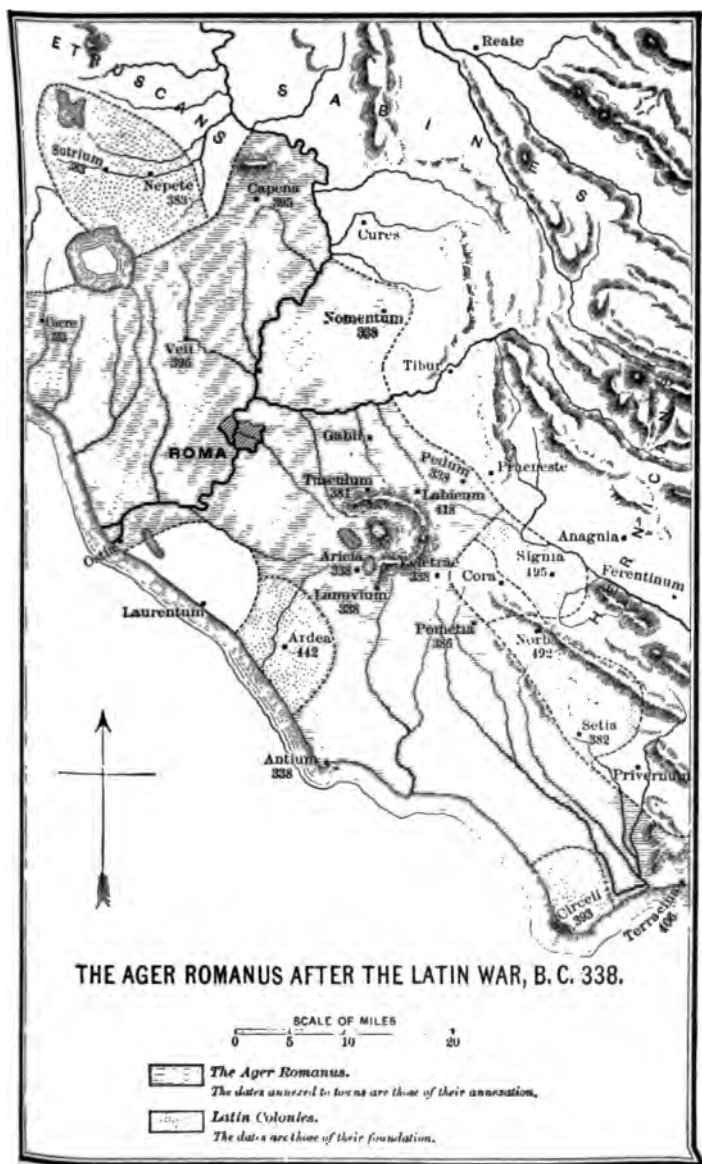
This war was immediately followed by another of much greater moment, but extremely obscure in its causes and incidents.

The Latin War.—The cities which composed the Latin Confederacy had long been dissatisfied at the growing preponderance of Rome, and its arrogant treatment of its allies. The conquest of Veii had inured only to the advantage of Rome, and had been followed by the conquest of the Pomptine territory, the annexation of Tusculum, Capena, and Cære, and the establishment of Latin colonies (Sutrium and Nepete), which were connected only with Rome.¹ The triumph of Rome over the Samnites, and the annexations of territory in Campania, excited still greater alarm among the Latins, and they made an effort to secure fair treatment before it should be too late. First they demanded that half the Senate and one of the two consuls should be Latins; and when this demand was rejected, they tried to enforce it by war. This war, too, was short and decisive; the principal battle was fought at Trifanum in Campania, and the war was ended two years later, B.C. 338.

Dissolution of the Latin Confederacy.—The Latin War, short and obscure as it was, marks the most important era in the development of the Roman policy. By it the *hegemony* or leadership of Rome was converted into an *empire* (*imperium*). The Latin Confederacy was dissolved: four of its members—Tibur, Præneste, Cora, and Laurentum—were left independent, but forbidden to enter into any alliances with one another, while Aricia, Lanuvium, Pedum, and Nomentum lost their independence and were annexed to Rome.² But the treatment which these received was liberal and magnanimous. They were associated with Rome on terms of perfect equality; their territory became part of the *Ager Romanus*, and their citizens became Roman plebeians; while in their own towns they continued to exercise full powers of self-government in

¹ These later colonies did not belong to the Latin Confederacy.

² Labicum, Pometia, and Tusculum had been annexed before, and Ardea had been made a Latin colony; Velitræ, originally a Volscian town, received *Cæritan* rights.



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Adornment of the Forum. — The sea-port of Antium was thus converted into a maritime colony of Rome; and in token of the victory and of the new policy of which it was an example, the ships of its navy were broken up and their beaks (*rostra*) conveyed to Rome, where they were used to ornament the speaker's stand, opposite the Senate-house, on the line between the Comitium and the Forum. From this time the speaker's stand was known as the *Rostra*. This was the work of the plebeian consul Gaius Mænius, who also erected a column B.C. 339, upon the Comitium, known as the Mænian column, at which the police officers punished wrong-dealers, and which also came to be used as an advertising board, to post the names of delinquent debtors.

Relief of the Forum. — This same Mænius appears to have been the first who, in his censorship, undertook B.C. 318, systematically to give the Forum some regularity and elegance as a public square. It was at first a bare open space, where country people brought their produce to sell, and the prætor sat on his curule chair to administer justice in the midst of the crowd. In the course of time the cattle market (*Forum Boarium*) and vegetable market (*Forum Holitorium*) had been established near the river, and the Great Forum left for more reputable trade. Booths had been built along both sides of it, which rudely enclosed the space; and now Mænius required these booths to be made more regular and shapely, and constructed upon their tops some stagings called *maenianae*, which commanded a view of the Forum, and were let to spectators when games and other exhibitions were given in the Forum. The Forum became from this time more and more the centre of political life, as well as of judicial proceedings, and of such branches of business as those of brokers, bankers, and jewellers.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CONQUEST OF ITALY.

I. THE SECOND SAMNITE WAR.

The Samnite Wars.—The First Samnite War and the Latin War, by very greatly enlarging the territory of the republic, by dissolving the Latin Confederacy, and by converting the leadership of Rome in Latium into a sovereignty over Latium, form the most important era which we have yet reached in tracing the growth of the Roman empire. There now followed a series of three wars, known as the Second and Third Samnite Wars, and the War with Pyrrhus, the result of which was to expand the sovereignty over Latium into a sovereignty over all Italy. These three wars occupied, with brief intervals of peace, a period of more than fifty years; and with the final defeat of Pyrrhus in the battle of Beneventum, the conquest of Italy may be said to have been completed.

Romans and Samnites.—The events which we have described had made Rome one of the two foremost powers of Italy, having no formidable rival left but Samnium; for Etruria had been losing strength for nearly a century, and was no longer a match for her warlike neighbor. The annexations of territory made by Rome had brought her into immediate contact with the Samnites, and war could hardly fail to follow. In this war the combatants were nearly matched. In ambition, vigor, and martial qualities they were perhaps equal. In population and extent of territory, and therefore in warlike resources, the Samnites were superior; but this superiority was more than counterbalanced by the advantages which the Romans derived from their greater power of concentration. The Samnites formed a loosely knit confederacy,

ver a large surface of territory, and incapable of prompt
tained co-operation. All the resources of Rome, on the
nd, were concen-
ithin the walls of
, and lodged in
ls of magistrates

the time being
d almost abso-
ority. At a later
en the Romans
onfronted with

like Pyrrhus
nibal, who held
d uninterrupt-
r after year, their
hange of magis-
roved a source
weakness ; but
esent antagonists
this respect no
off than them-

With this ad-
of centralized
it is no wonder
ne triumphed in
nite Wars.

Second Samnite War.—The Second Samnite War began B.C. 327
led 304, when a peace was made which was hardly more
truce, for war broke out again in six years. By this peace
ans gained no new territory, although they had from time
, in the course of the hostilities, founded military posts
(colonies) in the enemies' country ; but these towns were
nationality, not subject to Rome, although closely allied
In 306 the Hernican confederacy, which had joined the
against Rome, was dissolved, as that of the Latins had



SAMNITE WARRIOR. (From a Vase.)

been a few years before, and most of its towns were annexed to Rome ; but three of them,¹ when offered the privilege of complete Roman citizenship, declined it with thanks, preferring their humble independence.

Quintus Fabius Maximus.— The greatest Roman of this period was Quintus Fabius, called Maximus (greatest) because of his services to the state. He was a bitter personal enemy of Papirius Cursor, and a warm friend of Decius Mus, whom he had as colleague in several high offices. The hostility between Papirius and Fabius came about in this way. In one of the early years B.O. 325. of the war Papirius, then the foremost man in Rome, was dictator, and the youthful Fabius was his master of horse.²

It happened that the dictator was called to Rome on some necessary business, and before leaving gave strict orders that there should be no fighting in his absence. This order the high-spirited Fabius disobeyed, and gained a signal victory over the enemy. Papirius was a strict disciplinarian. When he learned of the disobedience of Fabius he promptly hastened to the camp, leaving his business at Rome unfinished, sternly summoned the offender before him and sentenced him to immediate execution. The army, elated with its victory, and proud of its gallant young commander, rose in mutiny ; Fabius was rescued and carried to Rome where, after long and stubborn resistance, Papirius at last, at the entreaty of the Senate, agreed that the ends of justice had been reached by the condemnation of Fabius, and consented to exercise his prerogative of mercy by sparing his life.

Lucius Papirius Cursor.— But the two men were B.O. 310. never afterwards friends. A few years later Fabius, as consul, was called upon to appoint Papirius dictator ; he neither answered the messengers of the Senate, nor even looked at them, and when he had performed the required duty, gloomily rejected their thanks. Papirius was a typical Roman of his time,

¹ These were Aletrium, Ferentinum, and Verulae.

² The master of horse (*magister equitum*) was second in command to the dictator.

—of mighty physical strength, untiring, never defeated, inexorable, and at the same time with a certain grim humor. On one occasion a body of contingents from Præneste had not supported him to his mind. He summoned their commander to his tent, and called to the lictor to bring an axe; and as the officer stood pale and trembling, expecting immediate execution, he ordered a troublesome stump to be hewn away; then dismissed the offender with severe reproof.

The Caudine Forks.—The most striking incident of this war was the capture of the entire Roman army, in the year 321, at the Caudine Forks, a pass in the Apennines, a few miles beyond Capua.¹ The successful Samnite general, it is said, Gaius Pontius, sent to ask the advice of his father, an aged and experienced commander, as to what he should do with the captured army. His advice was to dismiss it unharmed; and, when this was rejected, he recommended that every man should be put to death, —by the first course he would earn their gratitude, by the other deprive them of the power of vengeance. But Pontius, neglecting his father's advice, determined to subject his captives to the deepest humiliation, by sending them under the yoke,² the greatest disgrace which could be inflicted; then forced the leaders to agree to a disadvantageous peace, and sent them home. But by the Roman law no treaty was valid unless accepted by a vote of the people. The Senate therefore refused to recognize the agreement, and ordered the consuls to be surrendered to the enemy, as amends for the violation of the agreement which they had personally made. Pontius, as was natural, indignantly refused to accept such an atonement for a broken engagement, and the war went on with increased bitterness.

¹ The locality of this event has been a subject of great controversy. The *Furcula Caudina* were probably at the pass of Arpaja, where the village of *Forchia* still preserves the name; and the army was entrapped in the valley beyond this and Montesarchio, which town is upon the site of the ancient Caudium.

² The yoke was constructed by fixing two spears in the ground, and laying a third over their top; under this the whole army was obliged to pass.

War with the Etruscans.—After the war with the Samnites had continued for a number of years, hostilities broke out with the Etruscans also. This once powerful nation was now in a state of decline, and had even suffered its two southernmost cities, Veii and Cære, to be conquered by Rome. The conquest of these cities had extended the Roman frontier about thirty miles to the north, where a rugged mountain range, known as the Ciminian Forest, separated the two nations. This frontier was protected by the military colonies of Sutrium and Nepete, founded just after the conquest of Veii (p. 68).

The Ciminian Forest.—The Etruscans, passing through the forest, undertook the siege of Sutrium. The consul Quintus Fabius, advancing against them, relieved the city, drove the enemy before him, and then pursued them with all his forces through the forest,—a region almost unknown to the Romans,—gained a brilliant victory, and then returned in triumph. There was great consternation and almost a panic at Rome when the daring consul disappeared with his army in this unknown wilderness; but his audacity was justified by the results. This was the last campaign of any moment ever carried on by the Romans against the Etruscans.

The Disqualified Classes.—The period of this war is marked by political changes of great importance. The Publilian Laws (p. 77) had gained for the rural plebeians nearly all the rights which they needed, and placed them practically on an equality with the patricians. But the plebeians of the city were still under great disqualifications. None but land-owners could belong to the tribes, and therefore to the tribal assemblies: by this not only the rabble of the city, but the well-to-do and reputable traders and handicraftsmen, were excluded from political privileges. In the centuriate assembly five centuries were provided for these; but the tribal organization made no provision for them at all. Worst of all was the condition of the freedmen, or emancipated slaves, a class which rendered the chief part of those professional and administrative services which are among the most important

and highly paid at the present day, such as teachers, physicians, secretaries, and stewards. For it must be understood that the slaves of the Romans were not an inferior, semi-barbarous class, but contained many persons superior to their masters in education and culture, — Greeks, Sicilians, Carthaginians, and, perhaps already, Asiatics.

Censorship of Appius Claudius: 1. The Senate. — Appius Claudius, a patrician of high rank, came forward as the champion of these disqualified classes, and by his innovations made his censorship an epoch in the history of the city. The B.C. 312. censors had been recently entrusted with the duty of drawing up the Senate-list, which had before devolved upon the consuls. In preparing his list Appius included the names of some sons of freedmen. It struck the conservative and aristocratic Romans with horror, and his colleague in the censorship refused to act with him; so that, by a stretch of audacity, Appius conducted his censorship alone, in violation of all the principles of the constitution.¹ He even continued to exercise the office after the expiration of the eighteen months, on the ground that the election was properly (as it had been originally) for the entire *lustrum*, of five years. But while the censor had the power to draw up the list of senators, he could not oblige the consul to accept it. The consuls of the following year refused to recognize the validity of the changes made by Appius, and convened the senate by the list of the previous year.

2. Reorganization of the Tribes. — A second revolutionary measure of this censorship was almost as short lived. By a single act of authority as censor, he deprived landed property of its exclusive right to determine political qualifications, and based these qualifications upon the possession of property of any kind; the right of every citizen to vote and to bear arms was to be determined by the entire amount of his property, not by his landed property

¹ The principle of *collegiality*, by which two colleagues exercised co-equal powers — as consuls, censors, military tribunes, etc. — was fundamental in the institutions of the republic.

alone. This rule continued in operation until the censorship of Quintus Fabius, eight years later, who left all the citizens in the enjoyment of the suffrage which they had obtained, but for future citizenship established a distinction between the four city and the twenty-seven¹ rural tribes. The rural tribes were, as heretofore, to contain only land-owners; all other citizens were to be rated and to vote in the city tribes, which now came to be regarded as inferior in rank to the others. By this conservative act Fabius earned the title of Maximus (greatest).

3. Public Works. — Appius Claudius was equally distinguished for the system of public works inaugurated in his censorship. He brought to Rome the first regular supply of water, from a point seven or eight miles distant, by the so-called Appian Aqueduct. The system thus begun was carried out by his successors at various times, so that Rome became in antiquity, as it is still, distinguished for the excellence and abundance of its water supply. He also built the first military road, the famous Appian Way, from Rome to Capua, most of the way along the coast, the whole of the intervening country being now Roman territory. This road was so solidly and substantially built that long stretches of it are still preserved in good condition. The system of military roads commenced by Appius Claudius was also continued and extended by his successors, until all Italy, and, indeed, the provinces also,² were covered with a network of well-built highways connecting with the city the chief colonies and allied towns.

4. Religious Innovations. — Appius Claudius was no less an innovator in religious matters. The worship of Hercules was until his time a gentile cult, conducted by the two families of the Potitii and Pinarii; at his solicitation the Potitii sold the ritual, and it was made a public cult administered by slaves. It was believed that, as a consequence of this act of impiety, the Potitian

¹ This was the present number of tribes; two were added after the Second Samnite War, and two after the First Punic.

² Roman milestones, marking a Roman military road, have recently been discovered in the Syrian desert.

gens speedily died out. In his censorship the guild of pipers was deprived of an old privilege of banqueting in the temple of Jupiter. Indignant at the affront, the entire guild retired to Tibur, and refused to return. As its services were indispensable in the religious ceremonies, the magistrates were in great embarrassment. No nation was ever more precise than the Romans in the exercise of religious formalities, and now, as in a mediæval interdict, neither festival, nor sacrifice, nor funeral could be duly performed. At last the Tiburtines devised the plan of making the pipers drunk, loading them in carts, and conveying them in this condition to Rome. When they woke from their debauch and found themselves upon the Forum, they readily agreed to remain, but upon conditions which their recent experience forced the Romans to accept. Their former privilege was restored to the pipers, and they also received the right every 13th of June to go through the streets in a procession like a carnival,—tipsy, disguised with masks and grotesque garments, and making all the noise they pleased.

Gnæus Flavius.—Another important innovation of this period was the publication of the formulas of legal procedure, together with the calendar of court days, by Gnæus Flavius, a freedman of Appius Claudius. This information had been until this time in the sole possession of the patricians, who, by this exclusive knowledge, had a great advantage in the administration of the law. Flavius, being a clerk in the employ of the ædiles, had an opportunity to make himself acquainted with these secrets; and in the year of the peace he was himself chosen B.C. 304. curule ædile, the first person of his rank ever elected to a curule office. In all these things Appius Claudius showed himself indifferent to precedent and privilege, and a favorer of the disqualified classes in the city. As to the rural plebeians, on the other hand, who were now rapidly becoming the most powerful body in the state, he was their active opponent; his controversy with their leader, Manius Curius Dentatus, was the last incident in the long struggle between patricians and plebeians.

II. THE THIRD SAMNITE WAR.

Union of Italy against Rome. — The Third Samnite B.O. 298. War was an uprising of the Italian nations to prevent, if not too late, the threatening domination of Rome, which the last war had proved to be the strongest power in Italy. The Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls, as well as the lesser nations of central Italy, united under the lead of the Samnites; only the Lucanians stood with Rome. The war was short, ending in 290 with the complete discomfiture of the Samnites. By the treaty of peace now made, as by that of 304, the Romans abstained from adding any large amount of Samnite territory to their domain, contenting themselves with planting Latin colonies at important military points. The colony of Venusia, established at the close of the war on the borders of Apulia, was of unprecedented proportions, consisting of 20,000 settlers. Its size and its situation, in the rear of Samnium, made it the chief agency in holding the Samnites in subjection, and it was an important strategic point in the war with Hannibal.

Battle of Sentinum. — The chief battle of the war was fought at Sentinum, in Umbria, in the year 295. The consuls of this year were the tried friends and colleagues, Quintus Fabius Maximus and Publius Decius Mus. Fortunately for the Romans, a diversion in Etruria had led the Etruscan troops to abandon their allies and hasten to protect their homes; for some reason the Umbrians too took no part in the battle, and the Samnites and Gauls were left alone. Even as it was, the battle was for a long time doubtful. Fabius held his own against the Samnites, but the impetuous Gauls threw into confusion the left wing, commanded by Decius. The defeated consul then resolved, according to ancestral custom, to devote himself to the infernal gods, and thus by the sacrifice of himself to gain a victory for his country. Calling upon the pontiff, Marcus Livius, who was present, to dictate to *him* the formula of self-devotion, he repeated the words in due

order, calling down the wrath of the gods upon himself and also upon the enemy; then spurred his horse into the thickest of the enemy, and fell pierced by their weapons. His death had the desired effect. His soldiers were incited to renewed efforts, and soon drove the Gauls before them in flight.¹

Annexations of Territory. — The battle of Sentinum was the most considerable in the whole course of the Samnite wars. Hostilities continued, however, for five years longer. In the year 290 the consulship was held by the distinguished Manius Curius Dentatus, who inflicted a final defeat upon the Samnites, and afterwards subdued the Sabines, who had joined with the enemies of Rome. For these victories he celebrated two triumphs in the same year. The Samnites were left in possession of their independence, and became allies of Rome. The Sabines were forced to become Roman citizens, although they did not receive the right of suffrage until several years later: their territory became a part of the *ager Romanus*, which was now extended to the Adriatic Sea. Thus the Roman territory, stretching in a broad belt from sea to sea, wholly cut off the Samnites and allied nations to the south from the Umbrians, Gauls, and Etruscans to the north.² The Latin colony of Hatria was founded at this point upon the Adriatic Sea, and a few years later another large district upon this sea, the Picene territory (*Picenum*), was annexed by Rome.

Manius Curius Dentatus. — Manius Curius was a peasant by birth, and may be taken as a typical example of a Roman of the old stamp. During the generation in which he was the leading statesman and general of Rome, he never abandoned the interests

¹ It is related that the father of Decius had devoted himself in a similar manner in a battle in the Latin War, B.C. 340. There is no impossibility, but on the other hand a high degree of probability, that the son was inspired to his heroic act by his father's example; but the accounts of the Latin War are confused and full of fabulous detail, while the battle of Sentinum is a thoroughly authentic event.

² See map of Central Italy at the time of the Second Punic War.

of his class, which he defended, at the very beginning of his public career, against Appius Claudius, the champion of patrician privileges (p. 91). When territory was annexed by Rome, he secured a large amount for the purpose of assignments (p. 49) to the soldiers of the war, refusing to take for himself more than the share of a common soldier. Like Appius Claudius, he distinguished himself by the extent and beneficence of his public works. Among these was the canal which drained a swampy district in the neighborhood of Reate, conducting its waters into the river Nar by a precipitous descent which we know as the beautiful waterfall of Terni; also the second Roman aqueduct, the *Anio Vetus*, for three miles long. He brought to a triumphant end not only the war with the Samnites, but also that with Pyrrhus. After B.C. 275. this crowning victory, he retired to his farm in the Sabine country, where he lived the life of a common peasant.

Gaius Fabricius.—Next to Dentatus as a typical Roman, and perhaps even more distinguished, was Gaius Fabricius, a Hernican peasant, who by ability and integrity raised himself to a foremost place among the public men of his time. He was younger than Curius, the period of his activity being that of the war with Pyrrhus; and, while a skilful and successful soldier, he achieved his principal distinction as a statesman and diplomatist. The straightforward and incorruptible republican proved himself (like Franklin and Jay at the court of Paris), a match for the subtle Greeks.

The Hortensian Law.—The long succession of wars, lasting with intervals over fifty years, had brought the Roman peasantry to a state of suffering and destitution similar to that which followed the Gallic invasion, and this was not adequately relieved even by the numerous colonies and the assignments of land made by Dentatus. Our knowledge of these events is very scanty.¹ All that is certain is that in the year 286 a third secession of the Plebs took place, this time to Mount Janiculum. By the influence of Dentatus, Quintus Hortensius was made dictator, and proposed

¹ There is a gap in Livy's history from near the end of the Second Samnite to the beginning of the Second Punic War.

the so-called Hortensian Law, by which the plebeian assembly received full and uncontrolled power to pass laws which should be valid for the whole body of citizens. Henceforth this assembly, presided over by the tribunes, became the usual law-making body.

The Roman Institutions.—The institutions of the republic had now reached their highest point of energy and efficiency. The contest between patricians and plebeians was at an end, and the two orders were on a practical equality. The patricians, it is true, were still alone eligible to certain priesthoods of great dignity and antiquity; but on the other hand the plebeians had what was far more important, the sole right to hold the offices of tribune and plebeian ædile, and to vote in their tribal assembly. The assembly of citizens—whether organized by tribes or by centuries—was by law the controlling authority in the state, and the magistrates exercised in their terms of office an almost unlimited executive and administrative power. But these assemblies and magistrates were themselves hardly more than the organs of the Senate, a body which, by unwritten law, was gradually gathering all power into its own hands.

The Senate.—The Senate was composed of three hundred members, the list being made out by the censors from *lustrum* to *lustrum*, and containing first the names of all who had held high office, and then of such others as were deemed competent.¹ They held their position for life, unless degraded by succeeding censors; and it is clear that a body of men like this, which embodied all the experience and tried statesmanship of the community, would exhibit a clearness of purpose and a persistency of policy which would easily control the yearly changing magistrates, and through them the assemblies of the people.

The Worship of Æsculapius.—In spite of the elevation of the city above the unhealthy country around, and the draining of its

¹ Only those who had held office were fully qualified senators; the others, relatively inexperienced in public business, had a right to vote, but not to debate. As voting was done by going into the lobbies (*pedibus ire*), these were known as *pedarii*.

low-lying parts by the great sewers, it was exposed to numerous pestilences, by the closeness of the streets, the want of systematic cleansing, and the habit of burying the dead within the walls.¹

After one of the severest of these, just before the close B.O. 291. of the Third Samnite War, the Sibylline books advised that Æsculapius, the god of healing, should be invited from Epidaurus in Greece. The commissioners who were sent for this purpose were received courteously, and conducted to the famous shrine; here the legend says that the serpent, sacred to Æsculapius, at once followed them through the city and on board their ship, in which he was conveyed to Italy. Arrived at Rome, the serpent glided to the island in the Tiber, and here a temple was erected, which became a chief seat of the worship of the god. This is the fourth important Greek cult naturalized in Rome; Castor and Pollux, Apollo, and the Eleusinian Triad — Ceres, Liber, and Libera — had already been established there.

III. THE WAR WITH PYRRHUS.

Tarentum. — The authority of Rome was now established over the entire peninsula, with the exception of the northern portions occupied by Gauls, Ligurians, and Venetians (which were not reckoned properly a part of Italy), and the cities of Magna Græcia in the south. At the head of these Greek cities was Tarentum (the modern *Taranto*), a colony of Sparta, a commercial city of great wealth and enterprise, under democratic government. This city, probably the richest, and, next to Rome and Capua, the largest city of Italy, now made a last effort to check the domination of Rome over the peninsula; this was with the co-operation of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, the greatest general of his time.

Outbreak of the War. — There was a treaty of peace between

¹ See Lanciani's *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, p. 64. It should be understood that the Romans in early times buried their dead, as many families did even after cremation had become usual; and that the poor, victims of pestilence, etc., were hurriedly thrown into huge pits.

Rome and Tarentum, similar to that with Carthage (p. 79), prohibiting the Romans from sending ships beyond the Lacinian promontory, on the southern coast of Italy. The Tarentines (like the Carthaginians in their treaty), wished to reserve this lucrative field of traffic to themselves. But the Romans, in the consciousness of their new power, were not to be checked in their natural expansion. Communication by sea with the Adriatic was essential to the security of their new possessions upon that sea. In deliberate violation of the treaty a Roman fleet appeared off the harbor of Tarentum.¹ War followed, and the Tarentines invited Pyrrhus to place himself at the head of an Italian coalition. B.C. 281.

Pyrrhus. — The oriental world was at this time in a state of turmoil and perpetual warfare. The empire of Alexander the Great had, since his death, broken into a number of fragments, and Pyrrhus was perhaps the ablest and most ambitious of the princes who at this time ruled over a part of these dominions. This invasion of Italy was in the very year of the defeat and death of the aged Lysimachus, king of Thrace, and of the final division of Alexander's empire. Pyrrhus brought with him to Italy a large body of soldiers, and twenty elephants — a new and strange antagonist to an Italian army, and one which, to a certain extent, served the purpose of modern field artillery. For a hundred years after this time the elephants played a large, and often a decisive, part in Roman warfare. B.C. 281.

Battle of Heraclea. — The first battle of the war was fought at Heraclea. In this battle the Roman cavalry gained the first advantage; but the compact phalanx of Pyrrhus was more than a match for the Roman legion, which was not skilfully handled; and the elephants, with their strange appearance and formidable advance, put the Romans to flight. But the losses of Pyrrhus were very great, and he was so impressed with the sturdiness and fighting qualities of his enemies, that he

¹ This act was, in its intent, not unlike the violation by Russia of the provision of the Treaty of Paris, restricting its naval force in the Black Sea.

sent his most skilful diplomatist, Cineas, as an ambassador to Rome, to offer terms of peace.

Embassy of Cineas.—The embassy of Cineas made a deep impression upon the imagination and memory of the Romans. He was an orator of persuasive eloquence, who possessed the art of winning men to his friendship and confidence. His gifts were rejected, but his arguments were powerful, and the Senate was upon the point of voting to accept his terms, when the aged and blind Appius Claudius caused himself to be led into the assemblage, and declared that Rome should never treat for peace so long as a foreign enemy stood upon the soil of Italy. This speech was preserved as the earliest example of Roman eloquence, and was still read in the time of Cicero. It had its effect, and Cineas returned to his master with his work unaccomplished. Deeply impressed by the dignity and incorruptibility of the Roman statesmen, he pronounced Rome a temple, and the Senate an assembly of kings.

End of the War.—Pyrrhus was now joined by many of the Italian nations, and the following year gained another
B.C. 279. victory at Asculum. But this victory was followed by no decisive advantages, and in the same year he passed over to Sicily to defend his ally, the Greek city of Syracuse, against the Carthaginians who were in alliance with Rome. During the three years of his absence the Romans were engaged in chastising the Samnites and others who had joined with Pyrrhus. Upon his return to Italy the final and decisive battle of the war was fought in 275 at Beneventum, where Manius Curius gained a complete victory and brought the war to an end. Pyrrhus returned to Greece, where he shortly after lost his life.

The Roman Empire.—The result of this war was that the cities of Magna Græcia were brought within the empire of Rome, by entering into treaty relations, which bound them, like the Italian states, to furnish contingents in war to the Roman armies. The power of Rome now extended over the whole of Italy proper, and was organized as follows :

I. The *Ager Romanus*, comprising about one-fourth of Italy, and consisting of:

1. The city of Rome and its territory, divided into thirty-three tribes (shortly afterwards increased to thirty-five), which formed the basis of voting and of financial administration. This territory and its tribes were scattered in all parts of Italy, wherever the citizens had received assignments of land.

2. The so-called Roman colonies (p. 82), consisting of Roman citizens, scattered along the sea-coast for its defence.¹ The colonists possessed full rights as citizens, and were members of the tribes, but were called on for no military duties except defence of the coast.

3. The *municipia* of best standing (p. 82). These had been admitted to full Roman citizenship, still retaining the rights of local self-government. These *municipia*, like the colonies mentioned above, were assigned to the several tribes.

4. The *municipia* of Cæritan rights (p. 78). The inhabitants of these communities had full civil rights, and local self-government, but had not the right of voting in Rome. The territories of towns of this class, as well as of that which follows (the *præfectures*), were of course not included in the tribes.

5. The *præfectures* (*præfecturae*); subject communities, which did not even retain local self-government, but were under præfects sent from Rome.

II. The independent communities, which were not in law subject to Rome, but which by treaty or by the terms of their foundation were required to support Rome with their military forces. These were:

1. The Latin colonies, at this time twenty-two in number.²

¹ There were at this time only seven of these, but the number was gradually raised to thirty-five, many of which were not upon the sea-coast.

² Thirteen others were afterwards founded, with inferior privileges. After the Second Punic War, it appears to have been difficult to persuade citizens to go to Latin colonies, thereby forfeiting their citizenship; they cease therefore from the year 180, and the colonies established after this date, whether on the coast or in the interior, received full Roman citizenship.

These were founded by Rome as permanent garrisons, and the colonists possessed certain important privileges, such as the right of acquiring Roman citizenship ; they were however independent states, with the right of coining money, of harboring Roman exiles (*jus exili*), etc.

2. The allies (*socii* or *civitates foederatae*) : cities which, either individually or in confederacies,¹ had entered into formal treaty relations with Rome, by which they bound themselves to contribute regular contingents to the Roman army. The communities of this class composed more than half of Italy. They were entirely independent in their government, and were never called upon for tribute.

The political organization thus described continued without material change until the last century of the republic, B.C. 90. when, as a result of the Social War, the Roman domain (*Ager Romanus*) and Roman citizenship were made to comprehend the whole of Italy.

Social Condition.—The period which we have now reached is that in which the Roman people were at their greatest height of vigor and prosperity. There were a few rich families—plebeian as well as patrician—which owned great estates, and held also large amounts of public land (see p. 47) by occupation ; but the enormous acquisitions of territory by conquest had made sufficient provision for the poor, and the growth of great estates was not yet felt as an evil. A hundred years later, these great estates, cultivated by slave labor, had engrossed most of the peninsula, and their owners had become an arrogant and grasping oligarchy. But at present the Roman people were still in the main a body of peasants, living in the simple and frugal style of their ancestors. It was a maxim of Manius Curius, himself a Sabine peasant, that seven *jugera* (about three and a half acres) were enough for the support of a family ;² and he refused any larger share for himself

¹ For example, the Samnite Confederacy.

² It must be understood that the peasant had, besides this estate, certain rights of pasturage, etc., in the common field.

in the allotment of land. The cultivation of the soil with their own hands was still the occupation of Roman citizens, and their well-directed industry had made into a garden many a tract of land which has since become a desert.¹ An illustration of the simple manners of the time is found in the expulsion from the Senate by Fabricius of a patrician of consular rank, because he owned ten pounds of silver plate.

Commencement of Economic Decay. — The period upon which we now enter, that of foreign wars, waged for conquest and spoliation, worked a speedy change in this condition of society. The change indeed had already begun. The system of great landed estates had already invaded considerable parts of Italy, and the enormous treasures suddenly acquired by the victory over the Samnites and the conquest of the Greek cities brought about a rapid revolution in the style and expense of living.² Wealth acquired by industry works only good; but wealth acquired by plunder, fraud, and the spirit of gaming, always corrupts: of this truth Roman history, from this time on, is a conspicuous witness. The Romans had now tasted the sweets of ill-gotten riches, and the plunder of foreign lands became more and more their governing motive. By fair means and by foul, great estates were built up at the expense of the free peasantry; slave labor, that form of labor which is the most immediately profitable, crowded out free labor; the cultivation of the soil itself was neglected, and what had been well-tilled fields became desert or swamp or expanse of pasture-land. From this point of time commences the decay of the Italian peasantry, and along with it of Italian agriculture.

Changes in Currency. — The economical revolution which now began was twofold; a rapid rise of prices, resulting from the great additions made to the circulating medium, and a spirit of

¹ The region of the Pontine marshes, for example, now a malarious wilderness, was thickly populated and well cultivated, being rendered healthy and cultivable by an elaborate system of drainage, of which remains still exist.

² In the triumphal procession in the year B.C. 293, 1380 pounds of silver were carried, which were afterwards deposited in the treasury.

eager speculation, which tended still further to raise prices and to change fundamentally the habits of the community. The critical point of time in this movement was the year B.C. 269, in which silver currency was first introduced. The money of Rome had until now been exclusively of copper, the unit being the *as*, nominally a pound in weight, but really only about ten ounces: this was divided into twelve *unciae* (p. 27).

The Silver Standard.—Silver was now made the standard. A mint was established in the temple of Juno Moneta upon the Arx,¹ and the spoils of Tarentum were coined into pieces of nearly the value of the Greek drachma (about eighteen cents²), which were to stand towards the copper coins as having the value of ten *asses*; hence they were called *denarii*,³ and an intermediate piece of one-fourth (two and a half *asses*) was named *sestertius* (*semis-tertius*). The ratio thus established between silver and copper was soon changed. The abundance of silver currency rapidly lowered its value, while at the same time there was a general rise in prices, caused by the growth of commerce and of luxury. By B.C. 217. successive steps the *as* was reduced in weight, until at last, it had fallen to one ounce, at which standard it remained; four *asses* of this weight were equal to a *sesterce*, and sixteen to a *denarius*.

Germes of Art.—It is commonly said that the Roman people were deficient in artistic capacity. It is true that they never developed an original school of art, and they certainly did not possess the wonderful power of creative art which distinguished the Greeks. Their minds were exclusively set upon practical problems of life, government, and law, so that their æsthetic nature was held in abeyance, only to find ripe expression in modern times. But at this period of the culmination of national character and powers, we find promising germes of art and

¹ The spot until recently occupied by the church of Santa Maria in Araceli. From the epithet *Moneta* the word *money* is derived.

² Afterwards reduced to a little over sixteen cents.

³ From *deni*, "ten apiece."

Culture. The ballads, sung at family gatherings and banquets, extolling the deeds of some Fabius or Valerius or Horatius, have been a source of tradition which long passed as history. Even plastic art was not wanting. The sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus (*the Bearded*), one of the commanders in the Second Samnite war, has been preserved to this day, and is a model of chaste and elegant workmanship.



SARCOPHAGUS OF SCIPIO BARBATUS.

Loss of Creative Power in Art. — The tremendous wars upon which Rome now entered, the feverish grasping after power and wealth, the growing disregard of everything but power and wealth, and the rapid corruption of character which inevitably followed, destroyed all the healthier growth of a finer civilization; and the Romans, given up to the pursuit of power and pleasure, were content to look to the despised Greeks for forms of art which should minister to their craving for ostentation and sensuous luxury.

PERIOD OF FOREIGN CONQUEST.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

Carthage. — Carthage was a rich and populous city upon the northern coast of Africa ; its ruins are only about ten miles from the modern city of Tunis. It was a colony, founded by the Phœnician city of Tyre, at the time when the Phœnicians were the principal sea-faring nation of the Mediterranean. As Phœnicia sank in importance, this colony, situated upon a magnificent harbor, took its place as an emporium of commerce. The other Phœnician colonies, as Utica, Gades (*Cadiz*) and Tartessus (the biblical *Tarshish*), submitted to its lead, and its power was extended over the northern coast of Africa and the island of Sardinia, while Corsica and a part of Spain were tributary to it ; it had also, by a long and hard contest, established its rule over all the western part of Sicily. This beautiful island was now divided between Carthage and Syracuse, the two greatest cities of the West ; and the contest between them was not yet at an end.

Rome and Carthage. — Carthage was a republic, like Rome, and the power and resources of the two republics were not very different. But they were unlike in one important respect : Carthage controlled the resources of subject nations of a foreign and inferior race, while Rome was at the head of a great nationality, of sturdy qualities and homogeneous in blood. Carthage was never anything more than Carthage, and her armies were made up of barbarian subjects, — Numidians, Libyans, and Iberians. Rome was now identified with Italy, and her armies were composed of Roman and Sabellian peasants — every one of them citizens of Rome, or of some town in alliance with Rome.

Contrast in Character.—Moreover the Carthaginians, even at their best, stood on a lower plane of character than the Romans. The Romans were severe and inflexible, but they had not yet developed that cruelty of temper to which they were afterwards educated by their wars of conquest and gladiatorial shows. The Carthaginians were cruel by nature. Their gods were not the genial deities of Greece, nor the serious and ethical gods of Rome : they had brought with them from Phœnicia the cruel rites of Moloch and the profligate rites of Astarte. The Romans, after they became corrupted, punished their slaves with the lingering tortures of crucifixion ; but this punishment the Carthaginians constantly inflicted upon captive enemies and unsuccessful generals.

Relations of Rome and Carthage.—The Romans and Carthaginians were old friends ; even in the wars of Pyrrhus they had stood together against the Greek cities and their allies. Their separate interests had not yet brought them into collision. But it was with the Carthaginians as it had been with the Samnites. As soon as the extension of the Roman empire had brought the two friendly states into close neighborhood, their interests became antagonistic, and hostilities soon followed. The First Punic¹ War began barely ten years after the end of the war with Pyrrhus.

Origin of the War.—The First Punic War was in its origin almost an accident. A contest of centuries had been going on between Carthage and Syracuse for the possession of Sicily. Into this contest Rome was drawn by a single act of bad faith ; and, once involved in the struggle, it did not lay down its arms until the Carthaginians were expelled from Sicily, and all their possessions in that island transferred to Rome. This war is therefore properly called "The War for Sicily," although the possession of Sicily was not its original motive.

¹ *Punic* is another form of *Phœnician*. The Carthaginians were Phœnicians, just as the inhabitants of the French and English colonies in America were Frenchmen and Englishmen ; and the wars with Carthage, three in number, were known as the Punic Wars.

The Mamertines. — Hiero, king of Syracuse, had taken into his pay a body of Campanian mercenaries. These men had mutinied, and under the name of Mamertines, "Sons of Mars,"¹ had seized the city of Messana and held it, in defiance of both Syracusans and Carthaginians. Finding themselves hard pressed, they sent an embassy to Rome, offering to place themselves and their city under its authority and protection. Now a few years before a body of Campanian troops in the Roman service had, in like unlawful manner, seized and held the Italian city of Rhegium; and had been punished with prompt and terrible severity as soon as the city was brought under the Roman power. The B.C. 271. mutineers, three hundred at a time, were scourged and beheaded upon the Roman Forum, and the city was restored to its lawful owners. But now a spirit of lawless ambition prevailed, and, under the influence of the consul Appius Claudius (son of the blind statesman), the Romans voted to accept the offer of the Mamertines. This was in the year 264.

Creation of a Navy by the Romans. — The Romans commenced the war with prompt and successful operations. Hiero was compelled to enter into a treaty of alliance, which he kept loyally during the remainder of his long reign. The Romans then captured the important stronghold of Agrigentum, and soon were masters of the entire island, with the exception of a few maritime ports. More than this they could not accomplish as long as the Carthaginians were masters of the sea. For the maritime activity of the Romans had always been in the way of commerce. They had no navy, and had never conducted a war by sea. They were even ignorant of the construction of war ships. But their native energy was aided by fortune. A Carthaginian quinquereme² had been stranded upon their shore. Taking this as a model, they built with great rapidity a number of galleys, trained the oarsmen in the use of the oars by practising the strokes on land, while the ships were still building, and astonished their

¹ *Mamers* is another form for *Mars*.

² A war-galley with five banks of oars.

nemies with the appearance of a numerous and well-equipped fleet.

Battle of Mylæ.—The Romans still lacked experience and skill in naval warfare. They were beaten in their first engagement. But their new commander, Gaius Duilius, seeing that his countrymen were inferior in naval tactics, but invincible on land, determined to foil the tactics of his enemy by giving to the engagement on ship-board the character of an engagement on land.

Naval tactics in antiquity consisted chiefly in manœuvring; the aim was to bring the sharp beak upon the prow in contact with the side of the enemy's vessel, and thus disable or sink it. This action he aimed to prevent, by providing his ships with grapples which, when fastened upon the enemy's vessel, should at once prevent independent movement, and serve as boarding-bridges. The plan succeeded perfectly. The Carthaginian ships were seized by the grapples and held fast, while the Roman soldiers poured upon the decks and gained a decisive victory. B.O. 280.

For this achievement Duilius

was rewarded by the erection of a column in his honor upon the Forum, adorned with the beaks of the captured vessels (*columna rostrata*), and by the permission to be accompanied by the music of flute-players when returning home at night from banquets.

Marcus Atilius Regulus.—By these successes on land and sea the Romans seemed to be secure in the possession of Sicily, and the consul Regulus, a few years later, thought B.O. 266.

¹ The inscription of this column is in part preserved, although probably belonging to a later copy.



THE COLUMN OF DUILIUS.¹
(A Restoration.)

that the time had come to "carry the war into Africa," and there strike a final and decisive blow. For a time he carried everything before him, and the Carthaginians were forced to sue for peace. The arrogance of Regulus, in first proposing unreasonably hard terms, and then, when these were rejected, in unduly despising his antagonists, and neglecting to take the most necessary precautions, worked his own ruin, and came near being fatal to his country's cause. His defeat and capture the next year formed a turning point in the history of the war.¹

War in Sicily. — The defeat of this expedition was followed by the evacuation of Africa and the renewal of the war in Sicily. The Romans now met with disaster after disaster. Their principal undertaking in this period of the war was the siege of Lilybæum, in the westernmost point of the island. Here too, after some successes, they miscarried. The consul Publius Claudius,

B.C. 249. who was engaged in the siege, made up his mind to attack by surprise the Carthaginian fleet at Drepana: and when the sacred chickens, which were regularly carried on campaigns for the purpose of taking auspices, refused to eat, and thus warned against the undertaking, he remarked, "If they will not eat, they shall drink," and tossed them in the sea. His enterprise failed; he was out-generalled by the Carthaginian admiral, and lost his fleet. Another fleet was wrecked the

same year. Four large fleets had been lost in the course of the war, and no permanent advantage had yet been gained. A new

Carthaginian commander, Hamilcar Barca, a man of
B.C. 247. genius, entrenched himself on Mt. Ercte² near Panormos, and afterwards upon Mt. Eryx. From these strongholds he harassed the Romans, and made their possession of Sicily insecure.

B.C. 241. **The Last Year of the War.** — Twenty-three years had passed in war, and the end seemed no nearer than ever.

¹ The story, related by some ancient writers, of his embassy to Rome and return to a death of torture, is not credited by modern historians.

² Now known as Monte Pellegrino, the noble height close to Palermo.

Since the disasters at Lilybæum, the Romans had ceased to contend by sea, and the successes of Hamilcar threatened to deprive them of the land also. Even the Senate, for almost the only time in its history, lost heart ; but the heroic nation did not know what it was to despair. By a supreme effort, through the voluntary contributions of citizens, to be repaid in the event of victory, a new fleet of two hundred vessels was built, manned by sixty thousand sailors, and placed under the command of the consul Gaius Lutatius Catulus, a man prompt in decision and of indomitable courage.

Battle of the Ægates.—The appearance of this new fleet took the Carthaginians by surprise ; for of late years naval warfare had been suspended, and they as well as the Romans had neglected this arm of the service. Catulus left them no time to make up for their neglect. A Carthaginian fleet was on its way to Sicily heavily laden with supplies. It was the intention of its commander to land the cargo, take troops on board, and thus be prepared to fight. These designs were assisted by the weather ; the sea was very rough, and many commanders would have allowed the vessels to pass, waiting for calmer weather. But Catulus left nothing to chance. In spite of the storm he boldly sailed out of the harbor, engaged the enemy, and gained a complete and overwhelming victory. The Carthaginian navy was destroyed, and Hamilcar with his army was left without support or supplies. This battle, ending the First Punic War, was fought off the **B.O. 241.** Ægates Islands, west of Sicily. Upon news of this defeat, Hamilcar immediately agreed to a peace, the conditions of which were the cession of Sicily and the islands about it, and the payment of 3200 talents (about \$3,500,000) in ten yearly instalments.

Mutiny of the Carthaginian Mercenaries.—Immediately after peace was made, Carthage was involved in a formidable war by the mutiny of her mercenary troops. They were at last reduced by Hamilcar, after a war of over three years, marked by the most savage cruelties on both sides. While the Carthaginians were engaged in this death struggle, the Romans basely took advantage

of their distress to seize upon the islands of Sardinia and Corsica ; and when the Carthaginians protested, they required them to pay an additional tribute of 1200 talents.

Foreign Acquisitions.—The three great islands which the Romans had now acquired are so near to Italy, and stand in such relation to it, that they may be almost considered as belonging to it ; as we have before shown (p. 3), they serve, with the Italian mainland, to make the Tyrrhenian Sea an enclosed body of water. Their possession may therefore be regarded as a natural and almost necessary result of the possession of Italy. Nevertheless they were not politically united with Italy. A new system of government was applied to them, which was afterwards extended to other foreign conquests, and is known as the Provincial System.

The Provincial System.—The difference between the provincial system and the system which prevailed in Italy was this. All lands in Italy were either a part of the Roman domain, or were independent communities in alliance with Rome. If there were certain communities which could be regarded as subject, such as the præfectures (p. 99), they were nevertheless Roman communities, and their inhabitants Roman citizens, although under certain disqualifications. But outside of Italy the conquered states were held strictly as subjects. Their lands were not regarded as their own, but as belonging to Rome, and it was only by sufferance that their former proprietors retained them ; on this ground a heavy tribute was imposed upon them.

Government of the Provinces.—A Roman governor was appointed to administer each province, and for this purpose two new prætors were now elected.¹ These governors had absolute and practically irresponsible powers, and, as the gradual deterioration of the Roman character went on, these prætors or proconsuls²

¹ Two others were added after the Second Punic War. A second had been already elected, for the administration of justice with foreigners.

² When there were not enough prætors to administer all the provinces, some of these were assigned to prætors or consuls with extended powers (*imperium prorogatum*) ; such an officer was known as *pro-prætor* or *pro-consul*.

became notorious for avarice and cruelty. Besides the subject territories, the area of a province might embrace free cities and kingdoms which were in alliance with Rome and were not legally subject to the governor,¹ although of course this independence was in reality only nominal. Syracuse also was independent until after the death of King Hiero. It will be well B.O. 215. understood that the provincial system was a fruitful source of corruption and misgovernment; for the provinces soon became an object of plunder and profit to the governor, the Roman people, and individual citizens.

War with the Gauls.—The First Punic War lasted twenty-three years (264–241), just the duration of the Second Samnite War (327–304); and another period of twenty-three years (241–218) separated it from the Second Punic War. The principal part of this interval was spent by the Romans in the conquest of the country between the Apennines and the Alps, at this time occupied by Gauls. The war with the Gauls began shortly B.O. 238. after the peace with Carthage, but did not assume large proportions until the passage of a law proposed by the B.O. 232. tribune Gaius Flaminius, making assignments to citizens (p. 49) of lands recently taken from the Senonian Gauls. It was easy to see that this was only the first step to the occupation of the whole Gallic country; and all the Gallic tribes, except the Cenomani in the northeast, took up arms against Rome.

Conquest of Gaul.—The war continued ten years longer, culminating in a formidable invasion of Etruria B.O. 225. by a Gallic army of 70,000 men. To avert the peril two Gauls, male and female, were buried alive on the Forum, in accordance with the popular superstition; the well-trained legions were a more effective resource, and the Gauls were defeated with great slaughter. Three years later the B.O. 222. war was ended by a battle in which the consul Marcus Claudius Marcellus gained the *spolia opima*—the third recorded occasion—by slaying the Gallic king with his own hand.

¹ For example, Messina in Sicily.

Roman administration north of the Apennines. But the conquered peoples were by no means willing or submissive. Wholly foreign to the Romans in race, character, and institutions, not incorporated in the political system of the conquerors, but held down with the strong hand, the Gauls waited for an opportunity to throw off the hated yoke. The good judgment Hannibal made them the basis of his operations against Rome in the great war which followed.

The Illyrians. — While the war was going on B.C. 229. Gauls, the Romans were drawn into hostilities with the Illyrian pirates, on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, and entered into alliance with Corcyra and other cities of that region, — the beginning of their intercourse with nations of the East.

Gaius Flaminius. — The law by which Gaius Flaminius divided the Gallic lands among the citizens (p. 111) was an important event in Roman history, inasmuch as it was the first on which the popular assembly was called upon to decide, which were regularly managed by the Senate. Flaminius was called the first Roman demagogue; and this act was the

Gauls in Hannibal's army hunted him to death at Lake Trasimenus.

B.C. 217.

Reform of the Comitia.—Flaminius was the typical reformer of this age, and we can probably ascribe to his censorship the most important constitutional change of this epoch, which was made at some time between the First and Second Punic Wars. By this measure the centuriate assembly (p. 33) was reorganized and brought into connection with the thirty-five local tribes, which now became the basis of this assembly as well as of the tribal assemblies proper.¹ As the preponderance of the first or most wealthy class appears to have been taken away by this reform, it may without hesitation be regarded as one of the steps in democratic progress.

B.C. 220.

Beginnings of Roman Literature.—At this period we mark the first beginnings of Roman literature—neither vigorous in themselves, nor distinctly national. It was rather a reflection of Greek literature than an original creation. The writer, indeed, who ranks as the earliest of Roman authors, Livius Andronicus, was a Greek by birth. He was a wretched poetaster, but his translations of Homer long served as text-books in the schools of Rome. The most distinguished writer of the time, Quintus Ennius, was also the native of a Greek city; his works—epics, dramas, and satires—had great merit, and continued to rank as the chief creations of Roman literature, until eclipsed by the writings of Virgil and Horace. The earliest Roman historian, Quintus Fabius Pictor,—a member of the distinguished Fabian gens, and the author of a work of great merit,—wrote, neverthe-

¹ We possess no definite statement as to this reform, but it is pretty well agreed that it consisted in making the number of centuries of each class equal: each of the thirty-five tribes having now two centuries (one of *seniores* and one of *juniores*) from each of the five classes. This made 350 centuries, to which must be added the eighteen centuries of cavalry, and five of workmen and musicians, 373 in all. It is the opinion of Mommsen, however, that the 280 centuries of the four lower classes were grouped into 100 voting divisions, so that the entire number of votes was 193, as before.

less, in the Greek language; while the comedies of Plautus and Cæcilius were nothing but free translations from the Greek comedians. The only writer of the time who can be called a genuine Roman was the poet Gnæus Nævius. He was a Roman citizen, and a writer of some original power; and his independent spirit made him enemies among the nobility.¹ His principal work was a history in verse of the First Punic War, in which he had himself taken part.

Germes of the Drama. — After these feeble beginnings more than a century passed before Rome can be said to have had a *any* school of literature. There were germes, in the rude songs and sports of peasants, out of which a native drama might have been developed: beginnings which may be compared with the corresponding creation of Thespis in Athens, out of which the *Attic* drama sprung. But the fashionable taste craved nothing but imitations of the Greek, and in this department the next generation witnessed the creation of a literature of much merit;² while the native mimes and fables, abandoned to the lower class *es*, preserved their original coarseness and grossness.

¹ His verse *Fato Metelli fiunt consules* (The Metelli receive consulships *by* fate) not only called out from the consul of B.C. 206 the rejoinder *Dabit malum Metelli Nævio poetæ* (The Metelli will make the poet Nævius *smart*), but also procured him imprisonment and exile.

² See Chap. X.





THE MEDITERRANEAN LANDS **at the beginning of the** **SECOND PUNIC WAR.**

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|--|--------------------|--|
| Roman Possessions and Allies | | Free Greek States | |
| Carthaginian do | | Syrian Possessions | |
| Macedonian do | | Egyptian do | |





CHAPTER IX.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

I. TO THE REVOLT OF CAPUA, B.C. 216.

The War with Hannibal.¹—The war which now followed was the greatest and most perilous in the annals of Rome; a war in which one of the great generals of history, inspired with a bitter animosity against Rome, brought her very near to destruction. What saved her in this crisis was the vigor and patriotism of her people, the homogeneous character of the people of Italy, and the generous policy which the conquering city had pursued towards her Italian allies.

Cause of the War.—Both nations were conscious that the contest was to come, and prepared for it to the best of their ability. The loss of Sicily was the fortune of war; but the seizure of Sardinia and the extortion of an additional tribute were acts of cupidity and bad faith which rankled in the heart of every Carthaginian. When Hamilcar Barca, after suppressing the war of the mercenaries, set out for Spain, to establish a new empire there in place of that which had been lost, he took with him his nine-year-old son, Hannibal, and trained him to be his successor in command, first making him take an oath of eternal hostility to Rome. The family of Barca incorporated in themselves the sentiment of the patriotic party in Carthage.

The Barcas in Spain.—Taking as his starting-point the old Phœnician colonies, Gades and Tartessus, in the south of Spain, Hamilcar proceeded to conquer the peninsula. At his death

¹ The best history of this war is Arnold's *The Second Punic War* (Macmillan). For an entertaining work of fiction read *The Carthaginian Boy*, by Henty.

B.O. 228. he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, who carried on his work with equal zeal and ability, and founded the city of New Carthage (*Cartagena*), as capital of the new empire. The Romans, engrossed in their wars with the Gauls and Illyrians (p. 111), watched jealously the growth of the Carthaginian power, but were not in a condition to resist it.

B.O. 225. They nevertheless entered into a treaty with Hasdrubal, by which he bound himself not to pass the Ebro with an

B.O. 220. armed force. When Hasdrubal, shortly after, was assassinated, Hannibal, now about twenty-six years old, succeeded to his command, and at once began preparations for war. The Romans, still involved in Illyrian affairs, and believing that the peace party in Carthage would have the upper hand, were taken unprepared.

Beginning of the War.—The first act of Hannibal, after completing the subjugation of the country as far as the Ebro, was to attack the Greek city of Saguntum, an ally of

B.O. 219. Rome. This he captured and destroyed after a siege of eight months. War was at once declared, and Hannibal immediately set out with his army, passed the Ebro and the Pyrenees, traversed Southern Gaul, and had already crossed the Rhone when the consul, Publius Scipio, on his way to Spain, landed at Massilia. On learning this astonishing news, that the war was to be waged in Italy, not in Spain and Africa, Scipio promptly changed his plans, despatched his brother Gnaeus to Spain, — where he afterwards joined him as proconsul, — and returned to Pisæ. Here he took command of the Italian forces, and summoning his colleague, Sempronius, from Sicily, where he was on his way to attack Carthage, hastened to Cisalpine Gaul to meet the invader in the valley of the Po.

The Passage of the Alps.—Hannibal meanwhile had made his way over the Alps with enormous loss and suffering, and reached the valley of the Po at about the same time as Scipio.¹ His

¹ It has generally been held that he crossed by the route of the Little St. Bernard; it seems probable, however, that it was by a more southern pass, probably Mont Cenis or Genève.

reasons for taking this difficult route were well founded, although he seems to have underrated the difficulties and hardships of the march, and to have undertaken it too late in the season. His army was reduced to less than half its number, and was in a terrible state of exhaustion. But he knew that the Roman power in Gaul was not yet firmly established, and he reckoned with confidence upon making the Gauls his auxiliaries. In this he was not deceived. Cisalpine Gaul was at once lost to Rome, and its people composed a constant and reliable part of Hannibal's army throughout his Italian campaigns.¹

Operations in the Valley of the Po.—Hannibal ended this eventful year with a brilliant victory. The newly founded colony of Placentia, upon the Po, was the base of operations for the Roman commander. In a cavalry skirmish upon the river Ticinus, Scipio was repulsed and severely wounded, after which he encamped upon the river Trebia, about six miles from Placentia. Here he was shortly joined by the army of his colleague Sempronius, who now took command, Scipio being still disabled by his wound. Hannibal was encamped on the other side of the Trebia, about five miles distant.²

Battle of the Trebia.—Hannibal, like all great commanders, understood thoroughly how to reckon with his antagonists, and had no difficulty in drawing the rash and impatient Sempronius into an ambuscade. It was already December, and the river—a mere mountain stream—was swollen with rains. Early one morning, before the Roman soldiers had breakfasted, the Numidian cavalry of Hannibal appeared before the camp, and by skilful manœuvring and feigned flight, succeeded in enticing the Romans across the river. The water was icy cold, and almost up to their necks; they were hungry as well as chilled to the bone;

¹ The Cenomani, however, in the country about Verona, held with Rome.

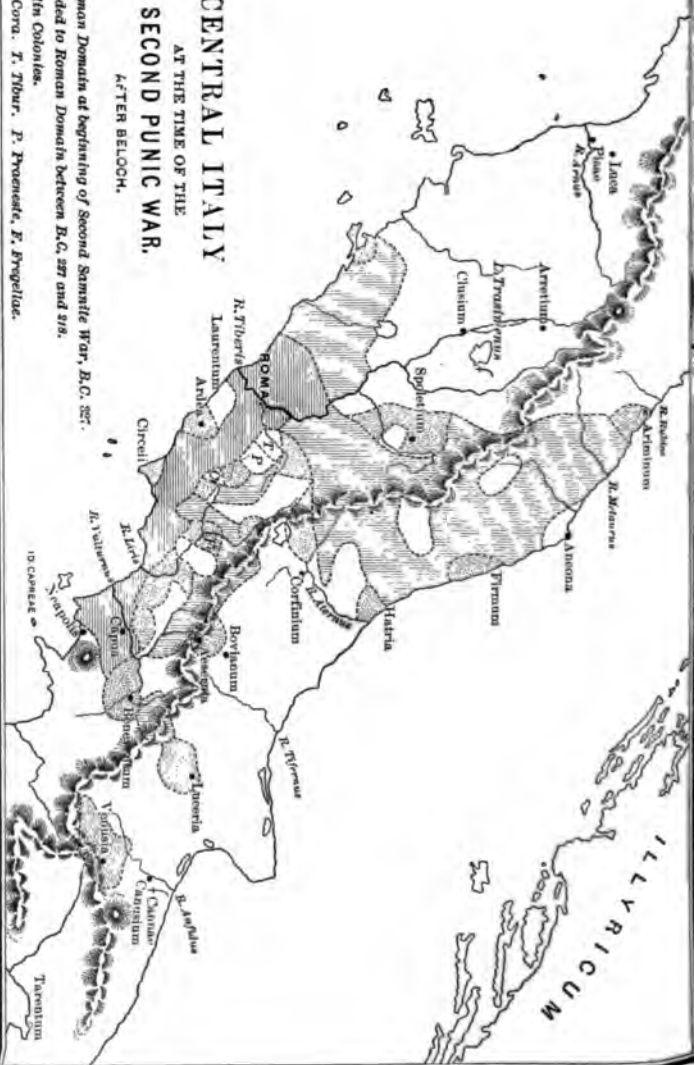
² The accounts of the battle, given by Livy and Polybius, do not allow it to be determined absolutely on which side of the river each army was encamped. It is probable that the Romans were on the right bank, and that the battle took place upon the left.

KITTER BELLOCH.

Added to Roman Domain between B.C. 297 and 218.

Latina Colonias.

C. Cora. T. Tibur. P. Praeneste, F. Fregellae.



and then, while engaged in an unequal fight with Hannibal's well-fed and well-cared-for soldiers, they were suddenly assailed in the flank and rear by fresh troops, who had been placed in ambuscade. The army was cut to pieces, only a remnant escaping to Placentia. The year of Scipio's consulship being now at an end, he repaired to Spain, to join his brother Gnæus.

Invasion of Etruria.—The following year Hannibal B.C. 217. gained a still greater victory. The new consul, Gaius Flaminius (p. 112), had stationed himself at Arretium (*Arezzo*) in the upper valley of the Arno, in order to block Hannibal's passage into Etruria. The position seemed every way a favorable one. But Hannibal always did what was unexpected. Crossing the Apennines early in the spring, long before the passage was thought practicable, he made his way with severe suffering and losses through the marshy region of the lower Arno, and then by a bold flank march placed himself between Flaminius and Rome, giving notice of his position by burning and destroying everything around him. In the passage of the marshes he lost one eye.

Battle of Lake Trasimenus.—Without waiting for his colleague, who was at Ariminum, Flaminius hastily set out in pursuit, only to fall into the trap set for him by the wily Carthaginian. His road led through a narrow defile upon the northern shore of Lake Trasimenus. Here Hannibal prepared his ambuscade, and when the Roman lines, in the early morning, emerged from the defile into the open space beyond, they were furiously assaulted in front, in the rear, and on the flank. A heavy fog prevented them from even seeing their assailants, and they had no escape except into the lake, in which many of them were drowned. The Roman army was annihilated: Flaminius himself was slain by one of those Gauls whose enmity he had incurred by his agrarian law fifteen years before.

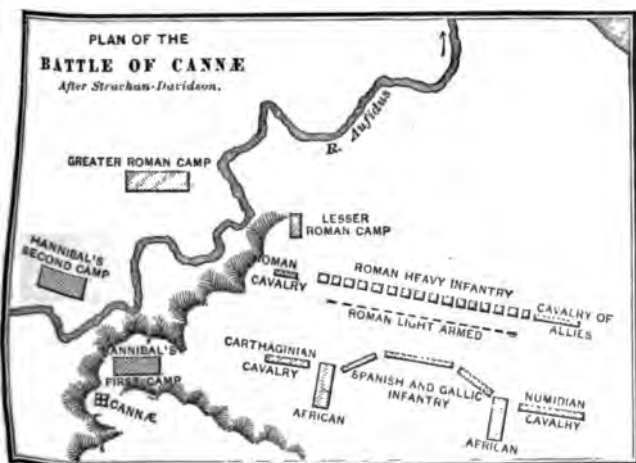
Hannibal in Southern Italy.—After this crushing victory, Hannibal proceeded to Southern Italy, expecting to rally to his support the Sabellian nations of that region, as he had the Gallic tribes of the north. He gave himself out as the champion of

oppressed Italians against their Roman conquerors. whatever Romans or Latins fell into his hands he slew or put in chains, but the citizens of the allied cities he dismissed to their homes, hoping thus to secure their friendship. But he made a mistake similar to that of Napoleon III., when he reckoned upon the support or the neutrality of the southern Germans in his war against Prussia. "Blood is thicker than water." The Sabellian tribes were kinsmen of the Romans, and had no fellowship with the Phœnician invaders. Moreover, they did not feel themselves oppressed. Except for their contributions of troops to the Roman army, they were left to govern themselves as they pleased. Not a city opened its gates to Hannibal; not a tribe allied itself with him.

Fabius Maximus.—In Rome no attempt was made to conceal the extent of the disaster. "We have been beaten in a great battle" was the announcement made by the prætor to the assembled people. It was decided to appoint a dictator and—in the absence of the surviving consul—the people by a formal vote designated Quintus Fabius Maximus for this office. Fabius Maximus was descended from the hero of the Second Samnite War—a man equally illustrious, but of a very different type. The grandfather was distinguished for boldness and enterprise, amounting sometimes to rashness; the dictator was slow and cautious, and by these qualities earned the surname *Cunctator*—"delayer." The "Fabian" policy, which he adopted, was to avoid a general engagement, watch his enemy assiduously, and weary him out with resultless manœuvring. Knowing very well that there was nothing that Hannibal so much desired as a pitched battle, he determined that in this at least he should be disappointed; and in this policy he persisted in spite of the remonstrances of his officers and the people of Rome.

Operations upon the Aufidus.—So the year 217 came to an end with no further decisive actions. The dictator's term of office had expired, and the consuls of the following year were divided in temper and policy. The patrician consul, Lucius Æmilius Paulus, an able and experienced officer, had been taught by the

disasters of former years to recognize Hannibal's genius, as well as the superiority of his troops, especially in cavalry. His plebeian colleague, Gaius Terentius Varro, rash and inexperienced, considered only that his army was twice as large as that of Hannibal, and was determined to force an engagement. The consuls commanded on alternate days, and Hannibal knew very well when it was Varro's day. He had captured the Roman magazines at Cannæ, on the right bank of the Aufidus near its mouth, and the consular army hastened to the spot,



encamping on the left bank of the river, nearer the sea. They established also a smaller camp upon the right bank, for the purpose of watching Hannibal, and preventing foraging. This division of their forces was made safe by their superiority in numbers.

Battle of Cannæ.—On his day of command Varro led his troops from the larger camp and crossed the river, drawing up all his forces in line of battle, facing the south: the Roman cavalry occupied his right wing; that of the allies, the left. The infantry, in the centre, were formed in heavy columns, by which they lost the

second advantage of the manipular arrangement, and there appeared to have been no reserves. Hannibal, too, had his cavalry upon the wings, and his centre was composed of his Spanish and Gallic troops, arranged in the form of a crescent, with its convex side towards the Romans. Between these and the cavalry were the elephants, his chief reliance, drawn up in heavy columns. As soon as the Roman infantry had easily driven in the Spanish and Gallic troops, and were eagerly pursuing them, they found themselves suddenly attacked on both flanks by the Libyans, who were so arranged for this purpose. Their heavy columns, crowded with many lines of assailants, were helpless; and meantime the elephants, at the head of the Carthaginian cavalry, had routed the Roman horse, and now wheeled about, and attacked the Roman infantry. The slaughter was fearful. It is said that Hannibal gave to each Libyan a peck of gold rings, the distinctive ornament of Roman knights. The consul, Æmilius Paulus, Serasidius, and the prætor, C. Claudius, the previous year, two quæstors, twenty-one knights, and twenty-eight senators were slain in the battle.

Results of the Battle.—A few of the survivors made their way to the coast, and the consul, Varro, escaped with a handful of knights to Sicily. And now it seemed as if the expectations of the Carthaginians were at last justified. All Southern Italy joined his army, and Capua, the second city in Italy, received him within its walls. Here he spent the winter, and his army is said to have been greatly demoralized by the luxuries and corruptions of this wealthy town.

CHAPTER XL. TO THE END OF THE WAR, B.C. 201.

News of the Defeat in Rome.—It can be imagined what was the consternation at Rome when the news of this third and most crushing defeat was brought. The city was so full of mourning that the festival of Ceres, celebrated by women, had to be omitted, because it was not lawful for persons in mourning to take part in it, and there were no matrons who were not in mourning: by

an ordinance of the Senate it was directed that mourning should not continue longer than a month. But there was no panic or thought of submission. The Senate refused to ransom the soldiers who had allowed themselves to be captured, but raised new levies, even arming slaves and persons of no repute. The prætor, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, — the best soldier that Rome now had, — was at once despatched to the support of Varro with fresh troops; and never did the Senate display its staunch patriotism more nobly than in voting to thank the consul Varro — its bitter enemy, and the author of the disaster — “because he had not despaired of the republic.”

The Years after Cannæ. — Hannibal, for his part, was now, by the victory of Cannæ and the occupation of Capua, at the summit of his prosperity. For two or three years longer he continued to gain. The year after Cannæ the vener- B.C. 216.
able Hiero, king of Syracuse, the faithful ally of Rome,
died, and his worthless successor carried his city over to
alliance with Carthage. Two years later Tarentum, the B.C. 213.
third city of Italy, was gained by treachery, and in the
same year Hannibal made a treaty with Philip V., king of Mace-
donia, by which the Romans were drawn into the brief and unim-
portant contest known as the
First Macedonian War. But
the great object of his hostility, the Roman empire in Italy,
stood as firm as a rock. Rome
never relaxed its efforts, but
under the leadership of Mar-
cellus, the “sword of Rome,”
and Fabius Maximus, its “shield,” held its own, and began slowly
to win back what it had lost. The Latin colonies never swerved
for a moment from their loyalty.

Capture of Syracuse. — In the year 212 Syracuse was captured
by Marcellus, after a siege of several months. It had been de-
fended chiefly by the genius of the celebrated mathematician



MARCELLUS, THE SWORD OF ROME.

Scipio, however, was determined to continue as before all the efforts which he had hitherto made, and to persevere in reducing it by the same means. He was sensible that the success of the ancients the more he considered, the more he was convinced that Archimedes was the inventor of the great engine, and that he was the first who had put it into practice. But he was sensible that the engine was not yet perfected, and that he was engaged in a war which would not be terminated by the use of it. He was only sensible that the engine was not yet perfected, and that he was engaged in a war which would not be terminated by the use of it.

Scipio's Plan for the Siege of Syracuse. — Scipio, after the fall of Syracuse, was determined to continue as before all the efforts which he had hitherto made, and to persevere in reducing it by the same means. He was sensible that the success of the ancients the more he considered, the more he was convinced that Archimedes was the inventor of the great engine, and that he was the first who had put it into practice. But he was sensible that the engine was not yet perfected, and that he was engaged in a war which would not be terminated by the use of it. He was only sensible that the engine was not yet perfected, and that he was engaged in a war which would not be terminated by the use of it.

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Scipio's Plan for the Siege of Syracuse.

Battle of the Metaurus.—Hannibal was at this time B.C. 207. in the neighborhood of Venusia, in Apulia, watched by the consul Gaius Claudius Nero, while his colleague Marcus Livius was watching for Hasdrubal in the north. Nero waylaid some messengers sent to Hannibal by his brother, and having thus learned of the approach of the invading army, adopted a sudden and bold plan. Leaving the principal part of his army in an intrenched camp, he hastened with a few cohorts of choice troops, succeeded in uniting with Livius before the arrival of Hasdrubal's army, and attacked the enemy at the river Metaurus. This decisive battle was determined by Nero's prompt sagacity. Seeing that on the right wing, where he was placed, the nature of the ground did not allow the free manœuvring of all his troops, he withdrew a portion of them, passed round the rear unnoticed, and fell upon the right flank of the enemy with overwhelming force. The victory was complete, the Carthaginians losing almost as heavily as the Romans at Cannæ. Hasdrubal himself fell in the battle.

Failure of Hannibal.—As soon as the battle was over Nero rapidly led his cohorts back to Venusia, carrying with him the head of Hasdrubal, which was thrown into the camp of Hannibal, and gave him the first news of the disaster. The last hope of success was now gone: it only remained for him to retire into the southern recesses of the peninsula, where he remained until summoned by his country to protect her in turn against invasion.

War in Africa.—The Romans had learned by the experience of this war the folly of constantly changing their commanders. By re-elections and extraordinary commands they had used the services of Fabius and Marcellus for successive years in the critical period of the war. The young Scipio, too, had been kept year after year in Spain, where he learned thoroughly the art of command; and after his consulship his command was B.C. 205. continued to him by the Senate year after year¹ until he

¹ The device of proroguing commands, which might be continued indefinitely, was a salutary corrective to the practice of annual commands.

the Carthaginians, who were a thoroughly subdued, unwarlike people, and who had been "driven into Africa" by the Romans. Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, whose rival, Scipio, had been killed in the last years of warfare between the two nations, was the only one from Carthage to survive the war.

At the battle of Zama, in 202 B.C., Hannibal fought at the head of his army, but he was defeated, and in this



HANNIBAL, 202 B.C.

defeat he fled to the development of the legion: the first rank in the usual order of the *quincunx* consisted of the first ranks of the second rank or line stood close together, he left these spaces open, in order

to be able to retreat at Rome.

Scipio, at any rate certain that at Cannae, fourteen years before, he had been defeated in a crowded mass, incapable of maneuver, decided to follow immediately after Zama, the Roman way of fighting, with its flexibility and efficiency.

that the elephants, of which Hannibal had an unusual number, might not trample upon the close masses of troops, but might find a passage between the divisions. A still more important innovation was to draw up the three lines at a considerable interval from one another. By this the close order of the phalanx was completely abandoned, and the legion acquired its characteristic flexibility, since not only each of the three lines, but each manipular group of maniples (three maniples making a cohort), had now room to manœuvre independently. The result justified his calculations. The light-armed troops, pouring through the open spaces, drove back the elephants in disorder upon the Carthaginian ranks; and at the same time Hannibal's cavalry was routed and driven into flight by the Roman horsemen, aided efficiently by those of Masinissa. Scipio then moved his second and third lines to the right and left, and threw them upon the flanks of the enemy, while his cavalry, returning from the pursuit, assaulted them in the rear, and completed the victory.

The Roman Legion.—The legion remained essentially unaltered from the time of Scipio to that of Marius, a century later. The three lines, the *hastati*, the *principes*, and *triarii*, were, in this period, drawn up at a distance apart, and brought successively into action; but such was the prowess of the Roman soldiers, and the skill with which they were handled, that the *triarii*, or reserves, were seldom called for. The armament too was changed. The short heavy javelin (*pilum*) had already taken the place of the long spear characteristic of the phalanx: and it appears to have been Scipio who armed his troops with the short Spanish sword, with which he had become acquainted in his Spanish wars. The soldier first hurled his javelins (*eminus*) with tremendous force into the ranks of the enemy, and then, drawing his sword, followed up with a hand-to-hand assault (*comminus*)—like a volley of musketry followed by a bayonet charge.

Terms of Peace.—Peace was at once made (201). Spain, with its islands, was surrendered to Rome, and was organized into two provinces, Hither and Farther. Syphax was carried captive to

honorable corps. Then, in drawing up the list of citizens, first, Nero declared Livius an *aerarius*,¹ thus depriving him of his vote in the tribes; and Livius capped the climax of absurdity by degrading the entire Roman people to the same rank, with the exception of the single tribe (*Maccia*) which had voted for his acquittal, giving as his reasons that they had condemned him unjustly, and afterwards, without any new evidence, had made him consul and censor. Of this action, the effect of which would have been to destroy the very framework of government, the consuls of course took no account.

The Worship of the Great Mother. — While Hannibal was still in Italy, it was read in the Sibylline books B.O. 205. (p. 36) that a foreign invader would be obliged to leave the soil of Italy if the Great Mother should be brought to the city; and commissioners were sent to Asia for this purpose. Cybele, the mother of the gods, was the special deity of the Phrygians of Asia Minor, worshipped at Pessinus with noisy and frantic rites. The prophecy directed that the goddess, when brought to Rome, should be formally received by "the best Roman"; and while the commissioners were absent upon their errand, the Senate decided that the best Roman was Publius Scipio,² cousin of Africanus. The chief ally of Rome at this time in Asia was Attalus, king of Pergamus, and by his intervention the priests at Pessinus were persuaded to deliver to the Roman envoys the meteoric stone which symbolized the goddess. It was brought in a ship to Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, where it was delivered to Scipio, and then reverently conveyed to Rome by the matrons who had gathered at Ostia to receive it. The worship of the Great Mother, at about the season of the Vernal Equinox, became one of the favorite cults of the Roman populace, and her processions of priests, clad in Asiatic costume, with noisy chants and beating

¹ This term was applied to those who had no land, and consequently no vote in the tribes (pp. 88-90). For an account of these incidents, see Livy, xxvii. 34; xix. 37.

² Called *Nasica*, from his prominent nose.

of tambourines, begging from the by-standers money for the port of the ritual,¹ was a novel sight in the streets of Rome no means acceptable to the sober-minded votaries of the religion.

¹ All the forms of worship which belonged regularly to the religion of the State were maintained by appropriations of money made by the Senate from the treasury.



ETRUSCAN TOMB AT CORNETO,

Showing the Construction of the Roof with the Impluvium.

CHAPTER X.

THE WARS IN THE EAST.

I. THE SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR.

Foreign Conquest. — The war with Hannibal was followed by a period of about fifty years, occupied with foreign wars, chiefly in the East. In these wars Rome gained many brilliant victories, and acquired an enormous increase of power and territory, so that at the end of the period, B.C. 146, she stood without rival as the first power in the world. But along with the acquisition of foreign dominion and of private treasures, there came deterioration of character and a rapid loss of public spirit. These years, which witnessed the building up of the Roman empire, were the period in which the causes of corruption and downfall were most rapidly developed. Power and wealth became more and more the sole object.

The East: Egypt. — There were at this time three great empires in the East, one in each continent.¹ Egypt, under the Ptolemies, was in friendly relations with Rome, and made the Senate the guardian of its youthful king. It took no active part in the great wars of the age, but the two other great empires, of Asia and Macedonia, were its constant rivals and enemies.

Asia. — All of Western Asia was nominally under the rule of the dynasty of the Seleucidæ,² now under its most powerful king, Antiochus III., the Great: in his time came the collapse of this

¹ See map of the Mediterranean Lands at the beginning of the Second Punic War (p. 114).

² The descendants of Seleucus Nicator (d. B.C. 280), one of the generals of Alexander the Great. At the disruption of Alexander's empire he secured the largest and most important share.

empire. In the far East, upon the Caspian Sea, the Parthians had already achieved their independence: in time they grew to be the great Asiatic power. In Asia Minor Antiochus ruled over the shores of the Mediterranean and the fertile regions of the interior, while the Greek cities upon the Ægean paid him tribute. But in the mountainous regions of the north a group of petty states — Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Galatia, etc. — were practically independent; at Pergamus, in the west, King Attalus ruled over a small but prosperous and well-ordered state; while the island of Rhodes — “the Venice of antiquity” — was a flourishing commercial republic. Both Rhodes and Pergamus, being naturally hostile to Antiochus, were steadfast allies of Rome.

Greece. — The kingdom of Macedonia, now under Philip V., was the third of the great powers of the East. A considerable



PHILIP V.

portion of Greece was subject to him, while other Grecian states maintained their isolation and independence. But the feeling of the necessity of union had gathered most of the Greek states into two confederacies, — the Achæan league, embracing most of the Peloponnesus, and the Ætolian league in Northern Greece.¹ The rude and predatory

Ætolians were allies of Rome from the first; the cautious and conservative Achæans were for a time neutral, but afterwards united with Rome. Thus in the wars which followed, Philip and Antiochus were natural allies, while the independent states of Greece, as well as Rhodes and Pergamus, joined with Rome. By the supineness and preoccupation of Antiochus, Philip was left to contend single-handed against Rome and her allies; and, after the defeat of Philip, Antiochus in his turn was easily overpowered.

Second Macedonian War. — The first of the great series of wars in this period was waged against Philip of Macedon. In this war the decisive battle was fought by Titus Quinctius Flaminius

¹ These leagues had existed for a long time, but were reorganized about the middle of the third century before Christ.

an ordinance of the Senate it was directed that mourning should not continue longer than a month. But there was no panic or thought of submission. The Senate refused to ransom the soldiers who had allowed themselves to be captured, but raised new levies, even arming slaves and persons of no repute. The prætor, Marcus Claudius Marcellus,—the best soldier that Rome now had,—was at once despatched to the support of Varro with fresh troops; and never did the Senate display its staunch patriotism more nobly than in voting to thank the consul Varro—its bitter enemy, and the author of the disaster—"because he had not despaired of the republic."

The Years after Cannæ.—Hannibal, for his part, was now, by the victory of Cannæ and the occupation of Capua, at the summit of his prosperity. For two or three years longer he continued to gain. The year after Cannæ the venerable Hiero, king of Syracuse, the faithful ally of Rome, died, and his worthless successor carried his city over to alliance with Carthage. Two years later Tarentum, the third city of Italy, was gained by treachery, and in the same year Hannibal made a treaty with Philip V., king of Macedonia, by which the Romans were drawn into the brief and unimportant contest known as the First Macedonian War. But the great object of his hostility, the Roman empire in Italy, stood as firm as a rock. Rome never relaxed its efforts, but under the leadership of Marcellus, the "sword of Rome," and Fabius Maximus, its "shield," held its own, and began slowly to win back what it had lost. The Latin colonies never swerved for a moment from their loyalty.

Capture of Syracuse.—In the year 212 Syracuse was captured by Marcellus, after a siege of several months. It had been defended chiefly by the genius of the celebrated mathematician



MARCELLUS, THE SWORD OF ROME.

Archimedes, whose mechanical contrivances foiled all the efforts of the besiegers, so that they were at last forced to reduce it by blockade. According to the savage custom of the ancients the city was given up to pillage, and in the confusion Archimedes perished. Marcellus had wished to spare his life; but he was slain in a passion by an ignorant soldier, who found him engaged in studying diagrams drawn in the sand, and to whom he onely cried out "Don't disturb my circles."¹ Syracuse, with its territory, was now annexed to the Roman province of Sicily.

Capture of Capua and Tarentum.—Before the fall of Syracuse, the Romans had laid siege to Capua, and Hannibal, whose strength was in cavalry, and who was weak in the means of assaulting fortified places, could not succeed in drawing the besieging army from its intrenchments. As a last means of raising the siege, he marched upon Rome, hoping that the besiegers would follow him, in order to defend the city. But the city was found provided with defenders, and the army at Capua never relaxed its grip. B.C. 211. Capua was taken, its leading men were executed, and the city itself deprived of all political rights, being reduced to the rank of a village, and governed by Roman prefects. B.C. 209. Two years later Tarentum fell into the hands of the Romans, and Hannibal's venture was plainly doomed to failure, unless speedy assistance should come.

Affairs in Spain.—Hannibal had left his brother Hasdrubal in Spain, and the war had been waged in that country with varying fortunes. At first the brothers Publius and Gnaeus Scipio, "two thunderbolts of war," had gained great successes; then both had been defeated and killed within a month of each other, and the young Publius Scipio, son of the consul of 218, was elected by the people to command in their place. He soon regained the entire peninsula; but Hasdrubal, after the loss of a great battle, succeeded in eluding the victor, made his way across the Pyrenees, and hastened to the relief of his brother in Italy. In 207 he appeared in the valley of the Po at the head of a large and well-trained army.

¹ *Noli turbare circulos meos!*

Battle of the Metaurus.—Hannibal was at this time B.C. 207. in the neighborhood of Venusia, in Apulia, watched by the consul Gaius Claudius Nero, while his colleague Marcus Livius was watching for Hasdrubal in the north. Nero waylaid some messengers sent to Hannibal by his brother, and having thus learned of the approach of the invading army, adopted a sudden and bold plan. Leaving the principal part of his army in an intrenched camp, he hastened with a few cohorts of choice troops, succeeded in uniting with Livius before the arrival of Hasdrubal's army, and attacked the enemy at the river Metaurus. This decisive battle was determined by Nero's prompt sagacity. Seeing that on the right wing, where he was placed, the nature of the ground did not allow the free manœuvring of all his troops, he withdrew a portion of them, passed round the rear unnoticed, and fell upon the right flank of the enemy with overwhelming force. The victory was complete, the Carthaginians losing almost as heavily as the Romans at Cannæ. Hasdrubal himself fell in the battle.

Failure of Hannibal.—As soon as the battle was over Nero rapidly led his cohorts back to Venusia, carrying with him the head of Hasdrubal, which was thrown into the camp of Hannibal, and gave him the first news of the disaster. The last hope of success was now gone: it only remained for him to retire into the southern recesses of the peninsula, where he remained until summoned by his country to protect her in turn against invasion.

War in Africa.—The Romans had learned by the experience of this war the folly of constantly changing their commanders. By re-elections and extraordinary commands they had used the services of Fabius and Marcellus for successive years in the critical period of the war. The young Scipio, too, had been kept year after year in Spain, where he learned thoroughly the art of command; and after his consulship his command was B.C. 205. continued to him by the Senate year after year¹ until he

¹ The device of proroguing commands, which might be continued indefinitely, was a salutary corrective to the practice of annual commands.

under the heroic race of the Maccabees, had achieved virtue and independence; and now the mighty empire of the Seleucids which had once stretched from the Ægean to the Indus, was reduced to the dimensions and name of Kingdom of Syria.

Wars in the West. — In the fifty years which followed, the Romans were continually engaged in petty campaigns to strengthen their authority in Spain and in Northern Italy, the country of the Gauls and Ligurians. By degrees the whole of Italy up to the Alps was brought firmly under their power. Spain was not fully subdued until later. At the same time a series of contests were carried on in Illyricum, where at last the foundations of a provincial government were laid, although the countries were not completely subdued and organized as a province until a long time after.

The Third Macedonian War. — Notwithstanding the Romans had taken nothing for themselves in the Eastern wars, their allies began to feel jealous and suspicious of their growing strength. The loyalty of Philip of Macedon began to waver, and after his death his son Perseus became actively hostile. In the war that followed the Rhodians remained neutral, but unfriendly; and even Eumenes of Pergamus appeared estranged. This Third Macedonian War was ended by the battle of Pydna,



PERSEUS.

in which the Romans were commanded by Lucius Æmilius Paulus, son of the one who was killed at Cannæ, a man now advanced in years, but of the best Roman type, indomitable and active, and of unblemished integrity. Paulus, bareheaded and lightly armed, was everywhere present, directing and inspiring his troops. Here, as at Cynoscephalæ and Magnesia, the phalanx showed its weakness. It lost its compactness on the uneven ground, and was broken to pieces by the assaults of the Roman cohorts.

The Kingdom of Macedonia overthrown.— Even now, in spite of the growing demoralization of the Roman people, they still refrained from adding to their own dominions. Perseus was carried a prisoner to Rome, where he graced the triumphal procession of Æmilius Paulus. His kingdom ceased to exist ; and its territories were divided into four republics, which for about twenty years enjoyed a show of independence under the protection of Rome.



THE SO-CALLED DYING GLADIATOR.

In reality a wounded Gaul: a work of Pergamene art, showing the *torques* about the neck (p. 78).

Rome, and Masinissa recognized as independent king of Numidia, with territories enclosing those of Carthage on the south as well as the west: from this time, for more than fifty years, he was a steadfast and serviceable ally of Rome. Carthage gave up all her war-vessels except twenty, and paid a war indemnity of 4000 talents (\$5,000,000), besides 200 talents (\$250,000) annually for fifty years. Rome was now the only power in the Western Mediterranean. Scipio, from his conquest of Africa, received the surname *Africanus*.

Hannibal. — Hannibal's career was not ended by the battle of Zama. He proved himself as great in peace and in the field of administration, as in the conduct of war. His financial reforms and economical administration enabled his countrymen not only to pay the indemnity to Rome, but rapidly to regain
 B.C. 195. their old prosperity. Again the animosity of Hannibal appeared a menace to Rome, and the Senate sent an embassy to Carthage, probably to demand his surrender. He escaped and took refuge in the court of King Antiochus, where he became the leading counsellor of that monarch in taking up war against Rome.

Livius and Nero. — Livius and Nero, the victors upon the Metaurus, were personal enemies. Livius had been condemned and heavily fined by the popular assembly, shortly before the war, for some offence, the precise nature of which is not known, and had retired in dudgeon to his country estate, where he lived in solitude, a morose and misanthropic life. The censors had forced him to return to the city, to shave his beard and put on decent clothes, and to take his seat again in the Senate. He was then
 B.C. 204. elected consul, and did a man's duty in the office. But he had not forgotten his grievance. Three years later the caprice of the elections made the two men colleagues again, in the censorship. In the exercise of their duties their enmity broke out in spiteful and unseemly factiousness. In the review of the cavalry each censor ordered his colleague to sell his horse (*equum vendere*), the technical expression for removal from that

and glory, party spirit began to show itself again, and reached a pitch of unscrupulous violence which at last tore the republic in pieces.

Scipio. — The leading representative of the nobility in its best estate was Scipio Africanus (B.C. 234–183), one of the few men of genius whom the republic produced, the one to whom was due the successful conduct of the wars against Hannibal and Antiochus. He was a man of magnanimous temper, honorable in his dealings, and temperate in his life, but proud in the consciousness of integrity and the intuitions of genius. In public affairs he favored the policy of limiting the empire to its natural boundaries, Italy and the neighboring coasts and islands, leaving the more distant lands independent, but under the leadership of Rome.

Cato. — The most conspicuous leader of the opposition was Marcus Porcius Cato (B.C. 232–147), better known as Cato the Censor, for the severity with which he exercised the functions of this office. Cato was a peasant by birth, and his Sabine farm was near that of the great peasant-statesman of a century before, Manius Curius; and he took him for his type. But while he resembled his model in personal integrity, energy, and ability in war and statesmanship, adding to these a shrewdness and homely wit which distinguish him among all Romans, he was devoid of generosity and nobility of character. For nearly half a century he was the leading politician of Rome; and it is during these fifty years that the changed character of the Romans, the predominance of low and self-seeking motives, both in public and private life, becomes apparent. Cato contended vigorously against these tendencies; but he fought against symptoms rather than against the disease itself, and the indirect influence of his character was to emphasize more and more the selfish and ungenerous features of Roman policy. In opposition to the policy of Scipio, he favored the subjugation of foreign states and the extension of the mischievous provincial system — the chief cause of Roman deterioration; and his last public act was to hound on his countrymen to the destruction of Carthage.

Exile of Scipio. — This spirit of faction found its first expression in a charge brought against the two Scipios of misappropriating the public funds, in failing to account for the treasures gained in the war against Antiochus. Of the facts of the case we know very little. Africanus proudly refused to render an account (which he was under no legal obligation to do), tore the papers in pieces in the presence of the people, and reminding them that it was the anniversary of the battle of Zama, invited them to follow him to the Capitol, and offer thanks to the gods. He then withdrew to his estate at Liternum, where he died four years later, forbidding his body to be taken to his native city for burial. The condemnation of Asiaticus was prevented by the intercession of the tribune Gracchus, a personal enemy.

Greek Influence. — It was at this period of the earliest close connection between Rome and Greece that the Romans first felt strongly the charm of Greek art and literature and the power of Greek speculation. As was natural, it was among the nobles, men like Scipio and Flamininus, that this influence was most strongly felt; and we can well believe that men of their type brought home with them what was best and most ennobling of Grecian creations. But it was not so with all. The Greeks were not what they had once been; and their art, literature, and philosophy at this age possessed no elevating or ennobling power, but were positive sources of corruption. Men like Cato, partly from narrow prejudice, partly from a clear vision of the dangers, set themselves against the fashionable Greek culture of the day: of course without effect. Their opposition was speedily justified by the discovery of gross indecencies and crimes connected with the secret worship of Bacchus, a degradation of the religious sentiment even below the standard of the noisy and orgiastic rites of the Great Mother (p. 129). An inquiry was set on foot by the Senate, numerous persons were punished, and severe laws were passed; but without much effect, for the cause of the evil was in the growing debasement of character.

The Roman Comedy. — One phase of this Greek influence has

left a permanent record in works of literature, — the earliest works of Roman literature which we possess in any completeness. The Romans displayed little originality or creative power; but they attained great success in translating from the Greek, and these translations from the Greek comedians are partly preserved. The principal Roman comedian of this period was Plautus (B.C. 254–184), twenty of whose plays, free translations from Menander and other Greeks, are extant. These comedies present a picture of life which is neither Greek nor Roman, but a mixture of the two, lively and graphic, full of fun, sometimes gross. As a treasure of pure Latinity these plays of Plautus are invaluable. A generation later came Terence (B.C. 195–159), six of whose plays are preserved. These too are translated from the Greek, and they no doubt present the elegance and geniality of the original more truthfully than the coarse and rollicking plays of Plautus.

Cato's Treatise upon Agriculture. — Another work which has come down to us entire from this period deserves special mention, both as the earliest specimen of Latin prose, as the composition of a very distinguished man, and as a work very characteristic of the Roman genius. This is Cato's treatise upon agriculture; he composed a number of other works, especially the *Origines*, upon early Italian history, but this is the only one extant. As we have seen (p. 100), agriculture was held in great honor among the Romans. A treatise upon this subject by the Carthaginian Mago had been translated into Latin by order of the Senate. Cato's work upon agriculture is a short and dry treatise, of no literary merit, and so purely technical in its details that its value to us is chiefly in indicating the bent of the Roman mind at this period and the general character of Roman industry.

The Basilica Porcia. — The construction of a new court-house by Cato was an important event in the architectural history of Rome. The law-courts had hitherto been held upon the Forum, wherever the praetor saw fit to set up his tribunal. But the Forum was now becoming crowded, and the business of the courts

was liable to be interrupted by bad weather or out-door noises. Cato therefore, in his censorship, bought land upon the comitium, between the Senate-house and the Capitoline, and on it erected a hall for the courts of justice, called *Basilica Porcia*. The style of building was that of a long hall divided lengthwise by two rows of columns.¹ Several other basilicas were in the course of time erected upon the unoccupied sides of the Forum and elsewhere, and this form of building was afterwards adopted for the Christian churches.

Wars with Greece and Africa. — By the three great wars in the East, Rome had gained prestige and wealth, but no increase of territory. But the time had now come when she was to seize into her hands the dominion over the whole Mediterranean. The capture and destruction of two cities in the same year, Carthage and Corinth, mark the sudden advance of the great republic to the summit of power.

Province of Macedonia. — The order of things established in Macedonia after the battle of Pydna (p. 136) did not long continue. An impostor, calling himself Philip, son of Perseus, excited an insurrection which was easily suppressed; and Macedonia, in the year 146, was converted into a Roman province. In the same year a war, into which the Achæan cities had rashly entered, was brought to an end by the consul Lucius Mummius. The war had been caused in part by insults offered to Roman ambassadors in Corinth; and now the Senate showed how far it had degenerated from the ancient Roman character, by ordering the complete destruction of this city, the most populous in Greece, and the seat of the most flourishing commerce. An enormous quantity of works of art were carried to Rome. The city ceased to exist, and its commercial preponderance was transferred to the Islands of Rhodes and Delos. The states and cities of Greece were left to govern themselves, but were required to pay an annual tribute,

¹ It is seen in the oldest churches of Rome, such as that of Santa Maria Maggiore; the foundations of the Basilica Julia, built by Julius and Augustus Cæsar on the south side of the Forum, are well preserved.

and were placed under the administration of the governor of Macedonia.¹

Third Punic War.—In the same year as the destruction of Corinth, the Senate committed an even greater crime in the destruction of the ancient rival of Rome, Carthage. The prosperity and steadily increasing wealth of Carthage excited the jealousy and hatred of a party at Rome, of which the aged Cato was the leader; his hatred of Carthage was so bitter that he ended every speech, on whatever subject, with the words, "It is my judgment that Carthage should be blotted out."² With the connivance of the Roman government, the Numidian king, Masinissa, now nearly ninety years old, but as active and energetic as a young man, picked a quarrel with Carthage; and in the war that followed he gained a decided victory. B.O. 162.

Bad Faith of the Romans.—War with an ally of Rome was a breach of the treaty of peace, and the Romans did not hesitate to seize upon this pretext for the destruction of their rival. All the old spirit of magnanimity and good faith had disappeared from the public policy of Rome, and nothing in the whole course of its history displays a more cold-blooded brutality than its treatment of Carthage now. War was declared; but the Carthaginians, weakened and humbled, B.O. 149. were anxious to avert war by any concession. They were ordered first to give three hundred hostages, young men of their noblest families. When these had been delivered, they were commanded further to give over all their engines and munitions of war. These were brought to Utica, the Roman headquarters, and delivered,—more than 200,000 sets of armor, 2000 war-engines, and an enormous amount of stores. Then they were informed that their city must be destroyed: their liberties and their municipal independence were preserved to them, they were to continue in possession of their territory, and they might build

¹ In the time of Augustus Greece was separated from Macedonia, and organized as an independent province by the name of Achaia.

² "*Censeo Karthaginem esse delendam.*"

a new city, but it must be at least ten miles from the sea. There must be no more commercial rivalry.

Siege of Carthage. — This announcement filled the people of Carthage with indignation and fury. They laid aside all dissensions, and united in the defence of their country. Every forge and workshop was busy night and day. The women cut off their hair for bow-strings, the public buildings were stripped of timber and metal for material, and when, after a month's delay, the Romans appeared before the walls, they were astonished to find the city in a complete state of defence.

Scipio Æmilianus. — The Carthaginians, excited to a fiery energy, were more than a match for their assailants; and the siege was protracted for three years. It was not until the **B.C. 147.** young Scipio took command that the contest began to turn in favor of the Romans. Publius Cornelius Scipio was the son of Æmilius Paulus, the victor at Pydna, but had been adopted by the son of the elder Africanus, whose name he took. He is known by the surname Æmilianus, denoting his birth; also as Africanus, from his conquest of Africa. He was not a man of the genius of the elder Africanus; but by his uprightness of character, well-balanced powers, and moderation of temper, he deserves to be regarded as the leading Roman of his time. Like others of his family, he was not in sympathy with the vindictive spirit of Cato, but would have been glad to preserve Carthage as a worthy rival of Rome. In the spirit of an obedient citizen, he carried out a policy of destruction which he did not approve. Knowing that Scipio alone was capable of carrying the war to a successful issue, the Roman people, in spite of his being under the legal **B.C. 147.** age, elected him to the consulship, and gave him sole command in Africa.

Destruction of Carthage. — Scipio pushed the siege with energy and consummate skill. First, he closed the harbor by a mole ~~==~~ ninety-six feet wide; and when the Carthaginians cut through ~~==~~ new passage, he invested the city completely by new ~~==~~ **B.C. 146.** earthworks on the land side. The next spring he ~~h~~

proceeded to the assault. The Romans fought their way into the city ; but, even when they were within the walls, it took six days to fight their way through the streets to the foot of the citadel. Less than 60,000 out of a population of half a million were now left to surrender. The lives of all but Roman deserters was spared ; but the city, by command of the Senate, was burned. As Scipio gazed upon the fire which raged for seventeen days—the work of his own hands, but which he detested—he thought to himself that such might one day be the fate of his own city ; and he repeated thoughtfully the lines of Homer :

“ Yet come it will, the day decreed by fate,
The day when thou, imperial Troy, must bend,
And see thy warriors fall, thy glories end.” — *Iliad*, vi. 448.

The territory possessed by Carthage at the time of its fall was made the Province of Africa, with Utica as its capital.

Colony of Carthage.—The plough was passed through the soil, and the spot was solemnly cursed. Nevertheless so favorable a situation for trade did not long remain deserted.

A few years later Gaius Gracchus sent a colony to the B.C. 122. spot, which now received the name Junonia. It did not prosper at first, but was renewed by Augustus, who sent there three thousand new colonists ; and under the empire it again became a seat of commerce and civilization. In the later empire Carthage was once more the chief city of Africa.

The Roman Empire.—The dominion of Rome in the Mediterranean was now complete. Besides the territory of Carthage, its empire embraced the entire peninsulas of Greece, Italy, and Spain. There remained independent upon the coasts of the Mediterranean (besides the barbarous tribes of Africa, Gaul, Thrace, and Asia Minor), only the kingdoms of Egypt, Syria and Pergamus, the republic of Rhodes, and in the West the republic of Massilia (*Marseilles*). This was a Greek colony of the best type, worthy to be compared with Rhodes, a seat of wealth and culture, ruling over a large tract of territory on both sides of the mouth of the Rhone. But all these states, even if they could have been

united, were no match for the power of Rome. East of Syria, the Parthian empire had now pushed its conquests to the Euphrates and the Arabian Desert, and was preparing to take its historical place as rival empire to that of Rome.

Province of Asia. — A few years after the conquest of Greece and Carthage, Attalus III., the last king of Pergamus, B.C. 133. died, by his will bequeathing his dominions to the Roman people. As these dominions comprised all the western portion of Asia Minor, including the most fertile and populous regions of that peninsula, together with the great Greek cities upon the coast, Smyrna, Ephesus, Miletus, and others, this was a step of the first importance in building up the empire of the Roman republic.



SUOVETAURILIA.

PERIOD OF CIVIL DISSENSIONS.

CHAPTER XII.

THE GRACCHI.

I. THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMICAL CONDITION OF ITALY.

Decay of Republicanism. — It is a sign of the decay of genuine republicanism in Rome, and the approach of autocratic government, that from this time on its history centres about the names of individuals. Scipio Æmilianus was the last great Roman who embodied the spirit and the traditions of the republic; and he cannot be taken as a type of the corrupt and greedy age in which he lived. The century which still remained of the life of the republic can be best related in connection with six names, with which we may successively associate the events of their times. These are: the Gracchi, Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Cæsar, and Octavian.

Causes of Decay. — During the half century that had passed since the overthrow of Hannibal at Zama, there had been a rapid deterioration of the Roman people, and a rapid growth of misgovernment and social injustice. From these causes there now broke out civil dissensions of the most bitter character, speedily resulting in bloodshed, riot, civil war, and at last the destruction of the republic itself. The causes of these evils may be described under three heads,—the government of the provinces, the government of Italy, and the occupation of the land.

I. The Government of the Provinces. — It has been already shown that the Roman provincial system was a fruitful cause of mischief. It could not, in the nature of things, be otherwise. Power, joined with effective responsibility, sobers its possessor,

and makes him cautious and conservative ; but irresponsible power always produces recklessness and corruption. Now the Roman people were the irresponsible masters of the provinces, and they vested their governors with a practically irresponsible authority over the persons and property of the inhabitants of the provinces. The provinces were looked upon only as mines, from which the Romans should derive profit. The revenues derived from them not only made it possible to relieve the Roman people from taxation, but even to support them in idleness. From the time of the Second Macedonian War no tribute, or land-tax, was levied upon Roman citizens until the very close of the republic ; and distributions of corn, either gratuitous or at a reduced rate, became more and more common. This was the lawful revenue of the state, even if gained by extortion and used for corruption ; but besides this the governors made it their object, during their terms of office, to enrich themselves with unlawful plunder.

Abuses of Administration. — For these abuses the provincials had no redress, because cruelties and extortions exercised upon them were not regarded as crimes by the Roman law, while their own courts of justice had no authority over their foreign rulers. Lucius Flamininus, the brother of the victor at Cynoscephalæ, when commanding an army in Cisalpine Gaul, caused a noble Gaul, a fugitive in his camp, to be beheaded, not for any offence, but to gratify with the spectacle one of his favorites, who, to follow him to the camp, had been obliged to miss the gladiatorial shows. Flamininus was removed from the Senate by the censors for immorality, but the courts had no power to punish him.

B.C. 149. Establishment of the Court of *Repetundæ*. — At last the abuses of administration became unbearable, and at the time of the Third Punic War a special court was organized in Rome for the trial of provincial governors for oppression and extortion. This was called the court of *Repetundæ* (trial for extortion). Something was accomplished by this ; but as the judges of the court were taken from the Senate, and the provincial governors were also members of the Senate, — that is, of the ruling

nobility,—class interests stood, for the most part, in the way of any effective administration of justice.

II. The Government of Italy.—The government of Italy was no better, except that the Italian states were not placed under Roman governors, and were not called upon for contributions of money ; but the arrogance and greediness of Roman officials were seen everywhere, and there was no effective machinery for bringing them within reach of the law. On one occasion, when the consul with his wife was on a visit at Teanum, a free town of Campania, the wife took a whim to bathe in the men's baths, which were consequently prepared for her use. But as she complained that she was kept waiting over long, and that the bath was not sufficiently clean, the magistrate of the town, its leading citizen, was stripped and flogged in the market-place. A young official, passing in a litter through the territory of Venusia,—a Latin colony, and therefore a free town,—was met by a herdsman, who asked jestingly whether they were carrying a corpse. The young man, inflamed at the insult, ordered the litter to stop ; and the unfortunate herdsman was flogged to death. These two incidents, narrated in a speech of Gaius Gracchus, show the temper in which Italy was now governed, and enable us to understand how it was that the loyalty which had steadfastly resisted Hannibal was by degrees changed into hostility. The principal Latin colony, Fregellæ, was driven at length to revolt, was captured by treachery, deprived of municipal rights, and reduced to B.C. 125. the rank of a village.

III. The Land Question.—During the period just passed a great change had taken place in the social condition of the Italian people. Before the wars with Carthage Italy was a country of small peasants, simple, industrious, living by the labor of their hands. It was now transformed into a country of great landed estates, owned by rich noblemen, and cultivated by slaves. In the mountain regions, especially in the territories of the allies, there still existed a peasantry of the old stamp ; and the municipal towns were the seat of vigorous self-government. But in the

Roman domain and in the territories of many of the allied cities the rule of the nobles was unrestricted, and all independent proprietorship was being rapidly swallowed up in their plantations. The change is well illustrated in the contrast between Cato, the peasant statesman of the present period, and Curius, the peasant statesman of the century before. Curius was a yeoman, Cato was a planter. He owned large estates of land, which he cultivated with the labor of hard-worked slaves; and when his slaves were old and broken down with toil, he remorselessly sold them for what they would bring, that he might not be burdened with the care of their maintenance.

Slavery in Italy. — A new type of slavery had come into existence, and a new system of agriculture. In the old days the slave, a captive from some Italian nation, of the same race as his owner, was a member of his household, and worked by his side in the fields. There was no large market, and no large profits were expected; but every household earned its own livelihood. The greed of gain had now seized upon all classes. When the peasants were crowded out of their homesteads, the great plantation that took the place of these was cultivated purely for the profit of its owner, and with little care for the interests of the cultivators. Slave labor cost the planter less than free labor; his slave could not be called away for military service as a hired laborer could; and it was no concern of his what became of the free peasants who had been superseded by slaves. It is a well-established truth that free labor cannot exist by the side of slave labor, any more than good money can circulate by the side of bad; and no nation has illustrated this truth more fully than the Roman republic.

Causes of the Change; 1. War. — The process of building up great estates at the expense of the small freeholds no doubt began very early, and was held somewhat in check by the Licinian laws (p. 75), which regulated the amount of public land that any person could occupy, and required the employment of a certain proportion of free labor. The rapid economic changes and rise of prices at the time of the First Punic War (p. 101) gave a fresh

impulse to the movement, and inspired a spirit of reckless speculation. But the change must have been greatly hastened by the devastations of the Second Punic War, when Hannibal traversed the lands of Central Italy year after year, burning and destroying wherever he went. Hannibal did not destroy the power of Rome, as he expected; but he did her a vital injury in annihilating the peasantry, and reducing great districts of territory to a condition in which they easily fell into the hands of capitalists and speculators. Within a very few years after the close of this war we find slave revolts in Apulia, showing that here B.C. 185. the prevalence of slave labor was already complete. In 135 there was a formidable insurrection of slaves in Sicily, which lasted until 132.

2. Force and Fraud. — It was not merely as a result of the devastations of war that the peasant freeholds vanished. There were of course voluntary sales, the small farmer not being able to compete with his wealthy neighbor in the present speculative system of husbandry. But a great proportion of the changes were wrought by force and fraud. In the secluded parts of the peninsula it was not easy for a peasant to hold his own against the chicanery, and even the positive violence, of the nobleman who wished his land. The story of Naboth's vineyard was repeated again and again in these rural communities; and even more than a hundred years later Horace describes, in glowing language, the rapacity of the proprietor who tears up the boundary stones of his neighbor, and drives from their home the husband and wife and ragged children, carrying with them the images of their household gods.¹

The Public Domain. — This process was assisted by the continued occupation of the public lands, in the neglect of the restrictions imposed by the Licinian legislation (p. 75). It is true a large part of the conquered territory was employed in the establishment of colonies, both Latin and Roman. But

¹ *quid quod usque proximos revellis agri terminos et ultra*

limites clientium salis avarus? pellitur paternos

in sinu ferens deos et uxor et vir sordidosque natos. — OD. ii. 18, 23.

what remained became the prey of wealthy nobles or of capitalists. In the Second Punic War the state had to borrow large sums from capitalists; and when they pressed for their pay, there was no resource but to mortgage to them all the public lands within fifty miles of Rome.¹ Public lands which had once in this way come into the hands of private persons were not likely ever to be redeemed.

The Grazing Industry. — It soon appeared that the great estates which had been thus built up could be more profitably employed in grazing than in agriculture. A single slave could guard the herds and flocks, over an extent of land which had contained many homesteads of free peasants. Cato, when asked what was the most profitable branch of industry, answered, "Successful cattle-raising." What next? "Moderately successful cattle-raising." What next? "Unsuccessful cattle-raising." When the sole object was pecuniary profit, it was easy to see that, as slave labor was cheaper than free labor, so a few slaves, engaged in herding flocks, were more profitable than a large number engaged in cultivating the soil. So there took place an eviction of householders, a levelling of cottages, and an annihilation of agriculture, such as, for the same objects, took place in England in the time of the Tudors, and, for the sake of game, in Northern Scotland during the present century. This abandonment of agriculture was made possible by the foreign conquests. The provinces were required to contribute corn to the capital, and the Roman people were able to live upon the forced tribute of foreign nations.

The City Proletariat.² — From this we learn what became of the dispossessed peasants. Having no longer any home, they had nothing to do but to throng to the city, where they helped to swell

¹ Livy, xxxi. 13.

² Cic. de Off. ii. 25, 89.

³ The term *proletarius* (producer of children) was given to those citizens who, by the smallness of their property (under 1500 *asses* = \$15.00) were exempted from taxes, and served among the light-armed troops.

the rapidly increasing throng of the idle and worthless. They lived now, not upon the honest labor of their hands, but upon the plunder of the provinces. It was the provincial system which made it possible to turn Italy into pastures and pleasure grounds. From the time of the Second Punic War distributions of corn to the people, either gratuitously or at reduced rates, became more and more the practice.

The Publicans.—The proud aristocracy of Rome was, therefore, now given up to the eager pursuit of gain, by methods which undermined the well-being of the Italian people. By the side of this land-holding aristocracy there had grown up a body of rich capitalists, which formed a second aristocracy, even more sordid than the first, for their capital was not employed in productive labor, but in speculation and financiering. These capitalists, uniting in joint stock companies, and called *publicani*, contracted for the construction of public works and the collection of indirect revenues, such as salt works, mines, and public pastures. This was all very well; but in certain of the provinces the system of collecting direct taxes, through the instrumentality of these companies was adopted. This wasteful and oppressive system of "farming the revenues," as it was called, was in use in France in the last century, and was a leading cause of the French Revolution. The publicans contracted for a round sum to be paid into the treasury, and then squeezed out of the people all that they could, putting the surplus into their own coffers; it is easy then to understand the hatred with which they were regarded by the people of Judea, as expressed in the New Testament. As early as the close of the war with Hannibal, we find contractors of this class punished for B.C. 196. fraud; and it is easy to see, as time went on, that the unfortunate provincials would suffer as severely from the greedy publicans as from the oppressive governors.

II. TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

The Family of Gracchus. — Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus was a young man of a noble plebeian family, distinguished for ability, honor, and public spirit. His father had been governor
B.C. 179. of Spain for two years, and had not only strengthened the Roman dominion in that country, but had gained the entire confidence and affection of the natives by his justice and humanity. Before this, as tribune, he had defended the two Scipios against their assailants (p. 140), and had afterwards married Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus, the well-known "mother of the Gracchi." Of their large family only three grew to maturity, two sons, Tiberius and Gaius, and a daughter, Sempronia, who was married to her cousin, Scipio Æmilianus. She was unattractive and ill-tempered, and they did not live happily together.

Wars in Spain. — The young Tiberius had served in the armies of Spain, a country which, by the turbulence of its natives and the atrocious misrule of its Roman governors, was a seat of almost constant warfare. There had been a formidable uprising among the Lusitanians (in modern Portugal) headed by Viriathus, a man of heroic character, who maintained himself against the
B.C. 139. power of Rome for eight years, until he was assassinated. Before the war with Viriathus was at an end the city of Numantia revolted, and withstood a siege of ten years,
B.C. 133. when it was at last reduced by Scipio Æmilianus, the conqueror of Carthage. It was at the siege of Numantia that Tiberius Gracchus, then quæstor, first distinguished himself, and showed that he possessed his father's high qualities.

Plans of Gracchus. — On his return to Rome Gracchus had occasion to pass through Etruria, and was impressed by the condition of things described in the last section, — the disappearance or impoverishment of the peasantry, the growth of enormous estates, and the prevalence of slave labor. It was plain to him, as to all clear-sighted Romans, that if this went on the republic

could not endure ; but where others were content to mourn the degeneracy of the times, Gracchus determined to seek a remedy. It favored his purposes that he was a plebeian, for he was thus able to hold the office of tribune, an office which made him the especial representative of the people, and which more than any other put it in his power to embody his ideas in legislation. He was elected tribune for the year 133.

The Agrarian Law. — It appeared to Gracchus that the public lands which were in the occupation of individuals might be made the agency for creating anew an Italian peasantry ; in this reviving the policy of Spurius Cassius (p. 48). The Licinian law, which limited the amount of these lands to be occupied by any individual (p. 75), had fallen into oblivion ; and the great estates which had been built up were largely composed of lands of this class, which were legally the property of the state. It was the plan of Gracchus to enforce this law, reduce the occupations to the lawful amount, and make use of the public lands thus resumed in providing households for landless citizens. In order, however, that his measure might not bear too hard upon those who had present possession of the lands, he provided that each of these might retain, in addition to the five hundred *jugera* permitted by the earlier law, two hundred and fifty for each son—not, however, to exceed one thousand in all. The lands thus resumed were to be divided into lots of thirty *jugera* (15 acres), and granted to both citizens and Italians in perpetual lease ; it was feared that if they could be sold, they would soon be swallowed up in the great plantations, as the original homesteads had been.

The Tribunate. — This project of law came near being thwarted by one of the most absurd and mischievous features of the Roman constitution. The tribunes, ten in number, were originally appointed in order to protect individual citizens against magistrates who were disposed to abuse their enormous power (p. 43). For this purpose each of the ten was enabled, by his simple intervention, to block the action of any magistrate, even of his colleague. This had been a salutary power during the contest of the orders ; but

now that the tribunes had ceased to be the representatives of an order, and were, like the rest of the magistrates, regular organs of the government and agents of the Senate, — the requirement of plebeian birth having now no real meaning or object, — such a power as this was a mere instrument of anarchy, enabling a single factious member of the board to block the wheels of government.

Passage of the Law. — On this occasion Marcus Octavius, a colleague and old friend of Gracchus, interposed his veto, and thus brought the plan of legislation to nought. Gracchus employed all his powers of persuasion, but to no effect; and, desperate at the threatened failure of his cherished scheme, he, like many other impatient reformers, felt that he could not wait for a more favorable opportunity, but must attain his end by a violation of law. The Roman constitution made no provision for removing a magistrate from office, except the voluntary act of abdication. Impeachment, which with us must be brought against a person while in office, could not in Rome be brought until the offender had retired from office: even if, like the Decemvirs and the Censor Claudius (p. 59 and 89), a magistrate continued in office after his term had expired, there was no legal remedy. Gracchus, however, made up his mind to remove from office his contumacious colleague. This was done by a vote of the tribal assembly. The law relating to the public lands was then passed, and its execution entrusted to a board of three commissioners, — Tiberius himself, his younger brother Gaius, and his father-in-law, Appius Claudius. It did not seem safe to trust the execution of a law so vital, and an object of such fierce opposition, to any but those who ardently desired its success.

Death of Gracchus. — A violation of law in the interest of personal ambition is very likely to be successful, because the interested party is bound by no scruples as to how far he may push his encroachments; but a violation of law for good ends is almost sure to fail, because it at once shows inconsistency, and excites suspicion of personal motives. Gracchus' illegal act had placed him in the wrong, and he soon found himself helpless. Nothing could

save him from impeachment but to continue in office a second year, and that too was illegal. He presented himself for reelection, with the offer of new favors to the people; among them that the recently acquired treasures of King Attalus (p. 146) should be given to the new land-holders for the purchase of stock and tools. But it was to no avail; the nobles were determined to have his life. A "mob of gentlemen," headed by Scipio Nasica,¹ grandson of the one who had been, seventy years before, pronounced the best Roman (p. 129), attacked Gracchus, and beat him to death with the fragments of broken benches.

End of the Commission. — Nevertheless the commissioners proceeded to their work, took possession, in the name of the state, of such lands as were clearly held in contravention of the law, and divided them among actual settlers. But soon questions of title were raised. There were many estates in which, from the length of occupation and the variety of modes of acquisition, it was impossible to decide readily what was public land and what private. The functions of the commissioners were not only administrative, in assigning lands, but judicial, in determining titles. Complaints were raised against them; and, on the proposition of Scipio Æmilianus, who had now returned from the capture of Numantia, the right to decide questions of ownership was taken away from them, and vested in the consuls. As B.C. 129, the consuls had enough to do, in their regular duties, without undertaking the settlement of these delicate questions, this was equivalent to abolishing the commission. Its work was at an end, because no more land was given it to distribute.

Result of the Reforms. — Nevertheless, the reform of Tiberius Gracchus did not perish with its author. His place upon the commission had been filled, and by its action about eighty thousand citizens and allies had been provided with homesteads. Thus Italy was redeemed, so far as, under the circumstances, it

¹ This Scipio Nasica, nicknamed Serapio, is in his youth one of the characters in Ebers' *Sisters*; the characterization is good, but the incidents improbable.

could be redeemed. It is probable that any further resumption and distribution of lands would have worked more mischief than good. However that may be, the man who had arrested the proceedings, Scipio Æmilianus, at once lost his popularity, and was shortly after found dead in his bed.¹ It was suspected that Gaius Carbo, a member of the commission, and a profligate demagogue, was his murderer.

III. GAIUS GRACCHUS.

B.O. 123. Gaius Gracchus. — Ten years after his brother, Gaius Gracchus entered upon the office of tribune, which he held for two years, it having now been made legal to hold this office in successive years. He was superior to Tiberius in intellect and in eloquence, more vehement in nature, and more inclined to violent measures, while his naturally fiery disposition had been further inflamed by his brother's tragical death. The two years of his tribunate were marked by a bitter contest with the part of the aristocracy, by sweeping measures of reform, — some of them very questionable in policy, — and at last by an end even more tragical than that of his brother.

Reforms of Gaius Gracchus. — The reforms of Tiberius Gracchus had worked great benefit to the Italian people, by placing a check to the growth of great properties, and bringing into existence a numerous peasantry of the ancient type. But they were reforms which did not go far below the surface. The causes of decay, in the selfishness and unbridled power of the nobility, the destructive system of slave labor, the corrupting influence of the provincial system, and the entire inadequacy of the Roman constitution, were still in full operation; and temporary remedies, like those of Tiberius, could work only temporary benefit. Gaius Gracchus saw that what was needed was a fundamental change

¹ Scipio, who sympathized with the motives of Tiberius, but disapproved of his actions, had, on hearing of his death, exclaimed in the words of Homer: "So perish whoever else may act in like manner."

in the organic life of the community, and his legislation was devised for this end. In this clearness of vision, and in the singleness of purpose with which he set about his end, consists his greatness as a statesman; but he had the limitations of his age, as well as of his personality, and was guilty of fatal mistakes. Some of his measures were wise and salutary, others only aggravated the evils they were designed to remedy.

The Evils to be remedied. — He saw, no doubt, as others had done long before him, that slave labor was ruinous to the interests of the free population; but slave labor was so completely ingrained in ancient society that it would have been impossible to be rid of it, even if such a thing had occurred to them. The provincial system too had now become fastened upon the Roman people, and Gaius does not appear to have recognized that it was an evil; some of its worse features he even exaggerated. The fundamental defects of the political system of the Romans he does not seem to have noticed any more than his countrymen in general. Inspired with a bitter hatred towards the nobility, which had murdered his brother, he bent all his energies to the task of overthrowing their power. The domination of Rome over the subject nations seemed to him right; the clumsy and incongruous machinery of government which had by successive steps been created gave him no concern; his aim was to shift the balance of power, and deprive the oligarchy at once of the administration of the government at home and the rule of the provinces abroad.

Political System. — We have already spoken at some length of the growth of the plantation system, the disappearance of the free peasantry in the presence of slave labor, the government of the provinces, and the disqualification of the Italians. It remains to speak of the inadequacy of the political system of the Romans, an evil which for the first time manifested itself, now when the city upon the Tiber had become the controlling power, not only within the peninsula of Italy, but in the Mediterranean circle of lands.

The Ancient City. — Rome was in its origin a city, like the

other cities of Greece and Italy, and its government, now that it had become a great empire, was still the government of a city. The city (*πόλις*, *civitas*) of the ancients was not, like our modern cities, a place set apart from the surrounding country, and distinguished from it by special privileges and a more highly organized government. The ancient city, as a body politic, included the territory about it, and the inhabitants of the surrounding territory were not dependent upon, or subject to, the inhabitants of the walled town, but were themselves fully qualified citizens. Indeed, ownership of land, rather than residence within the walls, composed the qualification for citizenship, and the *rus*, or rural territory, formed as essential a part of the *civitas*, or city, as did the *oppidum*, or walled town, where were the temples and other public buildings, the seat of residence and trade. The boundaries of one city were also the boundaries of the neighboring cities,¹ and the whole of Italy — with perhaps the exception of some rocky mountain-tops or uncultivable morasses — was divided up into the territory of its several cities.

The City Government of Rome. — We have seen how Rome, in its territorial growth, had step by step annexed and incorporated into its body politic a large part of the Italian peninsula.² The free inhabitants of all this immense area were Roman citizens, and — except so far as they were disqualified for political reasons — were entitled to vote in the Roman assemblies, and hold the offices of state. So far as their Roman citizenship secured them in their rights of property and of personal liberty, it was a great advantage to them, distinguishing them favorably from the inhabitants of the Latin colonies and the allied towns; but it will be readily seen that as an agency of government this Roman citizenship could

¹ See, to illustrate this, the map of Italy in the time of the Second Punic War (p. 118), in which, for example, are shown approximately the territorial extent of Ardea and Laurentum as adjoining cities.

² The map (p. 118) shows approximately the Roman domain at this period. The *City of Rome* (*civitas Romana*) comprised all the territory thus designated.

have been of very little efficacy, either to the people themselves or to the state. All public assemblies must be held within the city, and, of course, as a rule none but the residents of the city itself or of its immediate neighborhood could be present at them.¹ There were no good roads except the military highways — the Appian, leading to Capua, the Flaminian to Ariminum, and two or three others; few but women and children rode in carriages; and the Sabine or Campanian peasant who wished to vote in the election of magistrates or the passage of laws must trudge on foot or ride on horseback, and spend several days on the journey to and fro. The elections, moreover, were not all held on one day, as with us, but each class of magistrates (consuls, prætors, etc.) were elected on a separate day: and legislative *comitia* might be held in any part of the year.

The Municipalities. — The Romans had established, in these outlying parts of the peninsula, an admirable system of municipal government, by which all local affairs were managed directly by the inhabitants of the several localities (p. 99); but for lack of the modern principle of representation, there was no machinery to enable the inhabitants of these municipalities to take part in the government of the republic. This fundamental defect in their political system the Romans were never able to remedy. They could not conceive of any form of government except the free city of Greece and Italy, and the despotically governed empire of the Orient; and when the city type broke down, they could do nothing but establish the autocracy.

Constitutional Defects. — An equally serious defect, and one which showed itself more and more as the city grew to great proportions, was in the machinery of government itself, which was inconsistent and incoherent in the highest degree. In the early republic the consul, whose power was derived from that of the kings, was the sole magistrate, the Senate being his council, and the popular

¹ In the independent cities of Greece and Italy it was a tacitly accepted rule that the territory (*pagus*) should not exceed in extent the distance to which a citizen might go in the morning to cultivate his fields, returning at night.

assembly the organ of the popular participation in the government. As the business of state grew more burdensome and complicated, a number of inferior magistrates (prætors, censors, etc.) were established from time to time, with functions derived from those of the consuls. At the present time the consuls were left with hardly more than executive and military powers, all their other functions being distributed without order or symmetry among a multitude of inferior officers and assemblies. By the necessity of the case, the Senate, as a permanent body of experienced statesmen, had taken the government in hand, and superintended and controlled the action of all the magistrates and assemblies. As long as the Senate was "an assemblage of kings" (p. 98), this work of co-ordination was done wisely and efficiently; and the inherent evils of the form of government were not perceived. Now that the Senate was an assembly of tyrants and speculators, the government of Rome became more and more weak and incompetent.

Attack upon Senatorial Government. — It was, therefore, with a clear judgment of the needs of the situation, that Gaius Gracchus directed his attack against the government of the Senate, as the chief obstacle to any permanent remedy for the economical and social evils of the time. But it was not so easy to find a substitute for the Senate, as the supreme power in the state, and here was the principal weakness of his plan of reform. To place an autocrat at the head of the state would have been to break violently with Roman tradition. To create an effective system of republican administration, so long as the city type of government was preserved, was a problem beyond the capacity or ideas of classical antiquity.

The Plan of Gaius Gracchus. — The plan of Gaius Gracchus seems to have been to get into his own hands a controlling influence in the state, similar to that which Pericles had possessed in Athens, not as a permanent chief magistrate of monarchical character, but as an influential citizen: his authority partly resting upon moral ascendancy, partly associated with the tenure of the regu-

magistracies. For this purpose the tribunate was well fitted. It could be held continuously, it gave the power of controlling all the other magistracies, and also the right to summon the legislative assembly and convoke the Senate. As long, therefore, as he could persuade the people to elect him to this office, and he was protected by its sacred character, he was master of Senate, people, and magistrates. But if he once should lose this moral ascendancy,—and he lost it the second year,—his power was gone. We shall see, when we come to the establishment of the Empire by Augustus Cæsar, how this fertile idea of the tribunician power as the foundation of supreme authority was revived, and was supplemented by being joined with the military power,—the point in which the plan of Gaius Gracchus was weak.

Reform of the Senate.—Gracchus did not propose to abolish the Senate as the supreme power in the state, but undertook to overthrow the nobility, as the power that controlled the Senate and through it the state. He proposed to restore the dignity and character of the Senate by adding to it an equal number of *Knights*, or persons of so-called equestrian families; that is, families that were wealthy, but not noble.¹ Of course the new members thus added would soon have been merged in the nobility, but in the meantime a better public sentiment might have been created. And, while leaving this enlarged Senate in the possession of the government, Gracchus deprived its members of one source of profit and corruption by a law requiring that the judges in the court of *Repetundæ* (p. 148) should be no longer taken from the Senate, but from members of the equestrian order.

Miscalculations of Gracchus.—Here again his calculations were at fault. The new judges proved no less corrupt than the old, for they were exposed to equal temptations. If the provincial governors were taken from the Senate, the publicans—quite as intolerable a scourge to the provinces—were of the equestrian

¹ They were called *equestrian* because they were qualified by their property to serve in the cavalry, and it was from them that the *equites equo privato* (p. 20) were taken.

order, and were quite as well disposed as the senators to shield delinquents of their own order. That he might still further gain the Knights to his support, he extended to the newly acquired province of Asia, the system of farming the revenues by companies of publicans, thus still further sacrificing the provincials to the supposed interests of Rome. But while sacrificing the provincials, he favored the Italian allies, whom he proposed to admit to citizenship — a proposition which lost him the support of the selfish mob of Rome.

Popular Measures. — By these measures he expected to establish a control over the Senate. For continuance in his office of tribune he must look to the people, and here again he favored the Romans at the expense of the provinces. Sales of corn, the contribution of the provinces, at a much reduced price, had been occasionally made. Gaius Gracchus made them regular, thus establishing the principle that the sovereign people were to be fed at the public expense. The agrarian legislation of his brother was revived and extended in some way, as to the details of which we are ignorant; and besides this the policy was established of planting colonies in the provinces. The available land in Italy had been now for the most part taken up. What public lands still remained were either unsuitable for homesteads, or were retained by the state to be rented as a source of public revenue. He proposed, therefore, to establish twelve colonies in the provinces, and himself carried a body of settlers to the abandoned site of Carthage, where he founded the colony of Junonia (p. 145), the first Roman colony outside of Italy. A second colony, Narbo (*Narbonne*), was founded shortly after his death, and at about the same time the territory between the Pyrenees and the Alps was made into the province of Transalpine or Narbonese Gaul.¹ The rest of his colonial plan was abandoned.

Overthrow of Gaius Gracchus. — But the ascendancy of Gaius

¹ This included none of the sea-coast, except the town of Narbo itself, the rest of the coast being in the possession of Massilia.

Gracchus, resting upon the selfish interests of the citizens and the precarious tenure of an annual magistracy, was easily overthrown. Another tribune, Marcus Livius Drusus, outbade him for popular support by proposing twelve colonies in Italy, with lands in full ownership; and the fickle people hastened to support their new leader. The excitement reached a tremendous height. Gracchus lost his election, and became a private citizen. In January, B.C. 121, the new consul, Lucius Opimius, took active measures against him. Gracchus and his coadjutor Flaccus entrenched themselves on the Aventine Mount, where they were attacked and routed by the consul. A bloody battle followed in the streets of Rome. The two insurgent leaders were killed, and it is said that three thousand of their party were afterwards strangled in prison. The consul Lucius Opimius, by a grim irony, to commemorate this restoration of order, built a temple to Harmony (*Concordia*) at the head of the Forum, which was thereafter one of the principal temples of the city, used as a museum of art, and a frequent place of assemblage for the Senate.¹

¹ It was probably a restoration, on a larger scale, of that vowed by Camillus, B.C. 367 (p. 75). It was again rebuilt by Tiberius, and its remains are now to be seen between the Tabularium and the Arch of Septimius Severus.

CHAPTER XIII.

MARIUS.

I. THE CONTEST OF PARTIES.

Parties in Rome. — The Roman people were now divided into two hostile parties, — the *optimates*, or party of the nobility, and the *populares*, or party of the people. These parties were not merely divided by a difference of opinion upon public policy, but by personal and pecuniary interests ; and this gave the contest a degree of bitterness which, as we have seen, had already led to bloodshed. What incited the nobles to the murder of the Gracchi was not the question whether the landless should receive land, but the fact that the land so bestowed was to come out of their possessions, — that they were assailed in their vested interests. In the party contest which now ensued the equestrian order — the wealthy citizens who were not noble — sided for the present with the *populares* ; but the ascendancy of the *optimates*, which had been established by violence, was maintained by the votes of their clients and dependents.

Party Questions. — The principal questions in dispute were, first, that of the law courts, which Gaius Gracchus had taken from the senators and given to the knights ; secondly, the admission of the Latins and the Italian allies to the privileges of citizenship. For a long time there had been no real difference between Romans and other Italians, except that the Romans were the ruling power, and the Italians were subjects. All power went with Roman citizenship, and along with the power went social superiority and pecuniary privileges. The Gracchi had begun the movement for the enfranchisement of the Italians, and one cause of their failure was the unwillingness of the Romans to give up any share of their

vilages to the despised Italians. Here lay the strength of the *timates*, for the poorest Roman felt that he had his special rights defend.

Territorial Relations. — The land question was for the present rest, inasmuch as all the available land in Italy had been disposed of; and the lands occupied by the nobles, as well as those assigned to settlers by the Sempronian laws, B.C. 111, were shortly after given to the occupants in full ownership. From this time there was no longer any *ager publicus* in Italy, except certain tracts rented to publicans, chiefly as pastures.¹ The scheme of colonies in the provinces too, after the planting of Junonia (Carthage) and Narbo, was allowed to drop. But the occupation of Narbo brought after it the establishment of the province of Transalpine or Narbonnese Gaul (p. 164), and the session of this new province was attended with important consequences.

War with Jugurtha. — The first event of importance during this period of the revived ascendancy of the nobility was a long and obstinate war with Jugurtha, king of Numidia. Jugurtha was grandson of Masinissa, and had obtained his throne by the murder of his cousins, the rightful heirs, aided by the corrupt connivance of Roman senators. When public opinion at last forced the Senate to make war upon Jugurtha, the first commanders who were sent against him, equally greedy, incompetent, and corrupt, only left matters in a worse condition than they found them. It was not until the command was taken by Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, known as Numidicus, a nobleman of ability and high character, that affairs began to mend. Metellus was perhaps the best Roman of his generation; but the Roman type had fallen far below the standard of Fabricius (p. 94), who had delivered up the physician of King Pyrrhus when he came to him with an offer to poison his

The most important of these tracts, the *ager Stellatinus* in Campania, came again the subject of agrarian agitation in the time of Cæsar; but this just before the collapse of the republican institutions.

master. Metellus had no scruple in bribing the servants and officers of his enemy, and would have regarded as justified any treachery which should get Jugurtha into his hands. He was, moreover, offensively proud and arrogant.

Gaius Marius. — The best officer in Metellus' army was Gaius Marius, a peasant of Arpinum, who had risen purely by merit from low birth to high position, and had held all grades of honor except the highest, the consulship. When Marius asked leave of absence from the army, in order to present himself as a candidate for the consulship, he received the contemptuous answer that it would be time enough for him to seek the consulship when he could do it in company with the son of Metellus, then a young man of about twenty. As the legal age for the consulship was forty-three, this meant a delay of about twenty years. Marius never forgot the insult. Shortly after, however, Metellus grudgingly granted the

leave of absence. Marius was elected consul by a large
 B.C. 107. majority, and assigned to the command in Numidia by a vote of the people, thus superseding his old commander.

B.C. 106. The next year Jugurtha was taken prisoner by a young officer named Sulla, and carried to Rome, where he was put to death. Part of his territory of Numidia was annexed to the kingdom of Mauritania (*Morocco*), whose king, Bocchus, had assisted in the overthrow of Jugurtha ; part remained under native princes until the time of Cæsar.

The Cimbri and Teutones. — During the war with Jugurtha a still more formidable danger had threatened the Roman power in the advance of the German tribes, the Cimbri and the Teutones, upon the new province of Transalpine Gaul. This was the commencement of that series of invasions and migrations which, five hundred years later, broke the Roman Empire to fragments. From this date the relations with the Germans seldom ceased to be a source of perplexity and danger. The nations of the Teutonic race had been, we must suppose, for hundreds of years slowly moving towards the west from their original seat in the far east. When at last they reached the Rhine, they found themselves no

nger in the presence of savage tribes, occupying wild forests and eary steppes, but saw before them a rich and well-cultivated ad in the possession of a people, the Gauls, well advanced in vilization and prosperity. At this point the onward movement the Germans was necessarily checked, and they passed by slow grees into the customs and institutions of settled life.

The Cimbri Invasion.—It was in the invasion of the mbri and Teutones that this great wave of Teutonic migra- n reached the Roman dominions. These tribes did t pause at the barrier of the Rhine and the pos- B.O. 113. sions of the Gauls, but passed over the bounds, and ide their way towards the fertile fields of Italy. Army after ny of the Romans was defeated by these new enemies, who at t, in the year 105, gained a victory at Arausio (*Orange*) upon the one, almost as complete as those at the Allia and at Cannæ.

terror the Romans elected as consul for the next year Marius, e hero of the Numidian war; and when by some caprice the torious Germans turned away from Italy, and roamed through ul and Spain for two or three successive years, they re-elected m in four successive years, in order to be ready for the coming nger. It was an illegal act,¹ but the safety of the state prevailed ainst the letter of the law.

Victories of Marius.—At last the invaders again set their faces wards Italy; but the two nations had separated, and each moved r itself. In the year 102 the Teutones were met at Aquæ Sextiæ (*Aix*) in Southern Gaul, not far from the battle-field of Arausio, d annihilated by Marius. Their companions, the Cimbri, made eir way across the Alps to the valley of the Po in Northern Italy, here the following year, 101, they were cut in pieces at the audian Fields, not far from Vercellæ, by the colleagues, Marius d Catulus. In this battle Catulus, one of the best members of e nobility, did good service; but the chief merit belonged to

¹ The order in which and the age at which the several magistracies could e held were fixed by the Villian law (B.C. 180). Ten years must by law apse before any magistracy could be held a second time.

Marius, and it was his victory of the year before that made this victory possible. For the present, therefore, danger from this source was averted.

Military Reforms of Marius. — Marius was an unlettered peasant, a man wholly without political abilities or statesmanship, of violent and unforgiving temper; but he was personally honest, and his military abilities were of a high order. To him is attributed the re-organization of the legion, the most important military reform since the introduction of the manipular order in the time of Camillus (p. 69). The division of the legion into thirty maniples, breaking up the phalanx into small divisions capable of independent action, led naturally to the practice of giving more and more scope to the individuality, both of the division and of the soldier. The first step was the formation of the three lines, advance (*hastati*), main line (*principes*), and reserves (*triarii*), which came successively into action as they were needed.

MARIUS.¹

It then became customary to combine three or more maniples into larger temporary divisions, called cohorts. Scipio, at Zama (p. 127), by leaving larger spaces between the three lines, and thus allowing more independence of action, took the final step in the manipular organization. The legion, as thus organized, showed its superiority over the Greek phalanx at Cynoscephalæ and Pydna (pp. 133, 136).

Marius' Military Organization. — The decay of the Italian peasantry, from which the Roman infantry had been chiefly recruited, made the old method of a citizen soldiery composed of men of substance no longer available. Marius, therefore, introduced the custom of taking soldiers from all classes of citizens,¹

¹ This bust passes as that of Marius, but is of very doubtful authenticity.

² Citizenship was at all times a requirement for service in the legions; and

principally men of no property. Thus the character of the army was fundamentally changed, and it was henceforth composed of a new class of professional fighters. The distinction in equipment and service, which had been observed when every soldier was a citizen of standing, was no longer befitting. The system of three permanent lines was abolished, and every maniple provided with the same equipment, and employed in the same service.¹ The threefold order of battle was still the usual one; but, now that the permanent lines were abolished, the several cohorts were drawn up as seemed fit at the time — the best troops generally in the front line. The cohort, which had until now been an occasional grouping of maniples, now became a regular and permanent division, being one-tenth of a legion, and consisting of three maniples. The cohort, as well as the maniple, now had a standard of its own; and a new standard, the silver eagle, was introduced for the legion.

Saturninus and Glaucia. — The great work which Marius accomplished for his country was the defeat of the Teutonic invasion, but the Roman politicians of the popular party conceived the design of using the simple-minded soldier for the furtherance of their political schemes. The leaders of this party were Saturninus and Glaucia, the successors of the Gracchi, but men of a much lower type. For the year 100 they procured the election of Marius to his sixth consulship, while Glaucia was elected prætor and Saturninus tribune of the people. This formidable combination proposed to take the government of Rome in hand just as Marius Gracchus had done, but with a more complete organization, and with less scruple as to means.

Sedition of B.C. 100. — The propositions made by these conspirators aimed in general to carry out the policy of Gaius Gracchus, — the creation of new colonies in the Po valley and the

when, under the empire, non-citizens were recruited into them, they received citizenship at the time of enlistment.

¹ The names *triarii*, *principes*, and *hastati* were still used, but only for the centurions of the maniples, to distinguish them in rank.

provinces (in these colonies Italians were to have equal rights with Romans), the confirmation of the judicial power of the knights, and larger distributions of corn to the people. By the unblushing use of violence these laws were carried, and all members of the Senate required to take oath to support them. Metellus Numidicus alone refused to take the oath, and was by consequence obliged to go into exile. Marius, who was already beginning to shrink from the more radical measures of his associates, took the oath with a mental reservation, — “so far as the laws were really valid.”

Victory of the Nobility. — As in the case of the Gracchi, an armed collision followed between the reformers and the adherents of the Senate; and Marius, as chief magistrate of the state, found himself at the head of an armed force, opposed to his old associates. A battle was fought on the Forum, in which the revolutionary party was wholly crushed. Saturninus and many others were taken prisoners, and confined in the Senate-house, where they were stoned to death by the young nobles, who climbed upon the roof, and stripped off the tiles for this purpose. Glaucia was also found and put to death. Their laws were abrogated, and for another ten years the rule of the nobility was confirmed; but Marius, through whom the victory had been obtained, was thoroughly discredited with both parties, and remained for several years in obscurity.

II. THE SOCIAL WAR.

The Italian Question. — The burning question at Rome was now that of the Italian allies, who were becoming more and more impatient in their demand to be placed upon an equality with the Romans. Upon this question the leaders of the popular party had a true sense of the needs of the situation. The movement begun by the agitation of Gracchus did not stop until, A.D. 212. by the famous edict of Caracalla, citizenship was extended to provincials as well as to Italians. The selfish ambition and violence of Saturninus and Glaucia had only delayed the

reform. In the consulship of the great jurist, Scævola, and the great orator, Crassus, both of them moderate as B.C. 95. well as upright members of the aristocracy, a law was passed prohibiting, under severe penalties, the citizens of allied towns from claiming the privileges of Roman citizenship. The passage of this law hastened the crisis.

Drusus. — The question came to an issue in the year 91. The tribune Marcus Livius Drusus, son of the rival of Gaius Gracchus (p. 165), and one of the most prominent members of the nobility, came forward as champion of the Italians. With the proposition to grant citizenship to the allied cities he combined other reforms, — the reorganization of the Senate by the admission of three hundred new members, and the restoration of the courts to this body; he proposed to secure the support of the common people by distributions of corn and grants of land. His principal supporter in this reform was Lucius Licinius Crassus, the leading orator of the time. Crassus had, as chief magistrate, rigidly enforced the laws against the allies; but now, as a statesman, he used all his efforts to advance their interests. Even this moderate measure of reform, emanating from their own body, met with the determined opposition of the nobility. After a stormy debate Crassus suddenly died, and Drusus was shortly after assassinated. His propositions of law died with him.

The Varian Commission. — The fate of Drusus and his measures taught the Italians that they had nothing to expect, either from a sentiment of justice or from a policy of wise statesmanship, and they at once rose in rebellion. The B.C. 90. first uprising was premature, and only incited the Romans to severity. A commission of investigation was appointed, upon the proposition of Quintus Varius, the supposed murderer of Drusus; and by this commission a number of the associates and sympathizers of Drusus were banished.

The Uprising of the Italians. — The insurrection, however, went on. It found little support in the northern regions, — Etruria and Umbria, — where the plantation system was most fully

developed, and the middle class had nearly disappeared. Its strength was in the vigorous tribes of Central and Southern Italy, the Samnites, and kindred nations of Italian stock, among whom a numerous peasantry still survived, and kept up the traditions of the simple and healthful social system of earlier times. The Latin colonies remained loyal, as in the war with Hannibal, and many cities of the allies did the same.

Italia.—The insurgents were inspired by no mean ambition. They aimed at nothing less than the complete destruction of Rome, and the establishment of a new empire, which should embrace the whole peninsula. In the form of government which they established, they did not rise above the conceptions of their age. The only type of free government of which they could conceive was the City (p. 160); they proposed to found a new city to take the place of Rome,—not as capital of the confederacy, according to our modern notions, but as itself the State, with a territory embracing all Italy, and a body politic coextensive with the territory. For this purpose they selected the city of Corfinium, situated as nearly as possible in the centre of the peninsula, and gave it the name of Italia; this city was to be henceforth *Italy*. But while the new city was to embrace the whole of Italy, on the other hand its ambition was to be limited to Italy; the selection of this spot among the high Apennines was in itself a surrender of all possibility of universal dominion. The poverty of the confederates in political ideas is shown by the fact that they slavishly copied the Roman constitution in all essential details; they do not appear, however, to have adopted the tribunate, its worst feature.



Italian Coin in the Social War.

(The Italian ox goring the Roman wolf.)

The Social War.—The war was an unequal one. The well-trained armies of centralized Rome, supported by the wealth of all the provinces, and led by such experienced leaders as Marius and Sulla, and younger leaders of promise, like Lucius Cassius, Metellus Pius, and Gnæus Pompey, were more than a match for

the resources of the loosely knit confederacy. The contest was heroically kept up for two years, with successes on both sides; but the Romans, by adroit policy, succeeded at last in dividing the confederates, by the offer of favorable terms of submission. The Julian law, proposed by the consul Lucius B.C. 90. Cæsar, gave citizenship to all communities which had remained loyal; and the Plautian-Papirian law, shortly after, made the same offer to all which should return to allegiance. Thus, as in the case of the Latins (p. 80), the citizenship which had been hurlishly refused before the war, was after all granted as its result.

The Municipal System.—All Italy was now brought within the territorial limits and political organization of Rome. But the name Italy was not at this time applied to the regions north of Umbria and Etruria; here was Cisalpine Gaul, a province in which there were a number of Roman and Latin colonies, but which did not receive citizenship as a whole until about forty years later. All the cities of Italy, south of Cisalpine Gaul, now termed municipal towns,¹ the citizens of which were also fully qualified citizens of Rome, with magistrates and assemblies of their own, in which all purely local matters were managed. This admirable system, the foundation of our modern political system, as the creation of the political genius of the Romans; and its complete adoption—of course as the gradual work of several years²—was the fruit of the Social War.

¹ From this time the distinction between *colonies* and *municipia* (p. 99) practically effaced; but the colonies, both Roman and Latin, looking to Rome as their metropolis, retained their distinctive appellation, and were regarded as ranking a little higher in dignity.

² The municipal system received its final shape in the *Lex Julia Municipalis*, of Julius Cæsar (B.C. 45), and was afterwards extended into the provinces.

CHAPTER XIV.

SULLA.

I. THE FIRST CIVIL WAR.

Mithradates¹ VI., of Pontus. — Just as the Social War was finished, a new war, of formidable proportions, was brought upon Rome by an antagonist only second to Hannibal in ability, and perhaps more violent in his antagonism ; while his savage and unscrupulous temper made him an even more dangerous enemy. This was Mithradates VI., king of Pontus. Pontus was one of the petty states of Asia Minor, which had gained their independence when the empire of the Seleucidæ began to break up (p. 132). Situated upon the southeastern shore of the Pontus Euxinus (*Black Sea*), from which it derived its name, it had extended its territory so as to embrace all



MITHRADATES VI.

the eastern coast of that sea, as well as the Crimean peninsula, upon the north, where a prosperous Greek community had existed for many generations. The king of Armenia, Tigranes, had married the daughter of Mithradates, and added the resources of his kingdom to that of his father-in-law.

Schemes of Mithradates. — Having thus established his empire in the east of Asia Minor, Mithradates prepared to expel the Romans from their province of Asia (p. 146), which embraced its western portion, and to extend his dominion over the entire peninsula.

¹ This is shown by coins to be the correct spelling of the name; it is associated with the cult of the oriental god Mithras.

He rapidly overran the country, got the Roman governor, Manius Aquillius, into his hands, and put him to death by pouring molten gold down his throat, in derisive allusion to the Roman thirst for gold. Then, from his headquarters at Ephesus, he issued orders for a massacre of all the Italian inhabitants of Asia in one day : eighty thousand, at the lowest computation, were thus murdered.

Sulla. — The Romans at once declared war, and committed its conduct to the consul, Lucius Cornelius Sulla.¹ Sulla was a member of a noble patrician family, a man of extraordinary ability, both as a general and as a statesman, but cruel and vindictive, even beyond the measure of his age and nation. He had been Marius' best officer in the war against Jugurtha, and it was he that had brought the war to an end, by capturing the Numidian king (p. 168). Since that time the two men had become rivals and personal enemies. Sulla's cold, conservative nature, governed by a keen and far-seeing intellect, was in every way a contrast to the hot temper and democratic sympathies of his old commander ; and now political differences intensified and gave direction to their animosity. Sulla was as completely identified with the party of the *optimates* as Marius with the *populares*.

The Sulpician Laws. — The popular leaders were uneasy at so great military authority being entrusted to a leader of the aristocracy ; and the veteran Marius, whose services in the late war had not added greatly to his reputation, craved new opportunities for distinction. The Social War, like most wars, had been followed by economic disturbances ; and a young leader of the popular party, Publius Sulpicius Rufus, a brilliant orator and a sincere patriot, had brought forward some propositions of reform.² These measures were carried ; and Sulpicius now took the rash step of bring-

¹ See article on *Lucius Cornelius Sulla*, in second series of Freeman's Historical Essays.

² Among others, to remove from the Senate all senators who were deeply in debt, and to admit the new citizens to the tribes on an equality with the old.

ing in another proposition, — to take the command from Sulla and give it to Marius. This was a revolutionary measure, for the public assemblies had never been accustomed to deal with such matters, and the command had been lawfully given to Sulla. This passage led by a fatal necessity to civil war. Sulla refused to obey, marched upon Rome and captured it, put Sulpicius and many of his associates to death, and promulgated a new set of laws of a conservative tendency. Marius escaped capture.

First and Second Mithradatic Wars. — Having repealed the laws of Sulpicius, and established matters in Italy upon an aristocratic basis, Sulla immediately proceeded to the East, and in a war of three years brought Mithradates to terms, forcing him to surrender all his conquests in Asia Minor, and to pay a heavy indemnity. At the same time he punished severely the adherents of Mithradates and the agents of his massacres. He then returned to Italy in B.C. 83. After his departure from his province, there was a brief renewal of hostilities between his successor Murena and King Mithradates, which is known as the Second Mithradatic War. Its incidents are of no importance.

Escape of Marius. — Marius had escaped from the slaughter of his partisans, and making his way along the coast, concealed himself in the marshes of Minturnæ, where he was arrested and thrown in prison. The town executioner, a Cimbrian slave, was ordered to dispatch him in prison; but when he recognized the conqueror of his nation, and heard him ask, in a stern voice, "Darest thou kill Gaius Marius?" he fled from the apartment, crying, "I cannot kill Gaius Marius!" By the connivance of the magistrates of Minturnæ, Marius again escaped, and passed over to Carthage, where, as is said, he was found by an officer of the governor, who ordered him to leave the province. "Return," said Marius, "and tell him that thou hast seen Gaius Marius sitting an exile on the ruins of Carthage." It would have been well for his memory if he had died with these heroic words upon his lips.



Revolution of Cinna and Marius.—The next year, 87, a counter-revolution took place in Rome. The two consuls, Octavius and Cinna, were of opposite parties, and their dissension soon came to an open rupture. A battle was fought upon the Forum, in which Cinna, the champion of the Marian party, was defeated and driven from the city. He soon, however, gathered adherents from the Italian population, called Marius back from exile, and entered the city in triumph. All the worst qualities of Marius' character had been stimulated by the disappointments and disgraces of the last years, and he entered Rome in a transport of vindictive fury. His associate Cinna, a patrician of base mould, was his ready agent, and the victorious party commenced a massacre of their opponents, which continued for five days and five nights. The first victim was the consul Gnæus Octavius; others were Lucius Cæsar, the commander in the Social War (p. 174); Quintus Catulus, the colleague of Marius in the victory over the Cimbri (p. 169); and Marcus Antonius, the rival of Lucius Crassus as an orator, and, since the death of Crassus, without a question the head of the Roman bar. When Marius was entreated to spare the life of his old colleague Catulus, he coldly answered, "He must die."

Rule of Cinna and Carbo.—The next year Marius entered upon his seventh consulship, with Cinna as his colleague; but his vital powers were exhausted, and he died on the thirteenth of January, B.C. 86, having by his actions of the last few weeks effaced the memory of his great services against Jugurtha and the Cimbri. For three years the revolutionary party remained in possession of the government, under Cinna, Carbo, and the son of Marius; it was then overthrown by Sulla, on his return from the East.

Renewal of the Civil War.—In the year B.C. 83 Sulla returned from the East, full of honors, and marched with his victorious army against his enemies in the city. He had exhibited great self-control and patriotism, remaining steadily at his post of duty, and carrying on the wars of his country, while his enemies were

running riot in the capital. But he had confidence in his own resources, and on his side was the memory of the outrages perpetrated by his opponents. Upon his landing at Brundisium he was promptly joined by Quintus Metellus Pius, Marcus Crassus, and Gnæus Pompey, — young men who afterwards attained great distinction, — and before the year closed his cause was decidedly in the ascendant. Early in the following year the consuls, **B.C. 82.** Carbo and the young Marius, were obliged to evacuate Rome. Carbo proceeded to the north of Italy, where his forces gradually fell to pieces. Marius made his headquarters at Præneste, and a last desperate struggle was made under his command.

Battle of the Colline Gate. — Before abandoning Rome, Marius had ordered another massacre, of such nobles as had survived the former reign of terror. In this massacre, which was perpetrated by the prætor Damasippus, the most illustrious victim was Quintus Scævola, the most distinguished lawyer of Rome, the consul of B.C. 95 (p. 173), and the founder of the scientific study of jurisprudence. The struggle reached its crisis when an army of Samnites, under Pontius Telesinus, marched upon Rome to co-operate with Marius, and encamped in front of the Colline Gate, upon the north side of the city. The memory of the Samnite and Social wars rankled in the mind of the leader, and “he called out to his followers that, in order to get rid of the wolves which had robbed Italy of freedom, the forest in which they harbored must be destroyed.”¹ Rome was to be burned. But Sulla followed close upon him, and the victory at the Colline Gate saved the city from destruction. Præneste shortly afterwards surrendered.

Sulla's Proscriptions. — Sulla, like Marius, stained his brilliant record of patriotic services by vindictiveness and cruelty in his hour of triumph. And if Sulla was inherently a greater man than his rival, and showed a better balanced character and a higher statesmanship, it must be admitted that the cold-blooded atrocities of his victory excite even greater horror than the massacres

¹ Mommsen.

of Marius. He introduced the policy of proscription. Every morning a list was posted (*proscriptum*), of the names of those whose lives were forfeited, and who might be put to death by any one with impunity. As the property of the proscribed was confiscated, the proscription was an invitation to crime, very acceptable to private enemies, or to those who hoped to buy the estates of the attainted at a low rate. The number thus put to death amounted to nearly five thousand, and the amount of confiscated property to three hundred and fifty million sesterces (\$17,500,000). It was by purchases of these confiscated estates that Marcus Crassus, the richest Roman of his time, and the political confederate of Cæsar and Pompey in the First Triumvirate, built up his immense fortune.

II. THE CONSTITUTION OF SULLA.

Character of Sulla. — Sulla was now master of Rome, with his legions behind him, and he had it in his power to establish a monarchy on the ruins of the republic. But nothing is more remarkable about this remarkable man than his disregard of vulgar personal ambition, at the same time that he displayed a savage hatred of his personal enemies who were also his political antagonists. In his refusal to surrender his army to Marius, when ordered to do so by the Sulpician law (p. 177), he might be regarded as vindicating that principle of the constitution which placed the command in the hands of the consuls, and gave no authority over it to the popular assembly. In the years that followed he remained steadily at his work in the East, while Cinna was massacring his friends in Rome, — this in the face of bitter opposition and even



SULLA.¹

¹ This bust, in the Vatican, has been named Cicero, which is certainly incorrect; Bernoulli (*Römische Ikonographie*) thinks it probably that of Sulla.

personal danger. All the while his passions had been burning fiercely, and when at last he had Rome in his power he took cruel vengeance upon his enemies, even causing the tomb of Marius to be broken open, and his ashes to be thrown into the river.

Sulla made Perpetual Dictator. — Sulla's temper was thoroughly conservative, and he was careful to respect the forms of the constitution. Under the violent shocks of the civil war, the machinery of government had, as we may say, run down. The consuls of 82 were both dead, and there was no legal authority competent to restore order, for Sulla's authority as pro-consul would cease the moment he entered the city. In circumstances like these, it was, as we have shown (p. 20), the duty of the patrician senators, in whom resided the ultimate sanction of the constitution, to come together, and by the appointment of an *interrex*, or provisional chief magistrate, to set again in operation the wheels of government. Therefore Lucius Valerius Flaccus, a patrician of ancient stock, was made *interrex*, and on his proposition Sulla was created perpetual dictator, with complete power to revise the constitution and to govern the state until the new order of things should be established.

Restoration of Senatorial Government. — Sulla's plan, consistently with his conservatism of opinion, was, so far as possible in the changed condition of things, to restore the system of government which had in former days carried Rome to her height of prosperity and power, — the Senate possessing supreme authority and exercising control over the magistrates and the assemblies. The Gracchi, acting upon the lines marked out by Flaminius, had rudely broken with this traditional order, and had made the assemblies, instead of the Senate, the ruling power in Rome. The change had worked no advantage. Bad as the Senate was now, the people were no better; and as long as the Italians were prevented, by their distance from Rome and the absence of representative machinery, from taking any active part in the government, it was no doubt safer to have the power in the hands of the

oligarchy than of the mob. The misfortune of Rome at this juncture was that there survived no elements of a healthy free government. Sulla's aristocratic reconstruction was perhaps the best framework of government possible, of a republican type. How completely it collapsed, from causes inherent in the state of society, we shall see.

The Senate. — For a restoration of the senatorial government the first thing necessary was a restored Senate. It is easy to conceive how the Senate had suffered in numbers and in character by the prosecutions, massacres, and proscriptions of the last few years. Of the experienced statesmen of the period before the Civil War hardly one survived; the new generation of public men entered upon their task without experience or example. The first step to the restoration of the Senate was the election of about three hundred new members, chiefly from the equestrian order. For the future supply of members it was provided that every person elected to the quæstorship, the lowest of the regular magistracies, should become a member of the Senate for life. The age at which the quæstorship could be held was thirty, and as twenty quæstors were elected every year, and they had an expectation of perhaps thirty years of life on an average, it follows that the Senate after this time averaged between five and six hundred members.

The Magistrates. — The prætors were increased in number from six to eight, and were to be employed exclusively in judicial functions, two having the administration of civil cases, the others presiding over the newly organized criminal courts. The consuls were also confined to purely civil functions, being required to remain, during their term of office, in Italy, where no exercise of military authority was allowed except on extraordinary occasions. Both consuls and prætors, after their terms of office had expired, went into the provinces as governors. The office of censor was tacitly dropped.

The Tribunes of the Plebs. — It was Sulla's policy to reduce the overgrown power of the tribunate. The holding of this office was made a disqualification for the curule offices, and the tribunes

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provinces, were salutary provisions, which continued in operation until they were suspended by the institutions of the empire. But it was too late for any reform in administration to check the downward course which was carrying the republic rapidly to destruction.

The Aims and Methods of the Rival Parties. — Neither party thought the state was capable of working any real and permanent reform. Sulla, the leader of the aristocratic and conservative party, made salutary changes; but they were wholly on the surface, improving the machinery of administration, but not touching the real disease from which the body politic was suffering. The popular party saw deeper. Its ideal was higher, its policy nobler and more generous; but it was thoroughly discredited by the misrule of Marius, Cinna and Carbo. Julius Cæsar was the first Roman statesman who possessed at once broad and sound statesmanship, and an administrative capacity equal to that of Sulla; and when he rose to the leadership of the state the republic was too far diseased to be capable of preservation.

Abdication and Death of Sulla. — After having held the dictatorship about three years, and reorganized the government, as he supposed, on a permanent basis, Sulla abdicated his office, and retired to his villa near Puteoli, where the B.C. 78. next year he died from the rupture of a blood-vessel. But hardly had he retired from power when his institutions were subjected to a critical test. The consuls of 78 were Marcus Emilius Lepidus, a member of the popular party, and Quintus Mutatius Catulus, son of the victor of Vercellæ. The attempt of Lepidus to set aside Sulla's constitution led to a short civil war, in which Lepidus was defeated, and shortly after died.

CHAPTER XV.

POMPEY.

I. THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

Changed Condition of Society. — The Civil Wars of Marius and Sulla were, as we may say, a gulf, separating two distinct epochs. There was no longer among the Romans any sentiment of unity as a people, any community of interest, hardly any genuine patriotism or public spirit. They were divided into two opposing factions, each hating the other, and struggling only to secure its own advantage. It is not that there was no virtue or morality left. It is easy to exaggerate the vices and corruptions of any period or any people, and it is certain that Rome still contained many men and women of noble and exalted character ; but, from the intensity of party spirit and the defective machinery of government, the best elements of society were powerless against the influences of corruption. Public life was therefore worse than private life, and, while steadily growing worse, dragged down private character with it.

Structure of Society. — We have already become acquainted with the principal obstacles to good administration, so far as these consisted in the organic law, or framework of government, — the illogical and inefficient distribution of powers among the several magistrates and assemblies, and the inadequacy of the city type of constitution. Even more fatal to a free government was the constitution of society, as it existed in the last century of the republic. The people of the early republic had been a homogeneous peasantry : patricians and plebeians, divided from one another by rights and privileges, were alike Italians of the same stock and the same type. Now society was divided between rich and luxu-

rious nobles and the dependent populace. There was no longer any middle class; the peasantry had disappeared as a political factor, and there was no other industrial class to take its place.

Industry in Rome.— Here we touch upon the fatal and irremediable defect of ancient society — the absence of industry as a social power, a necessary consequence of slave labor. The economic changes through which Rome had passed are in certain particulars strikingly like those of modern England — in the disappearance of peasant properties and the building up of a great landed aristocracy. What has saved England from the fate of Rome has been the absence of slavery and the marvellous development of new forms of productive industry, the great manufacturing and commercial interests of modern society. In ancient times this was impossible. Most articles of household necessity were produced by the labor of slaves; manufactures, as a distinct branch of industry, did not exist. With commerce it was different. The great commercial republics, like Rhodes and Massilia, were among the best governed of the states of antiquity, and the patricians of early Rome had been a commercial aristocracy. But Rome at the present day had no true commerce, if by commerce we mean a free exchange of products. It lived upon the spoils of conquered nations, and its only large industries were farming the revenues, carrying on speculative operations and dealing in money.

The Debtors.— In the century which we have reached, as in the early republic, private indebtedness had grown to vast proportions, and society was convulsed by contests between debtors and creditors. But it was a contest of a wholly different character from the former. The debtors of early Rome were peasants who had fallen into the clutches of creditors armed with the oppressive powers of the law. For the relief of these, laws had been passed regulating the rate of interest, and the oppressive features of the law of debt had at last been abolished (p. 41). The debtors of the present time were speculators who could not meet their engagements, and aristocratic young men who had squandered their pat-

the benefit of honest
means for extrava-

— the debtors
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blows at the welfare of
divorce, by which the insti-
of society among all na-
and vitally weakened. Among
with peculiar reverence,
and rigorous. By the usages
the early republic, divorce
was the strength of the family sen-
the power was very rarely
The first instance of divorce
of the Punic wars. But
sufficient in those days
and immorality of the present
recurrence. Cato divorced
a friend who wished to marry

her. Cæsar divorced her because of certain gossip, saying that "Cæsar's wife must be above suspicion." Cicero divorced Terentia, with whom he had lived through a long life in apparent harmony. Augustus fell in love with the wife of a nobleman and took her from him ; he afterwards, in order to secure a succession to the throne, compelled her son Tiberius to divorce a wife to whom he was much attached, and married him to his dissolute daughter Julia, to the misery of both parties.

Gladiatorial Shows. — Another cause of demoralization was the passion for gladiatorial contests, which was becoming more and more the leading taste among the Roman people. The Romans were not originally a cruel or brutal people, but they were a warlike people, and early acquired a fondness for contests which exhibited military skill and prowess. The first exhibition of gladiators was at a funeral celebration in the first year of the First Punic War. From this time the number and **B.C. 264.** magnitude of the contests rapidly increased. Schools were established for training the gladiators, who were slaves selected for their qualities as fighters ; and the spectators soon ceased to be satisfied with exhibitions of skill, but demanded bloodshed and death. Thus the populace were brutalized, and the spectacle of human suffering became a keen source of enjoyment. Fights between gladiators were not enough for their depraved taste, but a new zest was added to the sight by the introduction of savage wild beasts into the arena.

Religion. — There was plenty of religious sentiment in Rome, but not of a kind to be of much value in the promotion of morality. The native Roman faith held its ground in the rural districts, but in the city its temples fell into neglect and ruin, until rebuilt by Augustus. The popular forms of worship in Rome were the more showy rites of the oriental religions — that of the Great Mother, already described (p. 129), and particularly of the Egyptian goddess Isis, whose temples were thronged with women, particularly of the lower class, but whose cult was associated with superstitions and gross indecencies.

The Auguries. — One branch of the Roman religion, however, was never kept up with more care and assiduity than in this age, and we may add, was never more devoid of reality; that is, the Auguries, the organ of communication between the state and the gods. The Romans had at one time believed that through the auspices¹ the gods expressed their will to the magistrates (p. 20); and they continued now to pretend to the same belief. But from the time that Publius Claudius had thrown the sacred chickens into the sea (p. 108) the belief in the auguries had sunk more and more to a mere form, only to become more and more essential as a form. By their power of interpreting the auspices, the Augurs — a board of fifteen noblemen — had little difficulty in controlling the action of magistrates and assemblies; while the rule of augury, that the assembly must disperse if thunder was heard, enabled the magistrate to break up an assembly by merely announcing that he intended to watch for signs from heaven — for it stood to reason that what he sought for he would find. The only remedy was the lamentable one of prohibiting, on certain occasions, the will of the gods to be consulted.

Greco-Roman Religion. — Among the higher classes the more dignified and elegant gods of Greece had been merged in thought into those of Rome in such a way that the Pantheon now consisted of a multitude of deities, some purely Greek, like Apollo, some purely Roman, like Janus; but for the most part an incongruous combination — Roman names, as Mercury, Mars, Minerva, associated with myths and attributes which belonged only to the Grecian Hermes, Ares, and Athena. The worship of these gods was maintained with pomp and solemnity; but it had no reality in the belief or the conscience of the worshippers.

Philosophy. — What influence there was to counteract vice and inspire to a better life came from the study of the Greek philosophers. But even here the good was by no means unmixed. The

¹ These two terms designate the same thing, from different points of view; the *auspices* being the signs by which the will of the gods was manifested, *auguries* the science of interpreting them, as a public institution.

philosophy of Epicurus, in its origin a lofty speculative system, of healthy and tonic power, had sunk to be a mere systematizing of pleasure, although its poet Lucretius, the noblest in tone of all the Roman poets, still represented it in its best phase. The Stoic philosophy was its chief rival, and the power of this was wholly good and ennobling, for it appealed to the best qualities of human nature. It had its limitations; but for three hundred years the Stoic philosophy was the healthiest and best influence in Roman society. A third school of philosophy, the Academic, was speculative and sceptical in tone, and its votaries were confined to a few persons of intellectual habits.

Literature. — It is remarkable, in the face of the facts here recorded, that at just this time literature makes great advances. During the century which followed the Second Punic War there is almost a complete dearth of original literature in Rome. In the period with which we are at present engaged there was a throng of writers, most of whose writings, to be sure, were either insignificant or have perished, but who prepared the way for the great literature of the generation which followed. Sulla himself wrote his memoirs; Quintus Scævola, the founder of scientific jurisprudence (p. 180), and Lucius Stilo, the founder of Roman philology, lived at this time. Above all, amid the turmoil of the civil wars and the collapse of society which followed, there was growing up that group of writers whose works have cast a glory upon the closing days of the republic — Cicero, the greatest orator and philosophic writer of Rome; Lucretius, its noblest poet, and Catullus, its most brilliant; Cæsar, a model of military narration; and Sallust, an historian of great and graphic power.

II. THE CONQUEST OF THE EAST.

The War with Sertorius. — The Civil War was, after all, not completely ended by the defeat and death of Lepidus (p. 185). The Spanish provinces were still in the hands of Quintus Sertorius, a leader of the Marian party, who had been sent thither in the

POMPEY.

Cinna to take command. Sertorius was by far the best of his party, and its best general after the death of Marius; moreover, a power of personal attraction which attached the Roman population warmly to him. This personal attachment was strengthened by his practice of having with him a pet fawn,



POMPEY. (From a Statue in the Spada Palace at Rome.)

which followed him everywhere, and which the superstitious believed to be his medium of intercourse with the gods. His rule of Sertorius Spain was wisely and justly governed. After general was sent against him without result.

Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus.—At last the government sent against Sertorius its ablest officer, the young Gnaeus Pompey. He was the son of a commander of some distinction in the Social War, and had himself held command under Cinna and Carbo. When Sulla landed in Italy on his return from the East, Pompey was one of the first to join him, with a large and B.C. 82. well-organized army. He was in consequence peculiarly favored and trusted by Sulla, who bestowed upon him the surname Magnus, *the Great*. His sympathies were no doubt in general with the conservative, aristocratic policy, represented by Sulla. He was, however, no politician, and is identified with no large policy of statesmanship; his political career is marked with strange inconsistencies and changes. But he had military abilities of a high order, and was personally a humane man, less stained by crime than perhaps any of his contemporaries of equal prominence. For nearly thirty years he was the most conspicuous personage in Rome.

Death of Sertorius.—The predecessor of Pompey in the command against Sertorius was Quintus Metellus Pius, son of Metellus Numidicus (p. 167). Metellus, too, was a man of more than average character and ability; but neither he nor Pompey was able to accomplish anything against an antagonist who was at once so able as Sertorius, and possessed such an ascendancy over the people whom he governed. But although Sertorius was loved and trusted by the Spaniards, there were traitors among the degenerate Romans in his own camp. He was assassinated at a banquet by one of his own officers, and the Spanish B.C. 72. insurrection speedily collapsed.

War with Spartacus.—While Pompey was absent in Spain, a formidable uprising of slaves had occurred in Italy. It began among the gladiators in Capua. These were slaves, captives in war or kidnapped from barbarous nations, and trained to entertain the Roman populace by their bloody combats. Under the leadership of Spartacus, a Thracian by birth, they B.C. 72. escaped from the gladiatorial school at Capua, ensconced

themselves in the wild recesses of Mount Vesuvius, and held their pursuers at bay. They were joined in their retreat by fugitive slaves from the plantations, and soon Spartacus was at the head of a powerful army, with which he long resisted the Roman power.¹ But it was not in the nature of things that a hastily gathered band of slaves should hold out against the most warlike nation in history. The insurrection soon began to weaken, and after

B.C. 71. about two years the insurgents were defeated and dispersed by the new commander, Crassus. Some scattered remnants were met by Pompey, on his triumphant return from Spain, and by cutting them to pieces he added to his laurels.

Consulship of Pompey and Crassus. — For the next year, B.C. 70, the two successful generals were elected consuls, and the year is memorable for the overthrow, in some important particulars, of the Sullan constitution. Marcus Licinius Crassus was, like Pompey and Metellus Pius, one of the younger generation of nobles, who had come into prominence since the Civil War ; but he was the least reputable of his class. His chief ground of distinction was his wealth, which he had acquired by very questionable means (p. 181). He was a politician of a sordid type. •Like Pompey, he had been a prominent adherent of Sulla, and it does not appear that either of them was less an aristocrat now than then ; but to favor a restoration of popular privileges was at this time the road to political success.

Democratic Legislation. — The reactionary legislation of Pompey and Crassus consisted of three principal measures : First, the power of the tribunes was restored, and this office became again, what it had been before the time of Sulla, the chief instrument of discord and sedition. Secondly, the question of the criminal courts, which had been the political issue most hotly contested, received a final and rational settlement. These courts were originally composed of senators ; Gaius Gracchus had given them to the equestrian order (p. 163) ; Sulla had restored them to the senators (p. 184) ; now, by the Aurelian Law, they were to be

¹ *Prusias*, by Eckstein, deals with the story of Spartacus.

divided between the two orders: that is, they must be composed exclusively of wealthy citizens — one-third senators, one-third officers of the tribes, and one-third selected at large from the equestrian order.¹ The third measure was the restoration of the censorship. This magistracy formed no part of Sulla's scheme. He had given its financial and administrative functions to the consuls, and had made regular provision for admission to the Senate by election to magistracies, while its third power, the inspection and regulation of morals, was dropped. This office was now re-established.

Third Mithradatic War. — Meantime affairs in the East had again become threatening.² The war with Mithradates broke out again, and the Roman dominion in the Mediterranean was seriously menaced by a commonwealth of pirates. The war against Mithradates was entrusted to Lucius Licinius B.C. 74. Lucullus, a typical nobleman of the time, — brave and skilful in war, rich and luxurious, arrogant to the degree that his troops refused to obey him. He gained many brilliant victories, but no decisive one, as he had not the moral ascendancy to conquer a peace.

War with the Pirates. — Even more formidable at the moment was the piratical state which had its headquarters upon the rocky coast of Cilicia. Mithradates threatened the Roman power in Asia, but the pirates rendered insecure every part of the Mediterranean, cutting off the supplies of food upon which Rome depended for sustenance, and even kidnapping Roman magistrates and wealthy merchants from the coast of Italy, and holding them for ransom. To meet the emergency, a law was passed, giving to Pompey extraordinary powers for three years over all the coasts of the Mediterranean, and thirty miles into the interior. This law broke with constitutional usage, both in the manner in

¹ The census, or property qualification, of the equestrian order was 400,000 sesterces (= \$20,000): there was no fixed requirement for the Senate, until the time of Augustus, when it was established at 1,000,000 sesterces (= \$50,000).

² These times are depicted in *Two Thousand Years Ago*, by A. J. Church.

which the power was granted (by vote of the people), a extent and duration of the power ; but the safety of the the highest law, and the result justified the ext
 B.C. 67. measure. In less than fifty days Pompey had c sea of pirates, captured their strongholds in C brought this country into the power of Rome. It was as the province of Cilicia, to which was shortly afterward the island of Cyprus.

End of the Mithradatic War.—The brilliant successes pey, contrasted with the resultless victories of Lucullu their natural effect, the passage of a law which added all tries of the East to Pompey's previous province.¹ He the same energy and military genius in this broader field tions as in the campaign against the pirates. In two yea overrun the territories of Mithradates, and driven him in the countries north of the Euxine, where h
 B.C. 65. to death by his own son. His kingdom was part of it remaining until the time of Nero un princes, and the most important part being annexed to tl province of Bithynia.²

Annexation of Syria.—From the conquest of Pontu proceeded to regulate the affairs of Syria, as his commi ranted him. The mighty empire of the Seleucidæ ha as we have seen (p. 135), to a petty kingdom ; and in rower dominions the degenerate sovereigns of the dynast all capacity of government. The country was in a stat anarchy, and it was a welcome boon to its inhabitants to b under even the severe and extortionate rule of Rome made into the province of Syria, B.C. 64. The principal which Pompey met was among the Jews ; but Jerusalem tured, and the conqueror was admitted into the temple, the Holy of Holies, looking with wonder upon a tem

¹ The *Manilian Law*, advocated by Cicero in a well-known spe

² Bithynia, in Asia Minor, was bequeathed to the Roman peopl king, B.C. 74.





ritual with no statue of a god. Having set in order the affairs of the East, he returned home with a higher military reputation than any Roman before him, except Scipio, had gained.

III. THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE.

Cicero. — In the year B.C. 63, the consulship was held by Marcus Tullius Cicero,¹ the most illustrious name in the annals of Roman literature. He was, like Marius, a native of the municipal town of Arpinum, where he was born B.C. 106. Like many ambitious young men from the country towns, Cicero established himself at Rome, where his eloquence, learning, integrity, and skill as an advocate soon placed him at the head of the Roman bar. He even ventured to present himself for office in competition with members of the noble families; and, notwithstanding his low birth, he achieved the almost unprecedented distinction of being elected to each of the principal offices in succession at the very earliest age permitted by law.² It was in his prætorship that he argued for the law giving Pompey the command against Mithradates; and as soon as the necessary two years' interval had elapsed, he was elected to the consulship.



CICERO. (From a bust at Madrid.)

His Writings. — Cicero was master of a Latin style remarkable alike for vigor, elegance, and purity; and in every branch of literature, except poetry, which he essayed with no brilliant suc-

¹ His life by Trollope is a book of high merit.

² The quaestorship could be held at 30, the ædileship at 37, the prætorship at 40, and the consulship at 43.

cess, he reached the highest eminence. His orations are models of eloquence ; his correspondence, very voluminous, is genial and entertaining, and crowded with information and illustration as to Roman life ;¹ his rhetorical writings combine the ripe fruits of his own rhetorical labors ; and his philosophical works present, in a lucid and attractive form, without much originality, but with high power of appreciation, the doctrines of the Academic or Platonic school of philosophy (p. 191), to which he was attached.

His Public Life.—Cicero's unquestionable ability in administration secured him, as we have seen, rapid success in public life ; and in better times, with a higher standard of political morality, he might have been an influential and distinguished statesman. It was his misfortune that his best qualities, his integrity and patriotism, had no scope in these evil times, while he was not sufficiently daring and unscrupulous to earn the kind of success which the times offered. As a result, his reputation with posterity has suffered from a melancholy absence of consistency and disinterestedness, while he missed the rewards which his own generation had to bestow. His life after his consulship was spent in fruitless efforts to make himself a place in political life, in the face of contemptuous rebuffs from the practical politicians. Twice in

his life he rose above the standard of the self-seeking politician, — at the beginning, when he boldly defied the
 B.C. 82. creatures of the tyrant Sulla,² and at the end, when he
 B.C. 43. led the Senate in opposition to the schemes of Mark Antony. His efforts were defeated by the perfidy of the young Octavian, and he surrendered his life with a dignity and nobility which had been wanting in the greater part of his career.

Conspiracy of Catiline. — The year of Cicero's consulship was marked by an event very significant of the times, — the conspiracy of Lucius Sergius Catilina³ to take possession of the

¹ Read Miss Preston's charming papers upon Cicero's life, as exhibited in his letters, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for 1888 and 1889.

² This was in his speech for Roscius of Ameria.

³ Catiline is defended by Professor Beesly in *Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius*. Herbert's *Roman Traitor* depicts this period.

government. Catiline was a young patrician of brilliant abilities and great physical powers, but debauched life, over head and ears in debt, like so many of his class, from which he saw no way to extricate himself but by throwing society and government into confusion, with the expectation that he would be able to seize the power into his own hands. It is not to be supposed that Catiline himself had any plans of reform, or any object but the gratification of his own passions and ambition; but it is believed that Gaius Julius Cæsar, another young patrician, of equally dissolute life, and equally overwhelmed with debt, was associated with him. And Cæsar, with all these faults, was humane and clear-sighted, and perhaps already cherished enlightened plans for the re-organization of the state.

The Conspiracy.—It was Catiline's intention to gain the consulship, and use the authority of this office in furtherance of his plans. When defeated by Cicero, he determined to obtain by force what he had failed to secure by lawful means. The conspirators organized a secret association, composed of discontented men of various classes in all parts of Italy; and when the autumn approached one of their adherents, Marcus Manlius, set up his standard at Fæsulæ (*Fiesole*), in northern Etruria, and gathered about him a considerable force, part a rabble, part well-trained soldiers. For some time it was not known with certainty, although it was suspected, that this army was in league with the conspirators.

Suppression of the Conspiracy.—The conspirators within the city were planning, in secret meetings, to excite an uprising, massacre the magistrates and leading citizens, seize the government, and then unite themselves with the army in Etruria. But the watchful consul outwitted them. By his secret emissaries he informed himself of all their movements; and just as the time agreed upon for the outbreak was approaching, he made their plans known to the public. Catiline left the city, and united with the insurgents under Manlius. His accomplices were then arrested, and put to death. The suppression of the conspiracy within the city was speedily followed, in January of the next

B.O. 62. year, by the defeat of the insurgent army in Etruria. In this battle Catiline himself perished.

The Coalition of Party Leaders. — Pompey returned to Rome in the year 61 B.C., and celebrated a magnificent triumph for his various victories and conquests. The triumphal celebration lasted two days. He was now at the height of his glory; and there was no place of greater dignity or power to which, in the ordinary course of Roman politics, he could rise. He was anxious, however, to have the regulations which he had made in the East confirmed by lawful authority; and with this intention he entered into a coalition with the two most prominent political leaders, each of the three agreeing to advance the political interests of the others. This coalition, or "ring," is known as the *First*

B.O. 60. *Triumvirate*, an incorrect use of the term, inasmuch as a triumvirate was properly a legal commission or board of three men, while the agreement between Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus was a purely personal arrangement, with no legal character and no binding force.

Crassus and Cæsar. — The associates of Pompey in this coalition were Publius Licinius Crassus and Gaius Julius Cæsar. Crassus we have already met, a man of noble family, who had broken up the army of Spartacus, (p. 193), and had held the consulship with Pompey (p. 194). He, as well as Cæsar, was suspected, and probably with justice, of complicity in the plots of Catiline. Cæsar was a younger man, and a man of far greater ability and stronger character than either of his confederates, although his abilities were not yet fully known. He was of a patrician family, but was connected by marriage with Marius, and had himself married a daughter of Cinna, whom he refused to divorce at the command of Sulla. The dictator had with difficulty been induced to pardon him for this obstinacy, saying to his friends that there was many a Marius in that young man. Cæsar lived the dissolute and extravagant life of young men of his class, and seems to have looked to the "new accounts" promised by Catiline's revolution as the only escape from his overwhelming

indebtedness. The next year he held the prætorship, **B.C. 62.** and the year following went to further Spain as governor, returning from thence in the year 60 in season to enter into the coalition with Pompey and Crassus.

Cæsar's Consulship. — In the bargain now made Pompey contributed his military reputation, Crassus his wealth, as the richest Roman, and Cæsar his ability and influence as a political leader. The three influences united were irresistible. Cæsar was elected consul for the year 59, and a popular vote gave him, as proconsul, the government of the two provinces of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum for five years, and to these the Senate added Transalpine or Narbonnese Gaul. Pompey's arrangements in the East were legally confirmed, and the popular leaders who had supported Cæsar received their pay in being allowed to send their enemy Cicero into exile.

Banishment of Cicero. — The demagogue Publius Clodius was a member of the patrician family of the Claudii, who had suffered himself to be made a plebeian, in order that he might hold the office of tribune of the plebs. He was a bitter enemy of Cicero, and, with Cæsar's connivance, carried a law which declared the banishment of any person who had put to death a Roman citizen without trial. This Cicero had done in the case of Catiline's accomplices. He went into exile therefore, with piteous and unmanly lamentations; his house was torn down in his absence, and the spot on which it had stood was consecrated. It was not for long, however. A reaction followed, and two years later he was recalled with great honor, and was recompensed **B.C. 57.** for his losses from the public treasury.

The Conference of Luca. — The year following his consulship, Cæsar took command in his provinces, and **B.C. 58.** commenced a series of military operations which will be narrated in the next chapter. But he soon found that the five years allotted to him would be insufficient for completing the work which he had undertaken, and as the end of the term approached a conference of the three confederates was held at Luca, at which there were present some two **B.C. 56.**

hundred senators, and so many of the higher magistrates that there were counted one hundred and twenty fasces upon the ground.¹ At this meeting it was agreed that Pompey
B.O. 55. and Crassus should hold the consulship for the next year, and should then receive each a command for five years — Pompey in Spain, Crassus in Syria ; further, that Cæsar's command in the Gauls should be extended for another term of five years. These agreements were all carried out by law.

Pompey in Italy. — Pompey did not go to his province, however, but remained in the neighborhood of Rome, watching the political movements in the city, and administering his government through *legati*, or deputies, — a method adopted afterwards by the emperors. The alliance between him and Cæsar had been cemented by his marriage to Julia, Cæsar's daughter ; but
B.O. 54. the death of Julia the next year dissolved the alliance, and gradually the two confederates passed through the stages of coolness and unfriendliness to that of open enmity.

The Parthian Empire. — While Pompey remained in Italy, Crassus proceeded to the East, hoping there to rival the exploits of Cæsar in the West. This province of Syria bordered upon the great Parthian empire, which now divided the world with that of Rome. Parthia, the mountain region southeast of the Caspian Sea, had achieved its independence about the middle of the third century before Christ (p. 132) ; about a century later (p. 135) Mithradates the Great had converted his petty kingdom into a powerful empire, which stretched from the Euphrates to the Indus, thus inheriting the glories of the Persian and Macedonian empires.

Crassus in the East. — A revolution in Parthia, which made Orodes king in place of his brother Mithradates III., and was followed by the murder of Mithradates, gave Crassus a pretext for intervening in the affairs of the East. Impatient to gather the treasures of the Orient, as well as the laurels which he be-

¹ The consul was attended by twelve lictors, each carrying *fasces* or bundles of rods, the prætor by two ; but the prætor or pro-prætor who governed a province had six.

lieved were awaiting him, Crassus left Rome even before the year of his consulship had expired. But once arrived in his province, the gold seems to have attracted him more than the glory : he dallied through the year, adding new sums to his enormous fortune, and it was not until the year 53 that he crossed the Euphrates. Then, while traversing the desert under the guidance of a pretended ally, he was suddenly betrayed into an ambuscade. His army was surrounded by swarms of cavalry, armed with bows and pikes, against whom his heavy-armed legions contended in vain. His army was cut to pieces, and shortly after Crassus himself lost his life. This disastrous battle was fought a few miles from Carrhæ.

The Poets: *Lucretius*. — During the period which we have just traversed, Roman literature was made illustrious by perhaps the two most original of its poets, and two of its best historians. Titus Lucretius Carus, while inferior to Virgil in grace and finish, far surpassed him in originality and sublimity. If he had chosen a more popular theme, it may be believed that he would easily have ranked as the greatest of Roman poets ; but he chose to elucidate the Epicurean system of philosophy, so that a large part of his poem is occupied with curious and abstruse discussions, to which the poetic character is wholly wanting. Many of his doctrines come very near to the modern theory of evolution. Even the philosophical portions, however, are often rich with beauties, and his introductions and digressions mark the highest point which Roman poetry reached.

***Catullus*.** — Quintus Valerius Catullus was as distinguished for grace and poetic fancy as Lucretius for sublimity. His works, many of them of exquisite beauty, occupy a very moderate space. Among them are some in which he attacks Cæsar with great vehemence and scurrility.

The Historians: *Sallust*. — Gaius Sallustius Crispus ranks, for vigor and picturesqueness of narration and powerful delineation of motives, among the greatest historians. He was, like most of the ancient historians, wholly devoid of the critical faculty, and his

descriptions of military campaigns and localities are almost worthless. But the insight which he gives into the politics of Rome is invaluable, and to him we owe our most complete knowledge of the war with Jugurtha and the conspiracy of Catiline. His principal work, which would have been of priceless value in narrating the history of his own time, is lost, except for a few fragments.

Cæsar. — A complete contrast to Sallust was Julius Cæsar. Cæsar's account of his wars in Gaul — the "Commentaries" — is concise and dry, wholly lacking in the liveliness and passion of Sallust; but in its clearness and exactness it is a model of military narration, and contains valuable information upon the nature of the country, its inhabitants, manners and customs and institutions. Without making any parade of philosophical analysis, Cæsar nevertheless has the intuitive insight of a man of genius into the connection of events with one another, and the relations of cause and effect. In his account of the Civil War, in which personal and political passions were violently excited, he loses the impersonal coolness of his earlier work; but even here he possesses the same great qualities as an historian. It must be added, that when he is telling the story of his own actions, he sometimes passes lightly over his own shortcomings, whether moral offences or military blunders. In general, however, he is eminently fair and impartial.

CHAPTER XVI.

CÆSAR.

I. THE CONQUEST OF GAUL.

The Province of Narbonese Gaul. — Gaul, *Gallia*, was the name given by the ancients to that country which extended from the Pyrenees to the Alps and Rhine, embracing the modern France and Belgium, with part of Holland and Switzerland, and a small portion of Germany. The southwestern part was inhabited by Aquitanians, a people of the same race as the Iberians of Spain, represented by the modern Basques¹; in the north some German tribes had crossed the Rhine; but with these exceptions the inhabitants were of the Celtic race. We have seen (p. 167) that, shortly after the time of Gaius Gracchus, the Romans had taken possession of all the territory between the Pyrenees and the Alps, except that which belonged to the Greek republic of Massilia, and had founded the colony of Narbo, from which the province had its name, *Narbonensis*. West of the Rhone the province was separated from free Gaul by the Cevennes Mountains; east of these mountains the Rhone and its tributary, the Arar (*Saône*), afforded a direct passage into the heart of Europe (p. 2). It was by this natural route that Cæsar, the new governor of Gaul, advanced in his schemes of conquest.

The Gauls. — The Gauls had reached a tolerably advanced stage of civilization, but their form of government was still the primitive one of the tribe, an outgrowth of the family (p. 18). There were about sixty of these tribes among the free Gauls. Their government was aristocratic, and they were divided into factions

¹ The Basques are a people who inhabit a small mountain district at the head of the Bay of Biscay. They are not of Aryan race.

bitterly hostile to one another, — tribe opposed to tribe, and factions within the tribes. It was at all times the policy of the Romans to attach to themselves one party in any country where they wished to obtain influence ; and finding that two neighboring tribes, adjoining the province, were arrayed against each other, they allied themselves with the Æduans, in the modern Burgundy, against the Sequanians, who lived east of the Æduans, separated from them by the river Saône.¹ The region of these two tribes upon the river Saône was, as we have seen, the natural entrance to Gaul.

The Helvetian Migration. — It was not difficult for any Roman governor who wished to interfere with the affairs of some foreign nation to find a pretext. In the present case it was the restlessness of the Helvetians, who inhabited modern Switzerland, just east of the Sequanians. The Helvetians, dissatisfied with their rugged and limited territories, proposed to migrate in a body across the country to the shores of the Bay of Biscay. This they undertook in alliance with the Sequanians, their nearest neighbors, through whose territories they received permission to pass. The Æduans of course objected, and Cæsar alleged that, although their proposed course was north of the Cevennes, wholly outside of his jurisdiction, yet their new locality upon the Bay of Biscay might be a menace to the colony of Narbo ; he consequently marched against the Helvetians, defeated them in a bloody battle, and obliged them to return to the homes which they had abandoned.

Expulsion of the Germans. — Cæsar's next enterprise, the same year, was one of extreme interest and historical importance. A German king, Ariovistus, with his followers, had crossed the Rhine to assist the Sequanians in their feud with the Æduans, and had settled forcibly in their territories. This was another chapter in the great German migration of which we have already spoken (p. 168). The Cimbri and Teutones had been cut to pieces by Marius ; but in the north of Gaul the Germans had obtained

¹ This was the modern province of Franche Comté.

a foothold, and now the settlement of Ariovistus was but an advance guard of the hordes that were pressing forward to occupy the rich fields of Gaul. The defeat of Ariovistus placed a decisive check upon this migration, and was therefore an event of great moment in the history of the world. The onward movement of the Germans was arrested by this defeat ; and it was held in check



ROMAN RIDER AND SUEVE.

for nearly five hundred years. Then, when the Germans had grown stronger and the Romans weaker, the Teutonic tribes swept in an irresistible current over the provinces of the Empire.

Cæsar's Visits to Britain.—Cæsar continued in Gaul for eight years, and reduced the entire country to submission.

In the fourth year and again in the fifth, he passed over B.O. 55, 54.

to Britain, an island until then known to the Romans only by the reports of chance travellers and traders. His visits to Britain were only reconnoissances, perhaps with a view to a possible conquest in the future, but he never had the opportunity to follow them up; and it was nearly a hundred years
A.D. 43. before Britain was formally reduced to a province. As is natural, in so short and incomplete an expedition, the account which Cæsar gives of Britain is brief and incomplete.

Cæsar in Germany. — He visited Germany, as well as Britain, and has given us the earliest and most authentic information which we possess with regard to the country and its inhabitants. Although brief, it is remarkable for accuracy and lucidity,—a model of vigorous and condensed statement. His natural history is, however, of less value than his account of institutions. The war between the Roman empire and the German tribes, commenced by Cæsar, was kept up with hardly an interval until the end of the Roman Empire of the West.

Revolt of Vercingetorix. — At the close of his sixth campaign Cæsar appeared to have completely accomplished his task, and to have established the Roman dominion from the Pyrenees
B.C. 52. to the Rhine. But the next year he was confronted by a formidable insurrection under the Arvernian chief, Vercingetorix, which soon embraced nearly all the tribes of Gaul, even the Æduans, formerly the staunchest friends of Rome. Many times during this campaign the Roman cause seemed irretrievably lost; but Cæsar, often rash and inconsiderate in plunging into difficulties, was unsurpassed in fertility of resources and indomitable resolution. These qualities were never more brilliantly displayed than in the war with Vercingetorix.

Siege of Alesia. — The campaign culminated in the siege of Alesia, an almost impregnable fortress on the summit of a steep hill, where Cæsar succeeded in shutting up his antagonists within a continuous line of works. The city was converted into a fortress, and all non-combatants were relentlessly thrust out, where they perished miserably between the contending forces. An immense

army was sent to the succor of the besieged ; and it seemed for a moment that it would succeed in raising the siege, and that the work of seven years would be brought to nought. But by a sudden and well-directed attack the relieving army was defeated and scattered, and the fortress soon fell into Cæsar's hands. Its heroic commander, Vercingetorix, was kept in custody for five years, to be exhibited in Cæsar's triumphal procession, and was then beheaded.

Conquest of Gaul. — All resistance was soon at an end, and the conqueror held his victorious armies ready for the civil contest which was evidently approaching. The newly conquered territory was divided into three districts for financial and administrative purposes, which were afterwards regularly organized as independent provinces. These districts were *Belgica* in the north, *Aquitania* in the southwest, and *Lugdunensis* in the centre. The latter took its name from the city of Lugdunum (*Lyons*), shortly afterwards founded at the junction of the Rhone and Saône, the most important natural centre in Gaul. This became the seat of administration of the three provinces, which for the present were known as the Three Gauls (*Tres Galliæ*), and placed under one governor.

Importance of the Conquest. — The conquest of Gaul was perhaps the most important which the Romans had yet made outside of their natural boundaries. It was not a large source of revenue, and that was well ; for the tributes of Asia and Africa worked no good to Rome. But it was a broad, fertile land, occupied by a people who readily adopted Roman institutions and civilization, and who speedily became Romanized. The sixty Gallic tribes were organized into sixty municipalities.¹ The language, customs, and culture of the Romans became those of the native inhabitants ; and no part of the empire was more homogeneous and contented. Gaul became a seat of flourishing trade and of well-conducted schools. Above all, its situation, giving access at once to Britain and to Germany, made it in the later empire the centre of civilization and power in western Europe.

¹ These were afterwards, probably by Tiberius, increased to sixty-four ; and they were the basis of the territorial divisions of mediæval France.

II. THE SECOND CIVIL WAR.

The Situation in Rome. — At the very moment that the revolt of Vercingetorix seemed upon the point of overturning the Roman authority in Gaul, Rome itself was upon the verge of anarchy. The triumvirate had been broken in pieces. Crassus was dead, Cæsar was absent, and since the death of Julia (p. 202) he and Pompey, though still nominally friends, had been gradually drawing apart. Everything now pointed to Pompey's ascendancy. As proconsul of Spain (p. 202), and as commissioner of the corn supplies, he was invested with the highest military authority; and, although he was prohibited from entering the city while in possession of this authority, he remained in its neighborhood, where he could make his influence promptly and decisively felt. When needful, the Senate was convened in some temple outside of the city walls,¹ in order that the great man might be present at its deliberations.

The Death of Clodius. — An event now occurred which raised Pompey still higher in power and influence. The year 53 had passed in contention and disorder: party dissensions had been so violent and unscrupulous that no magistrates could be elected for the year following. When New Year's Day arrived, there were no consuls to be inaugurated; the machinery of government had come to a stand-still, and, according to constitutional usage (p. 20), an *interrex* had to be appointed by the patrician senators, to set the wheels in motion again.

In this condition of things, it happened that two notorious bullies, the demagogue Clodius (p. 201) and Milo, a champion of the senatorial faction — "the Achilles and the Hector of the streets" — met upon the Appian Way, a few miles from the city, each at the head of a company of gladiators and roughs. In the fight that ensued, Clodius was killed. His body was carried

¹ More correctly the *pomarium*, or sacred enclosure of the city, which did not at all points run parallel with the city walls. As the Campus Martius was outside of the *pomarium*, he could remain there freely.

to Rome, and his funeral made the occasion of a disorderly political demonstration. The funeral pile was made in the Senate-house, and the building itself was consumed in the flames. Anarchy ran riot, and order was not restored until Pompey, without being required to lay down his other offices, was appointed sole consul—an unconstitutional authority and a meaningless term.¹ Milo was brought to trial, and Cicero was engaged as his counsel; but the howls of the mob intimidated the orator, and the splendid speech which he had prepared was never delivered. Milo went into exile at Massilia.

Attitude of Pompey.—The course of events had thus separated Pompey from his democratic associates, and brought him into alliance with the senatorial party. This was not a surprising change, for he had never been at heart a democrat. But neither was he at heart attached to the aristocratic constitution of the state. He was for himself, first and always. Although no statesman, he was clear-sighted enough to see that the supreme power in Rome would be the prize of the man who had the courage and ability to seize it. The senatorial leaders, for their part, saw with equal clearness that Cæsar was their most dangerous adversary, and were ready to make Pompey their leader, and the nominal champion of the republic. It was a hollow coalition, no less than that between Cæsar and Pompey had been; for each party sought its own ends, and neither trusted the other, but each hoped to make of the other a means of victory over their common enemy Cæsar. Armed with such extraordinary powers, and with the support of the Senate, Pompey seemed all-powerful; and if he had had political abilities equal to his ambition, and to his unquestioned military capacity, it would seem that, in the absence of Cæsar, he might easily have made himself master of Rome.

Situation of Cæsar.—Cæsar's situation, meanwhile, was embarrassing, and even perilous. His legal term of office, as governor

¹ "Consul without colleague (*sine collega*)": but the very word *con-sul* means colleague. After a while Pompey appointed as colleague his father-in-law, Metellus Scipio.

of the three provinces, would end March 1, B.C. 49. After this date the Senate might send a successor to supersede him, but it was usual to allow the provincial governors to continue in command until the new year, and Cæsar had reckoned upon this. It was his plan to be elected consul for the year 48, and thus to pass at once from his proconsulate to the consulship. That he should do this was almost necessary for his personal safety, as his enemies made no secret of their intention to impeach him for various irregularities and misdemeanors, as soon as he should become a private citizen; for no magistrate could be impeached during his term of office. If he could obtain the consulship he would be safe, and would be sure of a new provincial governorship afterwards.

Impediments in Cæsar's Way. — But there was an impediment in the way. The election regularly took place in July, and there was a law requiring candidates for office to present themselves in person at the election. This Cæsar could not do without giving up his proconsular command, and becoming a private citizen; but the law had on several occasions been suspended, and it was part of the bargain between the triumvirs that it should be suspended in Cæsar's case, and that he should be allowed to offer himself as a candidate without leaving his province. By forgetfulness or trickery on Pompey's part, this privilege had not been legally obtained for Cæsar, and now, as the close of his command approached, he found himself without any security for the future.

Negotiations between the Parties. — On the other hand, when the terms of Pompey's threefold authority had expired,¹ his command in Spain was continued for five years, and he was placed by the Senate over Italy and all its resources. He felt so confident of his strength that he asserted openly that Cæsar was no more likely to resist the Senate than a child to give a blow to his parent; and when questioned as to his forces, he said he had but to stamp his foot, and Italy would swarm with soldiers. The year 50 passed with fruitless negotiations; the Senate, coming under the influence

¹ He was consul (B.C. 52), proconsul of Spain (54-49), and commissioner of corn supplies (57-52).

of the compromise or peace party, ordered both rivals to lay down arms. Cæsar declared that he was ready to do this, if Pompey would do the same ; but Pompey stubbornly refused.

Beginning of the Civil War.—With the new year B.C. 49, the war party regained the ascendancy in the Senate, and peremptorily ordered Cæsar to give up his command ; and when two tribunes, Mark Antony and Quintus Cassius, tried to use their legal right of intercession and stop the proceedings, their sacred character was violated, and they were obliged to escape in disguise to Cæsar's camp at Ravenna. Cæsar acted with his usual promptness and decision. Declaring himself the champion of the constitution, which had been violated in the person of the tribunes, he put his army in motion ; exclaiming "the die is cast," he led his troops over the little river Rubicon, which was the boundary between his province and Italy, and the civil war was begun.

Retreat of Pompey.—Cæsar's prompt action in crossing the Rubicon threw his opponents into distraction and panic. No soldiers sprang from the ground at Pompey's call ; he found himself destitute of resources, and was compelled to take refuge beyond the Adriatic Sea. The greater part of the magistrates and Senate accompanied him, and the government of the republic was set up at Thessalonica, on the coast of Macedonia. There were thus two rival governments, at Rome and Thessalonica, each claiming to be the legitimate one.

Cæsar's Conquest of the West.—It was necessary for Cæsar to secure himself in the West before following his enemy into the East. He first set things in order in Italy, then proceeded to Spain, and brought it under his authority. On his way back to Italy, he besieged and captured the rich city of Massilia, which had ardently espoused the cause of the republic. He left it in possession of its independence, but deprived it of the principal part of its territory ; and it continued for some years longer to exist as an inferior power, nominally independent of Rome. In the meantime Cæsar had sent Curio, one of his officers, to take possession of Africa ; but Curio was defeated and killed by Juba,

King of Mauritania, and Africa remained in possession of the senatorial party, while Cæsar's authority was supreme in Italy, Gaul, and Spain.

Cæsar's Dictatorship. — During Cæsar's absence in the West he was appointed dictator, which office he held for only eleven days, using its machinery to procure his own election to the consul-



JULIUS CÆSAR. (From a Bust in the Museum of the Louvre.)

ship for the next year, B.C. 48. He also procured the passage of an important act giving the citizenship to the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul.¹ This was in the line of the policy of the early

¹ As the communities which obtained the franchise by this law were almost entirely north of the Po, it is generally known as a law giving citizenship to the *Transpadani*.

democratic leaders, who had procured the citizenship for the Italian allies (p. 175). Cisalpine Gaul had been made subject to Rome before the war with Hannibal (p. 111), and had been governed as a province. Cæsar had for many years been the champion of its inhabitants, and almost his first act, when in possession of supreme power, was to procure them the suffrage. As a result, Cisalpine Gaul ceased to be reckoned as a province, and now became a part of Italy.

Financial Legislation. — Cæsar's most important legislation at this period was for the relief of financial embarrassments. We have seen how the unbounded extravagance of the young nobles had plunged them hopelessly into debt (p. 188), and how the demand for "New Accounts" had led to an attempt to revolutionize the government, in the conspiracy of Catiline. Cæsar himself was deeply involved in debt, and it was believed that he had secretly been an accomplice of Catiline; every one expected, therefore, that now that he was in possession of the power, he would follow out the programme of his party, and proclaim "new accounts." But he disappointed these expectations, and promulgated instead a moderate measure for the relief of debtors, deducting the interest already paid from the principal, and requiring property to be taken in liquidation of the debts at the valuation before the outbreak of the war. The revolutionists were keenly disappointed by this law, and attempted, in Cæsar's absence, to carry more sweeping measures of relief; but by his moderation in this respect, as well as by his unexpected clemency, Cæsar gained the confidence and support of quiet and conservative citizens.

Cæsar in Greece. — Having thus secured himself in the West, and assumed the consulship for the year 48, Cæsar followed Pompey into the East. His forces were much inferior to those of his antagonist, and Pompey still ranked as the greatest soldier of his generation. Moreover, Cæsar's first operations were far from promising. By a rash and hasty attempt to capture Dyrrhachium, upon the coast of Illyricum, he came near being ruined. Even his extraordinary fertility of resources scarcely rescued him. He

escaped with great difficulty into Thessaly, where the two rivals encountered one another upon the plains of Pharsalus, just south of Cynoscephalæ (p. 133).

Battle of Pharsalus. — The armies were very unequal in numbers: Pompey had 47,000 infantry, Cæsar barely 22,000. In cavalry there was a still greater disparity: Cæsar had not much over 1000, against Pompey's 7000. The armies were drawn up in such a manner that Cæsar's left flank and Pompey's right were protected, while the other flanks stretched into the open plain. Pompey therefore made his attack upon Cæsar's right, where his powerful cavalry speedily routed Cæsar's handful of horsemen, and drove them in flight, designing then to take Cæsar's infantry upon the flank. But in the rear of the fleeing horse they suddenly encountered a body of 2000 infantry, picked veterans of the Gallic army, who charged impetuously upon the victorious cavalry, using their javelins as pikes, and thrusting them in the faces of the enemy.¹ This infantry charge decided the battle; Pompey's army was broken in pieces, and he himself, losing heart, fled in all haste to Egypt.

Cæsar in the East. — Egypt was at this time ruled by the boy-king, Ptolemy Dionysus, who had expelled his sister and consort, Cleopatra. When the defeated Pompey arrived on the shore of Egypt to seek a refuge, the ministers of Ptolemy, unwilling to receive him, and yet not daring to leave him at large, had him perfidiously assassinated; and his dissevered head was the first sight that greeted Cæsar when he arrived at Alexandria in pursuit. A few months were spent by Cæsar in ordering affairs in Egypt, where he restored Cleopatra to her throne and suppressed a dangerous revolt; and in Asia Minor, where Pharnaces, son of Mithradates, ventured to oppose him. The rapidity of his
B.O. 47. victory over Pharnaces was expressed in his laconic mis-
 sive: *Veni, vidi, vici*; "I came, I saw, I conquered."

¹ The order to strike in their faces was, says Mommsen, in order to secure the greatest efficacy of their weapons, — not, as is often alleged, to disfigure the faces of the dandies.

War in Africa. — The year of Cæsar's operations in the East had been energetically spent by the republican leaders in preparing to resist the conqueror in Africa, the only part of the empire which now remained to them. They were under the command of Metellus Scipio, a zealous aristocrat, but a man of mean character, and Cato, the true leader and the best representative of his party, an honest man, but narrow in opinions and prejudices. Cato held Utica, the capital of the province, while Scipio commanded the army in the field.

Mutiny of the Troops. — After the victory of Pharsalus, Cæsar was appointed to a second dictatorship, and before proceeding against Scipio and Cato, made a brief visit to Italy, whence he prepared to transport his army to Africa. But a dangerous mutiny threatened to defeat all his plans. The soldiers in Campania, tired of their long warfare and disappointed as yet in their expectations of plunder and vengeance, refused to move until certain promised rewards should be paid them, assaulted their officers, and marched to Rome, demanding discharge. To their unutterable surprise it was promptly granted; and when their general proceeded to address them, no longer as "fellow soldiers," but as "fellow citizens" (*Quirites*), they at once submitted, and begged him to receive them again into his service. This he did, punishing the ringleaders, however, by depriving them of a large part of their donatives. Cæsar's genius was never more conspicuous than in the suppression of this mutiny.

Battle of Thapsus. — The decisive battle, fatal to the republic, was fought the next year, B.C. 46, at Thapsus in Africa. The army of the republic was commanded by Metellus Scipio, a soldier quite incapable of meeting Cæsar on equal terms. The mutiny of the year before had displayed the lawless spirit of Cæsar's soldiers; and at Thapsus they showed this again, rushing impetuously forward without waiting for the word of command, but forcing their general to fall into line with them. Scipio's array of elephants was thrown into disorder, and his army was swept away with them. The victors refused to give quarter. Fifty

thousand of the republican army were slaughtered, while only about fifty of Cæsar's troops fell. At the news of the defeat, which he had expected, Cato put himself to death at Utica, determined not to survive the republic.

Cæsar's Triumphs. — On his return to Rome Cæsar celebrated a fourfold triumph for his victories : over the Gauls, King Ptolemy of Egypt, King Pharnaces of Pontus, and Juba of Mauritania. The sentiment of nationality and patriotism was still too strong to permit a triumph over fellow-citizens ; the victories over Pompey and Scipio received no commemoration.

Cæsar's Third Dictatorship. — At the news of the battle of Thapsus a third dictatorship, for ten years, was bestowed upon Cæsar, together with the censorial power (*præfectura morum*) for three years, and the right to nominate all magistrates. The tribunician power he had already received in the year 48 ; and to the office of *pontifex maximus*, or head of the Roman religion, he had been elected B.C. 63. He now entered upon a series of legislative acts of a far-reaching and beneficent character. Among these were laws which regulated the military service, the care of the streets, the government of the provinces, the evils of luxurious living, and the criminal courts ; the provision of the Aurelian law (p. 195), by which one-third of the jurors in these were taken from the officers of the tribes, was abolished, and the juries were to be composed equally of senators and knights. The number who received donations of corn from the state was reduced from 320,000 to 150,000. The organization of the municipal system (p. 175) belongs to this group of laws. An attempt was also made to counteract the most dangerous tendencies of Italian society (pp. 150–2) by a law providing that one-third of the herdsmen should be freemen ; another law seems to have regulated loans and mortgages. Large assignments of land were made to his veterans, and care was taken that they should neither be concentrated in a few localities, nor interfere with previous occupation. With Cæsar began also the regular coinage of gold ; the *aureus*, of the value of 100 sesterces (\$5.00), issued by him, was the

standard of the early Empire, and retained its purity until the reign of Nero.

Reform of the Calendar.—The most important of these acts was the reform of the calendar, which he accomplished by his authority as *pontifex maximus*. The Roman calendar had probably been the clumsiest and most inconvenient that any civilized nation ever had;¹ and it had fallen so completely out of relation with the seasons that in the year 49 the vernal equinox came in May. Cæsar established the calendar which, with some slight improvements, still continues in use.² It went into operation on the 1st of January, 45. To make the new year correspond with the season, it was necessary to make so large an intercalation that the year 46 consisted of fifteen months of four hundred and forty-five days.

Battle of Munda, B.C. 45.—One more military exploit remained. The battle of Pharsalus had dissolved the connection between the party of Pompey and that of the republic. The sons of Pompey, Gnæus and Sextus, escaped their father's fate. They did not join the republican leaders in Africa, having no interest in the preservation of the Republic, but repaired to Spain, where their father had many adherents, and here set up an independent power. Cæsar followed them the year after Thapsus, **B.C. 45.** and by a final victory at Munda established his undivided authority over the Roman empire. Gnæus shortly after lost his life, but Sextus continued an active career for several years.

The Empire.—The battle of Munda was followed by new grants of honor and power to Cæsar, chief of which was the bestowal of the title *Imperator*, to be held for life, and transmitted to his heirs.

¹ It consisted of four months of 31 days, seven of 29, while February had 28 every other year; in the alternate years an intercalary month of 27 days being inserted after February, which on these years had alternately 23 and 24 days.

² It is known as the *Julian Calendar*; as corrected by Pope Gregory XIII. in the sixteenth century (omitting the intercalation once in a century), it is called the *Gregorian Calendar*.

By this act an hereditary monarchy was formally established in Rome. The Republic had come to an end with the battle of Thapsus, and Cæsar had been invested with absolute power under the name of a republican magistracy. With the title *Imperator* a new magistracy, monarchical and hereditary in character, B.O. 44. came into existence. Early the next year the dictatorship was made perpetual.

III. THE DEATH OF CÆSAR.

Cæsar's Craving for the Royal Title. — With all his greatness, Cæsar was not free from the human foibles of vanity and ostentation, or from that craving for empty titles, which was afterwards the ruin of Napoleon, and from which even Cromwell was not exempt. He possessed the substance of kingly power, and it was made hereditary in his family; but he was not satisfied without the name of king. And yet he did not dare to assume the name in the face of the intense hatred in which it was held by the people of Rome. But he allowed himself to be the object of extravagant honors, and even to be worshipped as a god. He surrounded himself, so far as was possible in the presence of the memories of the Republic, with the ceremonial of oriental monarchies. When Mark Antony, his colleague in the consulship of B.C. 44, offered him a diadem in the presence of the people, at the festival of the Lupercalia (Feb. 15), he twice rejected it, but in such a way that, as Shakespeare puts it, "For all that, he would fain have had it."

Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt. — Thus Cæsar was king in all but name, and he took little pains to conciliate the feelings of the republicans by moderation of demeanor. He even received in Rome the visits of the dissolute Queen Cleopatra; and the proposition was made in the Senate, — it cannot be supposed that it was without his knowledge, — that he should be allowed to marry as many wives as he pleased, and whomsoever (that is, from whatever nation) he pleased. This was in order to enable him to marry

Cleopatra. The law in question would have abrogated the strict law of marriage, upon which Roman institutions rested (p. 61), and, what is worse, would have destroyed the very foundation of the Roman family, and set up the oriental harem in its place.¹ So far had Cæsar departed from the spirit of those institutions to which Rome owed its greatness.

Conspiracy for Cæsar's Death. — We need not be surprised, therefore, that a conspiracy was formed to put an end to a dominion which so outraged Roman sentiment, nor that the conspiracy included, not only friends of the Republic, but some of Cæsar's earlier adherents. It was not, however, wholly inspired by worthy and patriotic motives. Its leader, Gaius Cassius, was a peevish, disappointed man, who desired to avenge a personal slight.² His chief associate, Marcus Brutus, was a consistent upholder of the senatorial rule, a man of philosophical tastes and temperament, who brooded over the loss of public liberty, and weakly allowed himself to be made the tool of Cassius and other schemers. The identity of his name with that of the traditional founder of the Republic, although there was probably no relationship between the two, was used as a powerful incentive upon a mind incapable of broad statesmanship. He could not see that the Republic had really perished, that Cæsar's rule had established peace and order, and that his death would be the signal for new disturbances and bloodshed. The leader next in importance was Decimus Brutus, whose share in the event was even less creditable; for he was neither a fanatic, like Marcus, nor had he, like Cassius, any grievances, real or fancied, against Cæsar, from whom he had received peculiar favor and friendship.³

¹ It is related that King Ptolemy of Egypt offered marriage to Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi. We are not told how the offer was received, but such a marriage was not possible by Roman law.

² Cæsar had withheld from him the consulship, to which he thought himself entitled.

³ It was Decimus Brutus, not Marcus, who engaged Cæsar's personal affection. Shakespeare is mistaken in this.

Plans of the Conspirators. — The conspirators vainly imagined that if the "tyrant" should be removed the Republic could be easily restored, and that the populace would gather enthusiastically about the champions of liberty. But the Roman populace had long ceased to have any real interest in the institutions of the Republic. They hated the name of king, but for the substance of monarchical power they cared little. So long as they had their distributions of corn and free exhibitions in the circus and amphitheatre (*panem et circenses*), they were satisfied. Cæsar's humanity, liberality, and justice had won their hearts; and the conspiracy proved a melancholy, almost a ridiculous, failure.

Their Preparations. — There were in all some sixty accomplices; and for nearly a month they succeeded in keeping their designs secret: not so secret, however, but that Cæsar received more than one warning, to which he heedlessly refused to pay attention. It was debated among the conspirators whether Cæsar's colleague in the consulship, Mark Antony, and his master of the horse, Marcus Lepidus, should also be slain; but Brutus urged that it would pollute their sacred cause if any should be put to death but the tyrant himself. It was proposed to admit Cicero to a knowledge of their plans; but this too was judged unadvisable. The assassination was fixed for the Ides of March (March 15), B.C. 44, on which day a regular session of the Senate was to be held. At this meeting a new consul was to be nominated to take Cæsar's place for the remainder of the year.¹

The Assassination. — The Senate sat, on this occasion, in a hall attached to the theatre of Pompey, on the Campus Martius, not far from the Capitoline.² A statue of Pompey stood in the hall, and it was at the foot of this statue,³ "which all the while ran

¹ This was the plan regularly followed under the empire, that the first, or *eponymous*, consuls of each year retired after some months. In some cases there was a succession of several pairs during the year.

² This was the first stone theatre erected in Rome.

³ The statue from which the illustration is taken (p. 192) was found in this neighborhood, and is believed to have been the one at whose base Cæsar fell.

blood," that "great Cæsar fell." One of the conspirators detained Mark Antony out of doors, in order that there might be no interruption of the deed. Another, presenting a petition, grasped Cæsar's robe, to impede his movements, while "the envious Casca" struck him from behind in the neck. For a moment he defended himself; then, seeing that he was hemmed in by a circle of armed enemies, and that resistance could avail him nothing, he covered his face with his toga, at the same time dropping its folds so as to cover his feet, and died without a struggle.¹ The conspirators then, holding aloft their bloody daggers, rushed into the street and proclaimed the restoration of liberty.

Events following the Assassination.— It soon appeared how woefully they had deceived themselves. The senators had fled in terror. The people, instead of flocking to their support, shrank from them in bewilderment. They saw the fatal mistake they had made in suffering Antony and Lepidus to live; for, had these been removed, Brutus, as *prætor urbanus*, would have been the chief magistrate of the state. As it was, these two friends of Cæsar were armed with all civil and military power, as lawful rulers, and Brutus and Cassius were nothing but conspirators. Lepidus was a man without weight or influence; but Antony, far from being the trifler that they had fancied him, showed himself possessed of lofty ambition, ready in resources, prompt and resolute in action. He at once possessed himself of Cæsar's papers and treasures, and was master of the situation.

Cæsar's Funeral.— Meanwhile the conspirators, disappointed in their expectations, had taken refuge in the Capitol, protected by the gladiators of Decimus Brutus. Weeks passed in bargaining and intriguing. The passions of the people were easily excited against the conspirators by Antony's adroit eloquence; and when

¹ There is no classical authority for the famous *Et tu Brute!* When Tillius Cimber pulled his robe, he cried, *Ista quidem vis est!* at the first stroke he exclaimed angrily to Casca, after which he appears not to have uttered a word, although some reported that when he saw Marcus Brutus among the assassins, he said, *καὶ σὺ τέκνον!*

Cæsar's will was read, which gave liberal donations to the people, their gratitude and affection were roused to a high degree of enthusiasm.¹ They seized Cæsar's body, carried it into the Forum, to a place opposite his residence, and burned it upon a funeral pile constructed of benches and other chance timber. On this spot a temple was afterwards erected to the deified Cæsar (*Divus Julius*), the ruins of which have been lately discovered.²

Domination of Mark Antony.—Antony now had everything his own way, and ruled with vindictiveness and arrogance. The conspirators found themselves powerless, and were fortunate in being allowed to depart in safety from the city. Provinces for the next year had been assigned to the leaders before Cæsar's death, and now they proceeded to take possession of them. Decimus Brutus assumed command in Cisalpine Gaul, where he was attacked by the consul Antony; Marcus Brutus became governor of Macedonia, and Cassius of Syria. In July Cicero left Italy, to spend at least the rest of the year in the East, but was driven back by unfavorable winds, and plucked up courage to return to Rome, where he arrived about the end of August, and at once placed himself at the head of the opposition to Antony. The six months that followed are the noblest in his life.

Character of Cæsar.—The character of Cæsar³ and his influence upon the world are subjects upon which it is not easy to form a positive opinion. He was one of those men of lofty genius, like Napoleon, who believe themselves, and are tacitly admitted by their admirers, to be exceptional beings, not bound

¹ Shakespeare's account of these occurrences, as usual in his historical plays, has many inaccuracies of detail, but seizes the spirit of events with remarkable truthfulness.

² Cæsar's residence, the *regia* (the official residence of the *pontifex maximus*), was on the Sacred Way, just east of the Forum, where its remains have recently, as is believed, been identified.

³ Froude's life of Cæsar is the best, and is characterized by genuine historic insight, but is one-sided and not always accurate in detail. See also Mr. Ropes' paper on the portraits of Cæsar, in *Scribner's Monthly* for February, 1887.

by the rules of conduct which govern human relations in general. His early life is admitted to have been dissolute ; his mature life was not controlled by any considerations of right and wrong. But his impulses were generous and humane ; he saw clearly the evils of society and government, and possessed an intuitive perception of the means to check them. With all his kindness of heart, he was capable of gross bad faith and wholesale slaughter, when it served his purposes. His premature death makes it impossible for us to judge what his reconstruction of the state might have accomplished for society, especially seeing that his successor, Augustus, adopted a plan of government widely at variance with his. His measures in themselves were eminently wise, and his organization of the municipal system shows that he realized the value of local self-government (p. 175). But the eagerness with which he pursued the phantom of royalty, which caused his downfall, leads us to question whether, if he had lived, he would not have made the mistake of so many men of genius, and constructed a scheme of government which no one was capable of administering but himself.



GLADIATORS. (From an Ancient Mosaic.)

CHAPTER XVII.

OCTAVIAN.

The Young Octavius.—Soon after Cæsar's assassination, his grand-nephew, Gaius Octavius, returned to Rome from the East, where he had been sojourning. He



THE YOUNG CÆSAR.

was a young man of nineteen, and as Cæsar left no legitimate descendants, he adopted Octavius by will, and made him his heir. As the law required, he took the name of his adoptive father, Gaius Julius Cæsar, from whom he is usually distinguished by the surname Octavian.¹ The delicate health of the young Cæsar had kept him out of a military life, and, as "the nephew of his uncle," he seems to have been regarded with some degree of contempt. He was, however, long-headed and astute, cool and sagacious, devoid of passion or affection, and proved himself a match for the most experienced politicians of Rome.

Octavian as the Champion of the Senate.—The relations of Octavian with Antony were not at first friendly. Antony had taken possession of Cæsar's property, and when the young heir demanded

¹ He does not appear to have used this name himself, but it is employed by most modern historians.

his inheritance, he was told that it had been already expended for public purposes. Without hesitation Octavian, with the assistance of his relatives, but chiefly from his own fortune, paid Cæsar's legacies, and thus gained permanent popularity with the populace. He now joined the party of the Senate, which invested him with extraordinary powers; and during the autumn and winter that followed he was its leading champion in the field. It was during this winter that Cicero delivered his last series of speeches, — his fourteen invectives against Antony, which are known as *Philippics*.¹ B.O. 44.

Octavian's Treachery. — The consuls for the following year were Hirtius and Pansa, former adherents of Cæsar, but who now held with the Senate. Antony was engaged in besieging Decimus Brutus at Mutina (*Modena*), and the consuls, with Octavius, advanced to raise the siege. Two battles followed in April, in which Antony was decisively beaten, and retired across the Alps, where he joined Lepidus; in these battles both consuls lost their lives. Octavian had done good service to the Republic, and now demanded the vacant office of consul. But the Senate distrusted him, and it was not until the end of the summer that the consulship was reluctantly granted to him. It was too late. He was already alienated, if, indeed, he had ever been sincere in his support of the Senate. He now united himself with Antony and Lepidus, and the city fell again under military rule. B.O. 43.

The Second Triumvirate. — The three conspirators, masters of the city and all its military forces, had themselves appointed *triumvirs*,² with full authority to govern and reorganize the state. The power was granted for five years, and was afterwards extended for five more, after which time the triumvirs did not think it necessary to seek any legal foundation of their authority. They commenced their rule by a proscription even more cold-blooded than

¹ So called from their resemblance to Demosthenes' Philippic orations (against Philip of Macedon).

² This was the name given by the Romans to the members of a board of three (p. 200).

that of Sulla, in which each member of the trio gratified his resentment by procuring the sacrifice of his personal enemies. Lepidus conceded the death of his brother, Antony that of his uncle, while Cicero fell a victim to the enmity of Antony, whom he had attacked most bitterly during the past winter. The number who perished was said to surpass the victims of Sulla's proscription, and to have included 300 senators and 2000 knights.

Battle of Philippi. — In the meantime Brutus and Cassius had organized an army in their provinces of the East, while Sextus Pompey, with a strong naval force, was master of a large part of the Mediterranean. The triumvirs proceeded first against the republican leaders, whom they met at Philippi in the year 42. The battle here fought was the most considerable in the Roman annals up to this time; the army of the Republic counted some 80,000, that of the triumvirs 120,000. There were two battles at Philippi. In the first, Brutus, upon the right wing, drove the forces of Octavian, while upon the left Cassius was routed by Antony. Cassius, in a fit of unmanly despair, slew himself, and twenty days later Brutus in his turn was defeated by the united forces of the triumvirs, and took his own life. With the deaths of Cassius and Brutus ended the attempt to restore the Republic by assassination.

Rule of the Triumvirs. — The triumvirate lasted for more than ten years, during which time, however, the incompetent

B.O. 36. Lepidus was set aside by his more energetic colleagues. In this interval, too, Sextus Pompey was overthrown and

B.O. 35. slain. Having rid themselves of all rivals, the two remaining triumvirs divided the Empire between them, Octavian taking the West and Antony the East. Here Antony associated himself with the voluptuous Cleopatra, and undertook a war against the Parthians, in which he himself gained only dishonor, while all the success and reputation went to his lieutenant Ventidius.

War between Octavian and Antony. — An effort was made to cement the bond between the triumvirs, and to wean Antony from

his infatuated love for Cleopatra, by marrying him to Octavia, the sister of Octavian. But the fascinations of Cleopatra were too powerful; he resigned himself to luxury and idleness in her court, and at last, for her sake, divorced his faithful wife Octavia, with brutal disregard of her dignity, and of public opinion. This disgraceful conduct aroused the Roman people, and war was declared against Egypt — not a civil war between the Roman triumvirs, but a war in which Antony, now a traitor, was associated with a foreign enemy against the lawful government of his native country.

Battle of Actium. — The contest was decided by a naval battle. The fleets met Sept. 2, B.C. 31, in the Bay of Actium, west of Greece. Hardly had the fight begun, when Cleopatra hoisted sail, and hastened to leave the line of battle, followed immediately by Antony. But their followers fought with desperation until their fleet was destroyed. The cause of Antony and Cleopatra was lost. When Octavian followed them the next year, they were found unprepared. First Antony, in despair, put himself to death, and Cleopatra followed his example, in order to escape the ignominy of being carried in the conqueror's triumphal procession. Octavian was master of the world.

Establishment of the Empire. — The conqueror, well assured of his strength, made no haste to return to Rome, but employed his time in establishing affairs in the East upon a permanent basis. Egypt was annexed to the Empire, which now embraced the entire circuit of the Mediterranean lands with the exception of the wild regions of Thrace and Mauretania, and the free republics of Lycia, Rhodes, and Massilia. Octavian returned to the city in the year B.C. 29, and celebrated a threefold triumph, — one over the Dalmatians, one for the victory of Actium, and a third for the final subjugation of Egypt. The gates of the temple of Janus¹ were now

¹ This was an arched passage east of the Forum, the gates of which were opened in time of war. Between the mythical reign of Numa (p. 15) and the present time, they had only once been closed, at a time between the First and Second Punic Wars.





PERIOD VI.—THE EARLY EMPIRE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AUGUSTUS.

I. THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS.

The Dyarchy.—The Empire established by Augustus was not a pure monarchy, such as Julius Cæsar had planned, and Diocletian established three hundred years later. The government was still called a Republic; and the Emperor (or, as he was more properly called, the Prince) was a magistrate, all whose powers were derived from those of republican magistrates. The constitution of the early empire has been called a *Dyarchy*,¹—that is, a government of two powers,—the old republican constitution still continuing in operation, and a new magistrate, the Emperor, exercising an independent authority by its side. It may be compared to a constitutional monarchy like that of England, where the substantial power belongs to Parliament, while the sovereign continues to possess some remains of his original monarchical authority. In Rome the relations were reversed. It was the republican institutions which had lost their vitality, and only survived as a shadow; while the real power was, to all intents and purposes, in the hands of a monarch, the Emperor.

Prince and Senate.—The title Prince designated the Emperor as first citizen;² and Augustus took pains to appear with the republican simplicity of a citizen, not, as Julius had done, with

¹ This name is given by Mommsen to the system of government now established.

² This title had nothing to do with the republican dignity of *princeps senatus*, although this too was enjoyed by Augustus.

the ceremonial of royalty. But exclusive authority over the armies of the Republic was given to him for a term of ten years, and then renewed; while the tribunician power, granted for life, placed him in possession of the most important civil functions. The possession of this twofold authority made him the supreme power in the state, so that the Senate, the organ of the republican institutions, nominally his equal, was practically subject to his will. What survived of the republican institutions was now vested in the Senate. The assemblies gradually lost all effective participation in public concerns, and at last disappeared entirely; but the Senate never, until the time of Diocletian, ceased to have a share in the government, and on various occasions it made itself the organ of an active opposition to the monarchical power.

Division of Power. — The division of power between the Prince and the Senate is seen most distinctly in the government of the provinces. As the Emperor had the exclusive command of the armies, it was natural that those provinces which required a military force should be assigned to him. He governed them as Pompey had done in the case of Spain (p. 202) by deputies (*legati*), residing himself at Rome, or visiting the various parts of the Empire from time to time. The rest of the provinces, about ten in number (the division varying from time to time), were governed by proconsuls appointed by the Senate, as in the time of the Republic. The senatorial provinces were, as was natural, the oldest and most orderly, — Sicily, Africa, Achaia (Greece), Macedonia, Asia, Further Spain, Narbonnese Gaul.

The Imperial Præfects. — In the government of the city (which now comprised the whole of Italy) there was more danger that the two authorities would clash. Here the Emperor was represented by Præfects, whose powers were not easily distinguished from those of the republican magistrates. One præfect had charge of the supplies of corn, another of the City, while a third had command of the emperor's body-guard, the Prætorian Cohorts, — a corps of nine thousand troops, stationed in Italy, and after the death of Augustus concentrated in Rome.

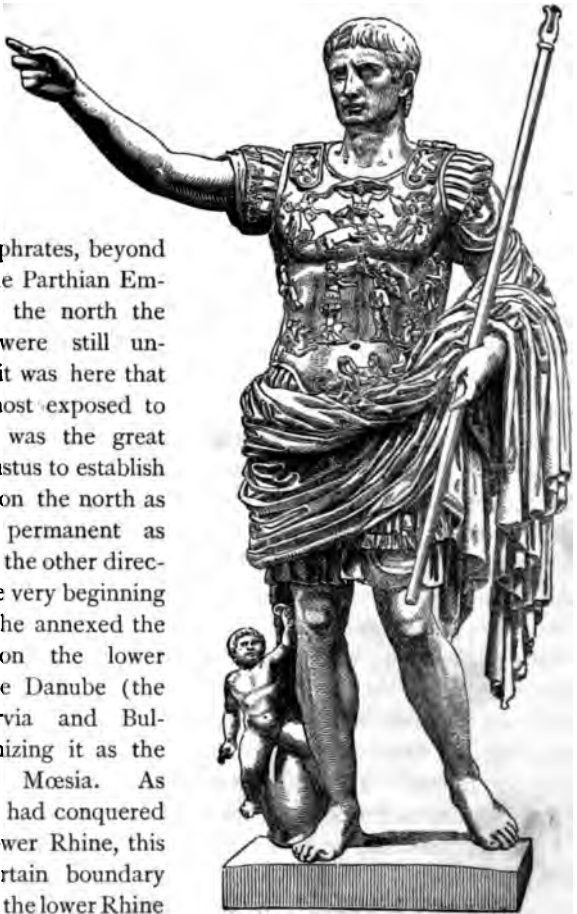
It followed, as a matter of course, that the City Præfect became in reality the municipal chief magistrate ; and that the Prætorian Præfect, having command of the military forces in Italy (where no divisions of the regular army were stationed), became the chief support of the emperor's authority, and rose to be the most powerful subject. These two præfects drew into their hands almost all judicial authority, and before long the magistrates were as powerless and shadowy as the assemblies.

The Family of Augustus. — Augustus had climbed to supreme power by bloodshed and bad faith ; but the disappointments that he experienced in his family relations, and his failure to transmit his ill-gotten power to his descendants, may almost be regarded as a retribution. Falling violently in love with Livia, the wife of Tiberius Nero, he obliged Nero to divorce his wife, and then married her himself (p. 189). But Livia brought him no children, although her two sons by her former marriage, Tiberius and Drusus, were received into his family, and the elder was finally adopted as his successor. Augustus at first intended the succession for the young Marcellus, son of his sister Octavia ; and upon the untimely death of Marcellus, he looked to his daughter's posterity. He had but one child, a daughter, Julia, whom he married to Marcus Agrippa, his ablest general and statesman. But the two eldest sons of this marriage, Gaius and Lucius, died young ; while a third son, Agrippa Postumus, was so dull and boorish as to be unfit for the throne. When Agrippa died, the emperor married Julia to his step-son Tiberius, whom he required, for this purpose, to divorce his wife, the daughter of Agrippa. This marriage brought nothing but misery. Julia was vicious and bad-tempered, Tiberius proud and sensitive. To escape her he went to reside at Rhodes, where he remained several years ; while she, after a lawless and dissolute life, was banished by her father, and died in exile. Tiberius was now adopted by Augustus, associated with him in his authority, and designated as his successor.

The Boundaries of the Empire. — The Roman Empire, at the accession of Augustus, comprised nearly all the lands which border

upon the Mediterranean Sea, being confined within natural boundaries in three directions, — on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by the African

Desert, on the east by the Arabian Desert and the upper course of the river Euphrates, beyond which was the Parthian Empire. Upon the north the boundaries were still unsettled, and it was here that they were most exposed to assault. It was the great work of Augustus to establish a frontier upon the north as secure and permanent as were those in the other directions. At the very beginning of his reign he annexed the territory upon the lower course of the Danube (the modern Servia and Bulgaria), organizing it as the province of Mœsia. As Julius Cæsar had conquered up to the lower Rhine, this left an uncertain boundary only between the lower Rhine and the lower Danube.¹



AUGUSTUS. (From the Statue in the Vatican.)

¹ See Map of the Roman Dominions at the end of the Mithradatic War. The Roman color should be given also to Egypt, Numidia, Cyprus and Gaul.

The Danube Frontier.—The next task of Augustus was to occupy this intervening territory north of Italy, as far as the Danube,—a difficult task, because the hardy mountaineers of these regions made an obstinate and determined resistance. The command was given to his two step-sons, Tiberius and Drusus, able and energetic young men, who in a few years subdued the country from the Alps to the Danube, organizing it as the provinces of Rætia and Noricum. This task accomplished, the brothers were separated, Tiberius being sent to complete the occupation of the Danube, while Drusus should extend the empire east of the Rhine. The task of Tiberius was soon accomplished. Northeast of Italy a low and practicable pass by the Julian Alps (p. 1) connects the lands upon the Adriatic with the valley of the Save, the principal confluent of the Danube from the south. This valley was made into the province of Pannonia, which was gradually extended to the north, so as at last to reach the Danube and include all the lands, now Western Hungary, west and south of the great bend of that river. The conquest of Pannonia was completed rapidly; but after some years, a formidable revolt called Tiberius to that quarter, and occupied him for three years.

The German Frontier.—In Germany it was the policy of Augustus to make the Elbe, instead of the Rhine, the boundary of the Empire. By this the great mountain-chains of Bohemia and Moravia would serve as an insurmountable barrier against invasion in that direction; and the northeastern frontier of the Empire would extend in almost a direct line from the mouth of the Elbe to the great turn in the course of the Danube, above Buda-Pesth. These mountain regions were occupied by the German nation of the Marcomani (*frontiersmen*), who were generally friendly to the Romans. The country further north, between the Rhine and the Elbe, was, on the other hand, occupied by warlike and hostile nations, who presented a determined resistance to the Roman advance. While still engaged in the work of conquest, Drusus died; and Tiberius, who had

now accomplished the conquest of Pannonia, took the place of his brother, and completed his work. Germany from the Rhine to the Elbe was a Roman province.

Check to the Roman Advance.—The conquest was of course a superficial one, consisting only in the occupation of a few military posts. It would require years of warfare and administration, as had been the case in Spain, to convert this military occupation into a secure possession; and this result was not destined to be attained. At this point the Roman Empire was forced to take its first step backward. In the year 9 A.D. the governor of Germany was Lucius Varus, a brave man and good officer, but wholly incompetent to govern a people like the Germans, of indomitable courage and a proud spirit of independence. He had somewhat the same arrogant contempt for the irregular warfare of a half-civilized nation that General Braddock had for his Indian antagonists. He was warned of an impending insurrection, but he could not believe that the unconquered Roman legions had anything to fear from the undisciplined levies of barbarians.

The Fight in the Teutoburg Forest.—The leader in the uprising was a young chief of the Cherusci, called by the Romans Arminius, which is supposed to be their way of putting the German name *Hermann*. He had served in the Roman armies, and knew their strength and weakness. He had made formal submission to the Romans, and was favored and trusted by Varus. When all his preparations were ready, he caused the news of a revolt among the German tribes to be brought to the Roman commander, who at once broke up his camp upon the Weser, and proceeded by an unfamiliar route to suppress the uprising. While the army was making its way through the wilderness, it was suddenly assaulted by its concealed enemies. The fight lasted three days, and ended with the complete annihilation of the Roman army, and the overthrow of the Roman dominion in Germany. A few years A.D. 14-18, later, Germanicus, the son of Drusus, invaded these regions for three successive years, inflicted vengeance for

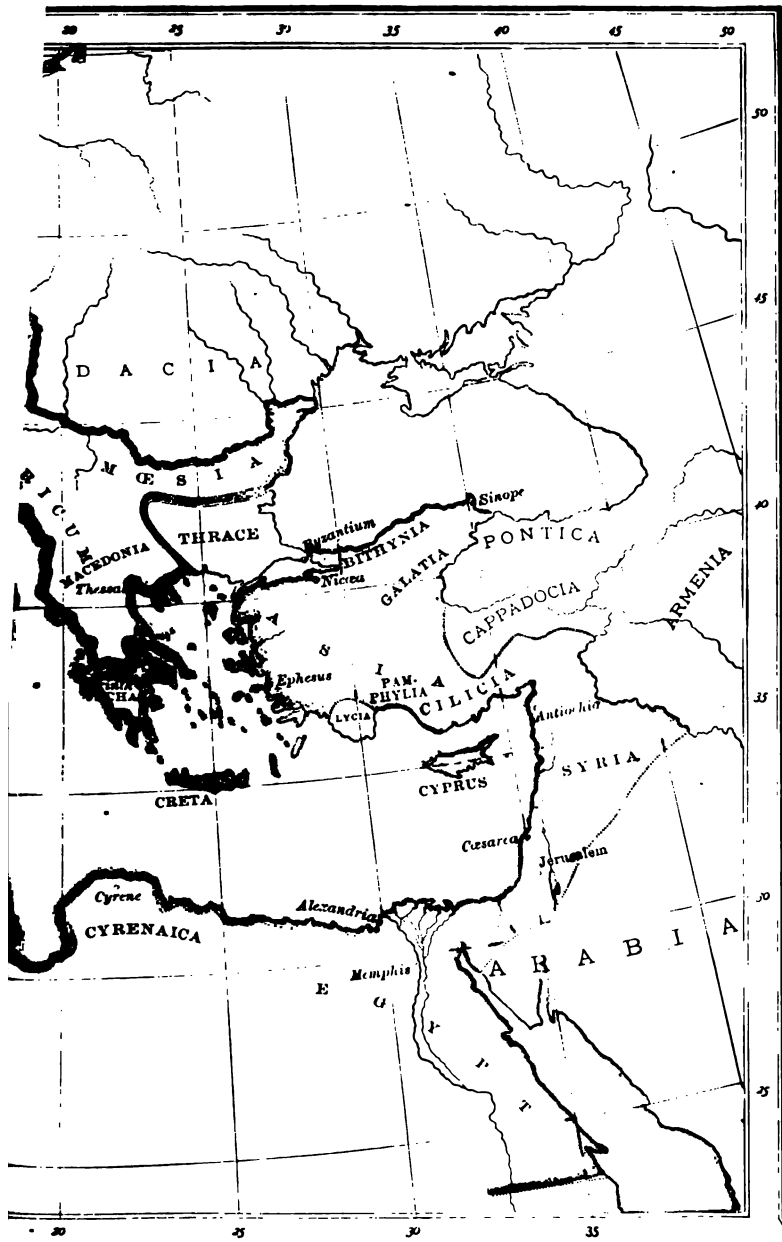


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the disaster, and recovered the lost ensigns of the legions. But the lost dominion was never regained.¹

Death of Augustus.—This was the greatest disaster which Augustus ever sustained, not merely a defeat in battle, but a loss of empire,—the first retreat which the Romans ever made from territory which they had once occupied. The aged emperor was broken down by so terrible a reverse at the close of his life, suffered his beard and hair to grow,—a mark of mourning,—and cried again and again, “Quintilius Varus, give me back my legions!” He died five years afterwards, asking his friends in his last moments whether he had not played his part well in the comedy of life.² A.D. 14.

His Work.—The work of Augustus was a great and enduring one. He did not found a permanent dynasty; and the emperors of his own household, who succeeded him, have not as a whole left a happy memory. Moreover, there were defects in his political system, which at last brought it to ruin. But it had a long and successful life, and for the time it solved perfectly the political problem. Bringing order out of disorder, inaugurating a period of peace after a long and bloody civil war, ruling with remarkable tact and sagacity, Augustus impressed his contemporaries powerfully with the feeling of his greatness. It seemed that it was only to Divine Providence that they owed such blessings; and while he never, like Julius, allowed himself to be worshipped as a god, it is not to be wondered at that a form of worship, devoted to the deity incarnate in the emperor, gathered about him, and soon became the principal cult of the provinces, and a chief agency for maintaining the imperial power.³

¹ There is no direct evidence as to the locality of this battle-field, the Teutoburg Forest; but it was probably just north of the river Lippe, about half-way between the Rhine and the Weser.

² *Ecquid iis videretur nimium vitae commode transegisse* (Suet., *Aug.* 99).

³ This worship of the Emperor, hardly known except from inscriptions, may be regarded as the distinctive religion of the Empire.

II. THE AUGUSTAN AGE.

The Age of Augustus.—The reign of Augustus was made illustrious by a group of writers, in prose and poetry, and by a splendor and activity in art, such as have seldom existed in the history of the human race. This period marks the culmination of the Roman genius in art and literature; and although the Emperor had little to do personally with these achievements of the human mind, yet their association with his reign fitly gives to the period the name of the Augustan Age.

Architectural Works.—The hand of Augustus was chiefly seen in the buildings with which he adorned the city. He himself enumerated twelve temples which he had built, besides repairing eighty-two which had fallen into decay, and building or restoring aqueducts, theatres, and porticos. This work of construction had been begun by Julius Cæsar, and was continued by his successor—a policy which reminds us of the great public works of the Tarquins, and still more of the rebuilding of Paris by Napoleon III. The architectural display of Julius and Augustus Cæsar was one of the marks of the new autocratic power. His example was followed by other noblemen, so that he could boast with good reason that he “had found Rome of brick and left it of marble.”

The Public Squares.—The Forum, or market-place, had become too narrow for the world-empire. It is true, the less elegant and savory branches of trade had found a home in new market-places upon the banks of the river (p. 83), and now the business of the Forum was confined to bankers, brokers, and goldsmiths. But the public business encroached more and more. Special halls of justice (*basilicæ*, p. 142) had been built along its sides, to relieve the open space, and now the Forum was nearly surrounded by magnificent edifices. The most important of these was the *Basilica Julia*, on the south side of the Forum, where its foundations are still to be seen; it was begun by Julius and finished by Augustus. Julius Cæsar also commenced that noble series of public squares to the north of the Forum, which was continued by his suc-

cessors, ending in the Forum of Trajan, the remains of which still exist. For the purpose of laying out the new *Forum Julium*, he was obliged to move the Senate-house to a point somewhat nearer the great Forum, thus making the *Comitium* somewhat narrower ; at the same time he moved the *rostra*, or speaker's platform, from its old position between the Forum and the Comitium, to a spot near the upper end of the Forum, where it has recently been uncovered.

The Campus Martius.—The Campus Martius, north of the Capitoline, and outside of the walls—the old parade-ground and field for military exercises—was also encroached upon by the new building activity. The theatre of Pompey, the first stone theatre in Rome, stood here : it was in one of the apartments of this that Cæsar was assassinated. In the northernmost portion of the field Augustus constructed a mausoleum for himself, a circular building, some remains of which are still in existence. The principal building in this space was the Pantheon, or temple of all the gods, built by Agrippa, and still in almost perfect preservation as a Christian church and burial place for distinguished men.

Roman Art.—The distinctive feature of Roman architecture was the Arch (p. 30), which we now find developed into the Dome ; this noble architectural form was employed in the construction of the Pantheon of Agrippa, and was common in the later Empire. The Greek architectural orders, like other forms of Grecian art, were introduced into Rome, and most of the temples and other public buildings erected at this time were in Greek style. But the taste of the Romans was too crude and superficial to enjoy the simple grandeur of the Doric style, which satisfied the more highly cultured people of Athens ; the elegance of the Ionic and the profuse ornament of the Corinthian orders pleased them better ; and they even tried their clumsy hands at inventing a mixed style, known as the Composite, which has the merits neither of the Greek nor of the genuine Roman style. In other branches of art the Romans showed high appreciation, but little creative power.

Virgil.—In the field of literature, the foremost name of this period, and one of the most distinguished poets of all time, was

Publius Vergilius Maro, better known as Virgil. This poet has been in former ages the subject of extravagant admiration, and is at the present day perhaps unduly depreciated. He is not a great creative poet; he must be placed distinctly in the second rank. He is not only deficient in originality, but in spontaneity, and in truth and profundity of insight. The reader often feels that his descriptions of nature and delineations of human passion are not drawn from his own experience or observation, but are artificial, — copied from earlier poets or deduced from theory. But his execution is exquisite, the narration spirited, the national sentiment strongly maintained, and the tone of thought elevated and inspiring. By his lofty ethical tone and his earnest patriotism he was an efficient coadjutor with Augustus in his efforts for the restoration of national life and character.

Horace. — By the side of Virgil stands Horace, perhaps the most popular poet who ever wrote, the most perfect master of poetic expression. Nothing can surpass the grace and felicity of his style. His songs, most varied in spirit, — gay and pensive, devoutly religious and earnestly patriotic, expressing simple affection or the wildest passion, epicurean indolence, bacchanalian frenzy, or even stoical virtue, — are the models of lyric poetry for all time: while his satires and epistles are equally models of shrewd, every-day wisdom, — by no means commonplace poetry, but what we may call the poetry of the commonplace.

Ovid. — Far below Virgil and Horace is Ovid, a poet with a great gift of narration, but whose easy flow of verse is apt to betray him into a prosaic diffuseness. The poetry of his early life was luxurious in style and often sensual; his chief work, the *Metamorphoses*, contains in graceful form many mythological narratives which otherwise we should have lost, and his *Fasti*, a poetic calendar of the year (only six months are extant), have preserved from destruction many details of the native Roman religion. For some unknown reason he was banished by Augustus, and spent his last days in exile on the western shore of the Black Sea; from this place of exile he sent home some of his tenderest and truest verses.

Propertius and Tibullus. — The works of two other poets of this period are extant, small in amount and limited in style ; they are exclusively in the elegiac measure. Propertius rose at times to a high degree of dignity and power ; but he was over-fond of metaphysical obscurities, in imitation of the Greek poet Callimachus. Tibullus is simple, elegant, tender, a writer of genuine merit in these qualities, but with no range or variety of style. There were other poets, but their works have been lost.

Prose Writers. — Of the prose writers of this period — orators and historians in considerable number — there remain only portions of the works of two. Livy was the greatest of Roman historians, considered simply from the point of view of literary excellence. He was as far from the modern standard of historical criticism as the other historians of his nation. But for picturesqueness of style, grace of narration, and sustained interest, there are few historians of any age who compare with him. Only about one-third of his works are preserved, — containing the early period through the Samnite wars, and the Second Punic and Macedonian wars ; for the rest we have bare and unsatisfactory abstracts. Of Nepos, a voluminous biographer of this reign, we have only a few short lives, dull in style and of little worth.

Mæcenæ. — If this age is the Age of Augustus, its literature is almost equally associated with the name of Gaius Cilnius Mæcenæ, a wealthy knight of an ancient Etruscan family, a chosen counsellor of the Emperor, and a munificent patron of literature. Mæcenæ, although a counsellor of the Emperor, had no taste for public life, and preferred to live in elegant retirement, surrounded by men of his own tastes. Horace and Virgil owed to him much of the encouragement which induced them to devote themselves to literary composition, and his name is so indissolubly associated with their poetic productions, that it has come down to us as a synonym for a patron of literature.

Statesmen and Orators. — The most influential statesman of the reign of Augustus was Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, a man of inferior birth, but of sterling qualities. He was so highly esteemed by the

Emperor, that he married him to his daughter Julia (p. 233) designing for him or his posterity the succession to the throne; the Emperor Caligula was his grandson, and Nero his great-grandson. The most distinguished orator of the time was Gaius Asinius Pollio, whose versatility of talent displayed itself also in the fields of arms and of literature; he was a poet of considerable merit, but none of his works are extant. In public life he was characterized by a strong spirit of independence, and his attachment to the memories of the Republic prevented him from very active support of the new Empire. More eminent as a general than either Agrippa or Pollio, and also a friend of literature, was Marcus Valerius Messalla; he was especially the patron of the poet Tibullus.



STREET IN POMPEII. (A Restoration.)

CHAPTER XIX.

THE JULIAN AND CLAUDIAN EMPERORS.¹

I. THE JULIAN CÆSARS.

The Succession to the Throne. — As the Roman Emperor was in theory not an hereditary monarch, but a republican magistrate, it followed as a matter of course that the office could not be held by a woman. The hereditary principle, inherent in its monarchical feature, made it easy to transmit the crown to any male member of his family ; but Augustus at his death left no male descendant capable of taking up his work. His granddaughter, Agrippina, was a woman every way qualified for it — by ability, character, and ambition ; and in a true monarchical government she might have made a Semiramis, a Zenobia, or an Elizabeth.



AGRIPPINA.

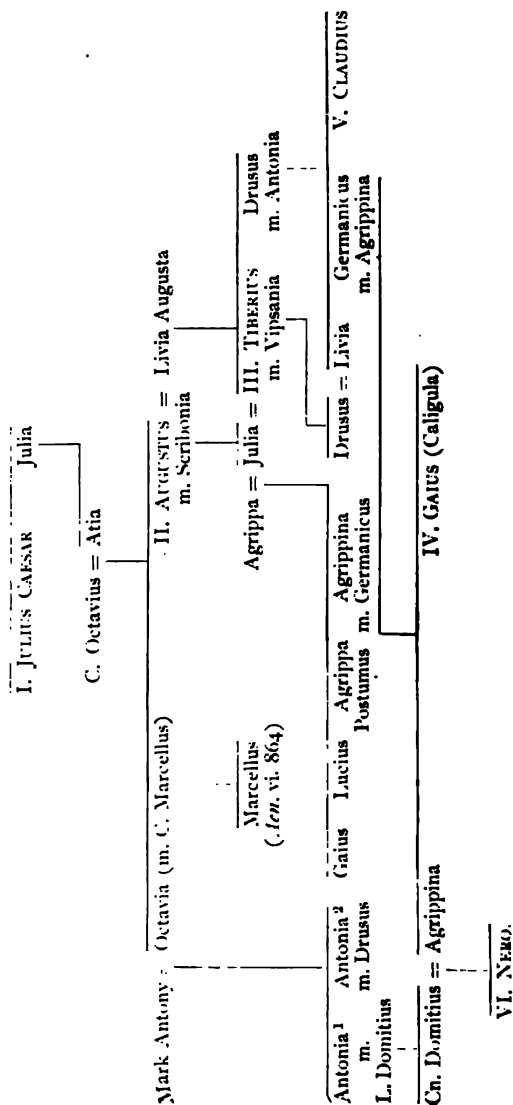
(From a Coin in the Berlin Museum.)

Her husband, Germanicus, son of Drusus, the conqueror of Germany, was a man of many imperial qualities, but still young and inexperienced. It seemed to Augustus expedient on the whole to give the succession to his step-son Tiberius, designating as next in the succession the young Germanicus, together with his cousin of about his age, Drusus, son of Tiberius.² For this purpose Germanicus was to be adopted as a son by Tiberius.

¹ Tiberius and Caligula were, by adoption, descendants of Julius Cæsar in the male line, and therefore compose, with Julius and Augustus, the Julian house.

² The following genealogical table of the Julian and Claudian emperors, will show these relationships.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE JULIAN AND CLAUDIAN EMPERORS.



Tiberius, 14–37.—Tiberius Claudius Nero therefore ascended the throne in the year A.D. 14. He was a man of fifty-six, who had shown the highest qualities as a military commander in Rætia, Pannonia, and Germany, and whose life until this time had been, if not irreproachable, yet without any serious blemishes. He showed himself as able upon the throne as in the field, and for



TIBERIUS (From a Bust in the Capitoline Museum.)

nearly fifteen years ruled the Empire with consummate ability and sagacity, consolidating and systematizing the administration, and earning the credit of having given their permanent shape to the institutions of the empire. But he lived too long for his own reputation. He was by nature of a somewhat moody, suspicious disposition, and these qualities were aggravated by the dissensions

with his wife Julia (p. 233), and afterwards with Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus. By degrees, as his mind lost its vigor, his temper became gloomy and suspicious, and he ended his life as a cruel and revengeful tyrant.

The Delations. — The tyranny of Tiberius was exercised under the forms of law. He was a scrupulous and rather pedantic observer of forms, and the rules of legal procedure in Rome lent themselves to great abuses, which crept in by slow degrees, until the administration of justice became a powerful engine of injustice. The Romans had no public prosecuting officer; it was left to the interest or public spirit of individuals to bring criminals to justice, and the private prosecutors were rewarded for their services by a share of the property of their victims. Hence it became a trade, and a very lucrative one, to hunt up offences and bring them to justice. This was called *delation*, and the prosecutors *delators*.¹ Now the laws for the punishment of treason were *lax*, and lent themselves readily to the practices of the delators. The person of the emperor being sacred, it was interpreted as treason even to subject his effigy upon a coin to any indignity, to flog a slave in the presence of his statue, and other acts as trifling as these. Hence trials for what we may call *constructive treason* became more and more common. Tiberius at first took pains to pardon the offenders and mitigate their punishment; but as the practice became more rooted, and his moral sensibilities became blunted, he ceased to oppose this miscarriage of justice, and even seems to have encouraged it. The activity of the delators is the greatest blot upon his reign.

Germanicus. — At the beginning of the reign of Tiberius his adopted son Germanicus was governor of Gaul and Germany, and was engaged for three years in inflicting vengeance upon the Germans for the defeat of Varus, perhaps with the expectation of recovering the lost territory. At the end of the third
A.D. 16. year's campaign, the Emperor wisely decided that this was a hopeless task, and the Elbe frontier was definitively

¹ From *deferre*, to bring information.

given up, the Rhine being now made the boundary of the Empire. Germanicus was transferred to the government of the East, where the relations with Parthia made it important that there should be an able officer in command. Here he shortly died, and the circumstances of his death, accompanied by a violent quarrel with Piso, his officer next in command, inspired his wife Agrippina with



GERMANICUS.

a suspicion that he had been poisoned by Piso, with the connivance of Tiberius. From this time her sentiments towards the Emperor became more and more unfriendly, until at last she made herself suspected of treasonable designs, and was involved in ruin, together with her two eldest sons. A younger son and daughter, the em-

peror Gaius (Caligula) and Agrippina, mother of the emperor Nero, were afterwards of bad eminence.

Sejanus. — Tiberius had a favorite minister, Sejanus, præfect of the prætorian guards. He was an able, unscrupulous man, of daring ambition, and, to further his own ends, he took pains to foment the quarrel between Tiberius and Agrippina. The Empire had not been long enough established to have a well-recognized hereditary succession, and Sejanus appears to have conceived the design of securing the throne for himself. With this end in view he procured the murder of Drusus, son of Tiberius, and brought about the overthrow of Agrippina and her sons; he then aspired to marry Livia, the widow of Drusus, who had been his agent in her husband's murder. He had already persuaded the Emperor to retire to the island of Capri,¹ where he spent the last eight years of his life in seclusion, leaving the government in the meantime wholly in the hands of Sejanus. At last the knowledge of his schemes and crimes came to the ears of the Emperor. The situation was a difficult and embarrassing one; for the reins of power were in the hands of Sejanus, and any sudden or incautious steps against him might throw him into open rebellion. By a secret commission, appointing Macro as Prætorian Præfect in his place, and by a long and obscure letter to the Senate, only by slow degrees opening to that body his desire to be rid of Sejanus, the Emperor succeeded in accomplishing the hazardous task.

A.D. 31. Sejanus was seized and strangled in prison, and his body was thrown into the Tiber.

Reign of Terror. — The alleged plots of Agrippina, and the narrowness of his escape from the treason of Sejanus, threw the aged Emperor into a paroxysm of terror. The partisans and friends of Sejanus were promptly and severely punished; and even with this his trepidation did not end, but he continued year after year, banishing and putting to death all upon whom
A.D. 37. his jealous suspicion lighted. At last he died, and there

¹ *Næra*, by Graham, describes the life in Capri.

was a momentary gleam of hope and joy at the succession of the young son of the beloved Germanicus.

Caligula, 37-41. — Gaius, the successor of Tiberius, was the son of Germanicus and Agrippina. As a young child, he had lived with his parents in the camp in Gaul and Germany, and had been a pet of the soldiers, who called him *Caligula*, — the name of a coarse shoe worn in the army. This nickname has clung to him. But whatever good qualities he may have inherited from his parents were lost in the corrupting life of the camp and the court, and a youth passed in the expectation of absolute power. If Tiberius, in his last years, was a gloomy tyrant, Caligula was a capricious and wanton one.¹ His head was turned by his greatness, and indeed his acts would almost show insanity. Divine honors, which Augustus accepted with reserve, and Tiberius constantly rejected, Gaius eagerly demanded, sometimes presenting himself in the temple in the guise of a god, and demanding worship. He delighted in bloodshed. In a fit of passion he wished that the Roman people had only one neck; and at a banquet burst into laughter at the thought, as he explained, how speedily he could have the heads of all his guests. This grotesque humor was displayed in many of his acts of cruelty. He craved the excitement and notoriety of grand achievements. He built a bridge from the Palatine, where he resided, to the Capitoline, in order to have readier access to the Capitoline temple. Another bridge, three and a half miles long, he constructed from Baïæ to Puteoli, in order to falsify the prediction that he would no more be emperor than he would drive over the water at Baïæ. At the dedication of this bridge he caused numbers of people to be upset in the water, and then thrust them off with poles, so that they should not rescue themselves. Four years of this mad tyrant were all that could be endured. He was at last assassinated by an officer of his guard, whom he had goaded to fury **B.O. 41** by constant insults.

¹ Tiberius had said of his subjects, "Let them hate me, provided they respect me" (*oderint dum probent*). Caligula said, "Let them hate me, provided they fear me" (*oderint dum metuant*).

II. THE CLAUDIAN CÆSARS.

Claudius, 41-54.—The death of Caligula threw everything into confusion and uncertainty. The constitution of the Empire had made no provision for a successor; and the Senate hastily convened to consider whether the Republic should be restored, or an emperor chosen from some other family. But while the Senate was deliberating, some soldiers of the prætorian guard, who were engaged in plundering the palace of the late Emperor, dragged out from a place of concealment a middle-aged member of the imperial family, so insignificant that everybody had forgotten his existence. Recognizing in him the brother of the popular Germanicus, they proclaimed him emperor; and the Senate had no choice but to accept him. Under the name of Claudius he reigned for thirteen years; and, notwithstanding his physical and mental deficiencies, his rule affords a refreshing contrast to the misrule of Caligula, who came before him, and that of Nero, who followed him.

Rule of Claudius.—Claudius was a well-meaning prince, and his mental capacities were by no means despicable; but they were not such as to make him a good ruler. In some respects he resembled James I. of England. He was, like him, a man of learning and acumen, but with moral qualities which made him an object of contempt. He had from childhood been neglected and despised, even by his parents; and by this his natural timidity and weakness of will had been morbidly exaggerated. As emperor he was the slave of two wicked women, — first of his wife, Messalina, whose name has become a synonym for female depravity, and then of his niece, Agrippina, whom he married after the death of Messalina, and who at last poisoned him to make way for the succession of her own son. Whatever crimes rest upon his memory are for the most part to be attributed to the imperious desires of these women, to whom he had not the power to say, "No."

His Public Works.—Like Caligula, Claudius had grand ideas, and projected magnificent public works; but, unlike Caligula, his

plans had in view public utility rather than self-indulgence or vain display. The most beneficent of these works was the new harbor, which he constructed at the mouth of the Tiber. The accumulations of sand had so choked up the mouth of this river that the old harbor of Ostia had become worthless; and the supplies for Rome had to be landed at distant ports—principally at Puteoli (*Pozzuoli*) in Campania—and hauled by land at great expense. By cutting a new channel to the north of the river, building out a couple of jetties, and dredging the space between, Claudius constructed a harbor which served for several centuries. He also secured the water supply of the city¹ by repairing the aqueducts, and drained the superfluous waters of the Fucine Lake by a subterranean passage, thus redeeming a large tract of land for cultivation.

Conquest of Britain.—The most important undertaking of his reign was the conquest of Britain, which A.D. 43. he annexed to the Empire shortly after his accession. The conquest of this island met with a determined resistance, as is shown by the well-known stories of Caractacus and Boadicea; and for the present the occupation did not extend much beyond the southern half of England. The subjugation of England, Wales, and the southern part of Scotland was completed by the distinguished general Agricola, about forty years later. This province remained subject to Rome for nearly four hundred years, and the numerous remains of Roman houses and villas found in England testify to the completeness of the occupation; but the people of Britain did not assimilate Roman manners and customs and modes of thought as thoroughly as those of Gaul. When the troops of Rome were withdrawn, its civilization speedily disappeared.

Nero, 54–68.—Claudius had by his wife Messalina a son of great promise, named Britannicus; but the ambitious and unscrupulous

¹ Caligula, to be sure, had commenced, but Claudius completed, the great Claudian aqueduct, the ruined arches of which now form the most conspicuous feature of the landscape in the Roman Campagna.

pulous Agrippina (daughter of the elder Agrippina and Germanicus) determined to secure the throne for her son by a former marriage, whom she caused to be adopted into the imperial family, so that he is henceforth known by the family name, Nero. This young prince was of illustrious ancestry, being descended from Augustus, Mark Antony, and Drusus¹; but he appears to have inherited only the bad qualities of his ancestors. The tyranny of Tiberius had its root in the deterioration of a sensitive and suspicious nature; that of Caligula can be regarded as the mad freaks of an unbalanced mind; that of Nero was pure wickedness. Among his victims were Britannicus, whom he had supplanted, his mother Agrippina, his wife Octavia, his tutor, the philosopher Seneca, and the poet Lucan. His reign of fourteen years, except the five years at the beginning, is an almost uninterrupted carnival of crime.

Character of Nero. — The most conspicuous mental quality of Nero was vanity. He piqued himself upon his ability as a poet and an artist, and was not ashamed to exhibit his skill in public: by this, more perhaps than by anything else, offending the public sentiment of Romans, for no people has ever insisted upon personal decorum so strongly as the Romans. His vanity was not confined to these higher realms of art; he even entered the lists, and drove a chariot round the course in the Circus Maximus. He had always had a passion for the games of the circus, and under his patronage the craving of the populace for these exhibitions was gratified to the full. Thus while he incurred the contempt of the nobles, he was popular with the masses, whose demand for donations and exhibitions was never more lavishly gratified than now.

Rule of Tigellinus. — In the first year of his reign Nero was under the influence of the philosopher Seneca, and Burrhus, the Prætorian Præfect; and during this period his administration was good, although it is not to be supposed that the credit of it belongs to him. The turning point in his career, as in the case of

¹The wife of Drusus, mother of Germanicus and Claudius, was Antonia, daughter of Mark Antony and Octavia. See p. 243.

Henry VIII., was his falling in love with a fascinating woman, Poppæa Sabina, for whom he neglected and at last put to death his wife. From this moment all his worst qualities came to the surface. Burrhus and Seneca were succeeded, in their influence over him, by the freedman Tigellinus, who during the rest of Nero's reign was the real ruler of the Empire. This infamous creature, who maintained his ascendancy and amassed riches by pandering to the worst vices of his master, was the first example of a class of favorites who obtained a bad notoriety under the Empire. The slaves, in antiquity, as we have seen (p. 89), were often the superiors of their masters in education and ability. When manumitted, they did not become entirely free, but remained the "clients" of their late masters, often performing for them services of a personal and confidential nature, as steward, secretary, etc. The tyrants among the Roman emperors, finding no cordial support among the nobles, their natural counsellors, made use of freedmen, who were by necessity wholly subservient to them, as agents in their misgovernment.

The Fire in Rome.—In the year 64 Rome was laid waste by a terrible conflagration, which consumed about one-half of the city, including the most central and populous portions. Although Nero was absent from the city when the fire broke out, and used all efforts to extinguish it, he was nevertheless suspected of having himself kindled it, in order to enjoy the spectacle. Either to pander to a popular prejudice, or to turn suspicion from himself, he accused the Christians, who were a small sect, mostly of the lower classes; and they were punished with horrible tortures. He indulged his taste for spectacular displays by placing them in the arena, covered with pitch, and letting them be burned as torches.

Rebuilding of the City.—The city had already been burned once, at the invasion of the Gauls, more than four hundred years before; and by a curious coincidence this fire broke out B.C. 390. upon the anniversary of the defeat of the Romans at that July 18. time. After its first burning the city had been rebuilt hurriedly and without system or order (p. 72); the work of re-

building was now placed under the direction of skilled architects, and the work was done thoroughly, elegantly, and conveniently. The emperor indulged his passion for luxury and display by taking an immense tract of land from the heart of the city — extending from the Palatine to the Esquiline Mount — for a private palace and park. The palace, the “Golden House,” upon the Esquiline, was planned upon an enormous scale, and surrounded by a colonnade a mile in extent. In front of it was a colossal statue of Nero, 110 feet high.

Revolution. — The misgovernment of this monster was brought to an end in the year 68. In this year an insurrection under Vindex broke out in Gaul, and the governor of Hither Spain, Galba, was forced by the suspicions and unfriendliness of the emperor to associate himself with the insurrection and proclaim himself emperor. Soon Verginius, the governor of Upper Germany, one of the noblest characters of the age, lent his support to the insurrection, and the Senate took courage to proclaim Nero a public enemy, and condemn him to be put to death “after the manner of the ancestors” — scourging to death, followed by beheading. He fled from the city to take refuge in the villa of a faithful freedman, but hearing the sound of the horsemen who were in pursuit, he ordered his freedman to slay him. Among his last words were a lamentation that such an artist should perish.¹

Literature in Nero's Reign. — The period between the “Golden Age” of Augustus, and the revival of literature which is known as the “Silver Age,” a century later, is illustrated by few productions of importance in literature. The historical works produced in these years have nearly all perished. Of the philosopher Seneca we have already spoken. As an ethical writer he has high qualities, but is verbose and inelegant. There were two poets of some eminence. Lucan, nephew of Seneca, was author of an epic of great brilliancy, entitled *Pharsalia*, marked by a strong republican sentiment. He was one of the victims of Nero's tyranny. Persius was a satirist, heavy and obscure, often dull, but pure and moral in tone.

¹ *Qualis artifex pereo!* (Suet., *Nero*, 49).

CHAPTER XX.

THE FLAVIAN HOUSE.

Year of Revolutions. — Galba, who succeeded to the throne by this revolution, was a member of an old patrician family, a man of the genuine Roman stamp, — a brave soldier, an honest man, but advanced in years, and parsimonious. His strict discipline and the meagreness of his donations excited the dissatisfaction of the prætorians (p. 232), who soon murdered him, and placed Otho upon the throne, a young man of dissolute character, a boon companion of Nero, but brave and able as a commander. But Otho did not reign without a rival. The army of Lower Germany had already proclaimed its commander, Vitellius, who, after some hesitation, assumed the purple, marched to Italy, and defeated the army of Otho in a battle near Placentia. After his defeat Otho slew himself; and Vitellius, an ignoble and gluttonous man, although a good soldier, occupied the throne.

Vespasian, A.D. 69–79.¹ — The elevation of Galba to the throne had shown that emperors could be made elsewhere than at Rome; and now the East came forward with a claimant, who was of the type of Galba, and whose professed object was to avenge him and dethrone the unworthy occupant of the throne. Titus Flavius Vespasianus was engaged as commander in the war against the revolted Jews when he was proclaimed emperor by his soldiers. Judæa had, since its conquest by Pompey (p. 196), been reckoned a part of the province of Syria, although usually administered by an independent procurator, or imperial agent. The spirit of independence and nationality among the Jews was very strong, and was

¹ Freeman's article, *The Flavian Emperors*, in the second series of his historical essays.

systematically outraged by the Roman officials. At last A.D. 68. they were driven by their wrongs to rise in rebellion, and Vespasian was entrusted with the command against them.

Vespasian Emperor. — Vespasian was, like Galba, a blunt soldier, but was younger, had more administrative capacity, and more popular manners, although he was ruder and less humane. A better man could not have been found for the emergency, for the utter incapacity of Vitellius was already manifest. Vespasian was fortunate, moreover, in having the support of the governor of Upper Germany, Verginius (p. 254), and the active co-operation of Mucianus, governor of Syria, who acted throughout as his lieutenant. Leaving Vespasian to settle the affairs of the East,



COIN OF VESPASIAN.¹

Mucianus pushed on with his army into Italy. Vitellius was overthrown and put to death after disorders in the city, in the course of which the capitol was burned; and Mucianus administered affairs until the arrival of the new Emperor. Vespasian, leaving the Jewish war in charge of his son Titus, followed leisurely to Rome, and assumed the reins of government.

Capture of Jerusalem. — The ten years of Vespasian's rule were a period of peace and good government at home. Abroad, his reign was disturbed by the formidable insurrection of Civilis in Gaul, and by the capture and destruction of Jerusalem. The

¹ The letters *S. C.* show that it was coined by the Senate, which retained the right to coin copper, while to coin silver and gold was the prerogative of the Emperor.

Emperor had, during his three years' command in Judæa, reduced the whole country into his power, except the capital. Titus, left in command on his father's accession to the throne, invested the city in the beginning of the year 70, and reduced it after a siege of over five months, attended with unutterable horrors of bloodshed, famine, and conflagration. The fanatic party among the Jews, the *Zealots*, had massacred the moderates of their nation, and now confronted the invader with relentless obstinacy. At



INTERIOR OF ARCH OF TITUS.¹

first they intrenched themselves within the temple; and when this was captured and burned, they withdrew to the heights of Mount Zion, where they continued the defence of the holy city. When this, too, fell, and its buildings were destroyed by fire, Jerusalem had ceased to exist. In the course of time a handful of the survivors returned to their old home, and built for themselves humble dwellings among its ruins. The memories and

¹ Showing the golden candlestick among the spoils of Jerusalem.

aspirations of the race were kindled afresh ; and after two generations had passed, they even ventured to measure their strength again with that of imperial Rome. This was in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian ; and when the rebellion was crushed, as it was certain to be, it was decided that the very name of the sacred city must disappear. A Roman colony was founded upon its site, named *Ælia* from the family name of the Emperor, to which was added *Capitolina* in allusion to the Capitoline Jove.

Architectural Works. — On his return to Rome Titus celebrated a triumph for his hard-won victory ; and a few years later a triumphal arch was built upon the highest spot in the Sacred Way, on the walls of which was carved — still to be seen — a representation of that sacred candlestick of the Jewish temple which had been carried among the trophies in his triumph. The greatest architectural work of this reign was the Flavian Amphitheatre, better known as the Colosseum, to this day the most magnificent of the remains of ancient Rome.

Titus, 79–81. — Titus succeeded his father upon the throne in the year 79, and in his short reign of two years won all hearts by his justice and humanity. He had his father's military gifts, joined with a milder and more kindly disposition. His saying is well known, when any day had passed without an action of kindness, "I have lost a day." The only event of importance in the reign of Titus was the sudden renewal of volcanic activity in Mount Vesuvius ; the tremendous eruption overwhelmed an immense area of ground, including the two populous cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii. Great portions of these cities have been disinterred within the last century, affording an instructive view of the streets and buildings of an ancient city, as well as bringing to light an innumerable number of remains of art and utensils of every-day life.

Pliny. — In this eruption perished the elder Pliny, the most conspicuous writer of the day. His history of the Germans has

perished ; but his Natural History, an ill-arranged cyclopædia of scraps of information of every kind, is preserved, and is a work of very great value, in spite of its confused arrangement and unscientific spirit, — less his fault, no doubt, than that of an age which was not accustomed to the orderly and scientific arrangement of modern treatises. That Pliny was a genuine student, who was not satisfied with hearsay, but wished to study phenomena at first hand, is shown by the circumstances of his death. He left the safe retreat from which he could have quietly observed the eruption at a distance, and went boldly to its near neighborhood, where he was suffocated by its vapors.

Domitian, 81–96. — The happy period of the reign of Titus was soon passed ; and he was succeeded by his brother Domitian, a youth whom the possession of unlimited power, joined with a naturally cruel disposition, soon converted into a tyrant of the worst type. He began his reign as a reformer, professing himself — and perhaps sincerely — anxious to correct the immoralities of the time ; but he seems to have derived so much enjoyment from the act of inflicting punishment, that he lost sight of the ends of punishment. In his reign the system of *delations* (p. 246), which had been a source of such suffering and misery under Tiberius, was revived, and reached its extreme height. In the year 96 he was murdered by a conspiracy.¹

His Foreign Policy. — Nevertheless Domitian had some good qualities as an administrator, and some events of his reign show a certain degree of statesmanlike insight. We have already spoken of the brilliant campaigns of Agricola in Britain (p. 251), which, it is true, owed little to the Emperor's support, and which were even unseasonably cut short by his suspicious jealousy. We may more properly place the rectifying of the German frontier to the credit of Domitian. Upon the upper Rhine, between the provinces of Rætia and Upper Germany, was a wedge-shaped tract of land, — the modern Baden and Württemberg, — which had never been brought under the authority of the Empire. Domitian, by

¹ Eckstein's *Quintus Claudius* describes this period.

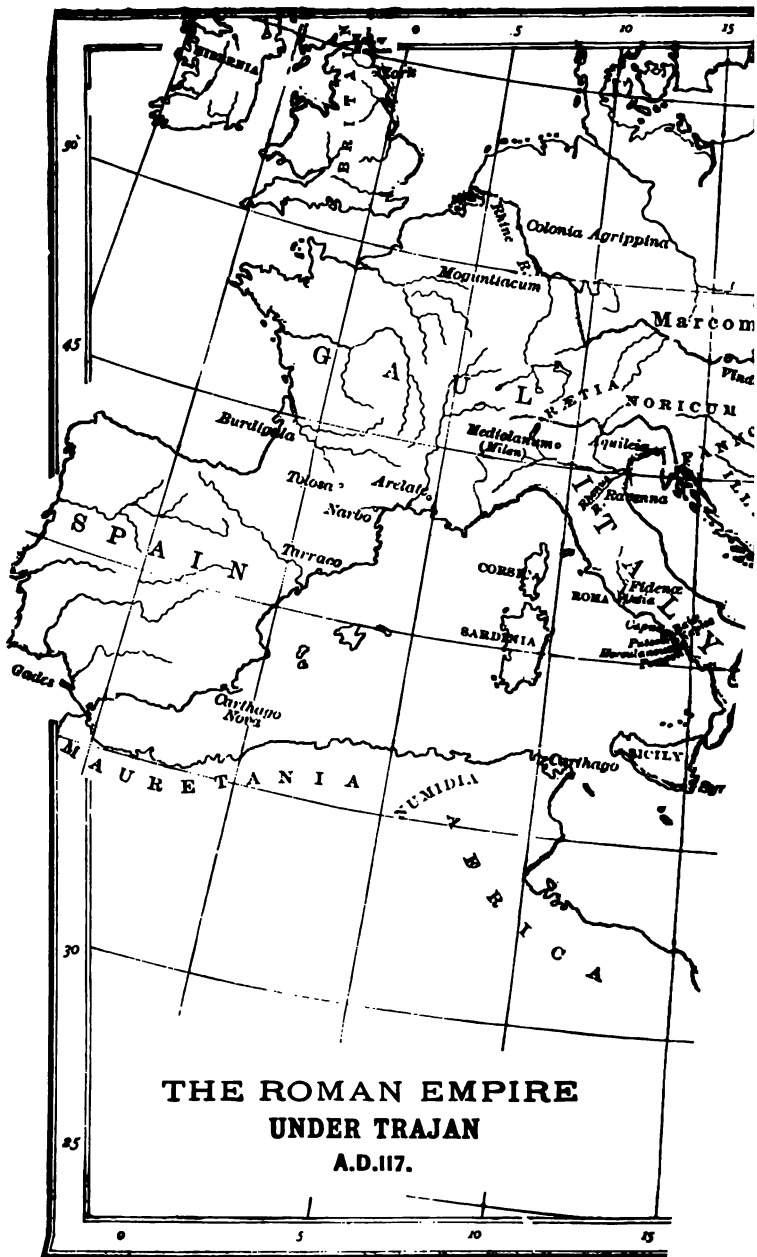
constructing an earthwork and line of fortified posts from the Rhine, near Mentz, to the Danube, near Ratisbon, brought this large tract within the boundary of the Empire. By this narrowing of their territory, the Germans were forced, with greater rapidity, to adopt a more settled agricultural life, and were hastened in their progress towards civilization. These *tithe-lands* (*Agri Decumates*), as they were called, were, about two hundred years later, conquered by the Alamannians, and severed from the Empire.

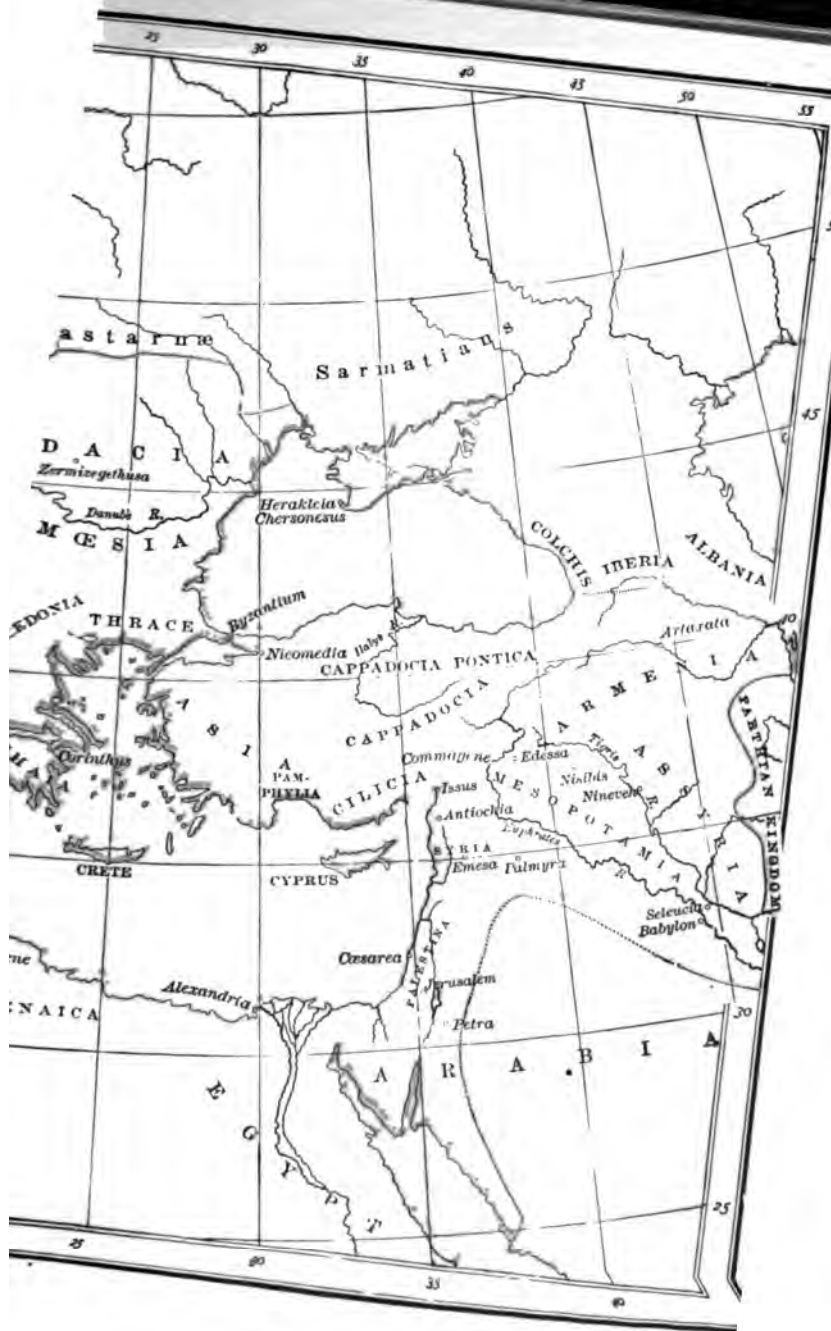
The Twelve Cæsars. — The twelve emperors from Julius Cæsar to Domitian are known as the Twelve Cæsars, merely for the reason that Suetonius, a writer of this period, wrote their collected lives under this title. The name Cæsar, being assumed by every emperor, became a general appellation for them, and has come down to the present day with that meaning as the German word *Kaiser*.



ROMAN SOLDIER.









CHAPTER XXI.

THE FIVE GOOD EMPERORS.

I. TRAJAN.

Nerva, 96-98. — Upon the death of Domitian the Senate bestowed the imperial title upon an elderly man, one of its own members, by the name of Nerva. The only important act of his short reign was the designation of his successor. For this purpose he selected Marcus Ulpius Trajanus, the most eminent soldier and most capable administrator in the realm, adopted him as son, and associated him as colleague. The example thus set by Nerva was followed by his successors ; and in each case the choice fell upon a person of such high character and qualifications, that it has been said that the history of the world presents no example of a period of time of equal length so distinguished for the happiness and prosperity of mankind. The last and most distinguished of the "five good emperors," Marcus Aurelius, unfortunately had a son, to whom he gave the succession ; and the line of good emperors was terminated by a besotted tyrant.

Trajan, 98-117. — Trajan was a warlike emperor, the first since Augustus who extended the bounds of the Empire by conquest, if we except the occupation of Britain by Claudius. For some years the Dacians north of the Danube, in the mountainous region in the eastern part of Hungary, had given great annoyance to the Romans, and had endangered the provinces upon the Danube. Trajan subjugated this country in two campaigns, exterminated the population, and created the province of A.D. 106. Dacia, which he peopled with colonists from the Empire. Dacia continued to be a Roman province for about one hundred

and fifty years, when the advance of the Goths in this region obliged the Emperor Aurelian to withdraw his troops to the south of the Danube, and give up the province; but the Roman language had obtained such a foothold that a language derived from it is still the prevalent tongue in large parts of this region.¹ During the course of the Dacian wars Trajan also annexed Arabia Petrea, a country which afforded an important route of communication between Egypt and Syria. His later enterprises were of less permanent value, although in appearance more splendid. He invaded



TRAJAN.

the Parthian empire, now seriously weakened by internal decay, and annexed the territory as far as the river Tigris and beyond; but these distant regions formed no natural part of the Roman dominion, and Trajan's successor, Hadrian, wisely gave them up. Portions of them were afterwards regained.

¹ The origin of this "Rumanian" tongue is still a matter of controversy; but even if the province was completely evacuated by Aurelian, which is hardly possible, it cannot be doubted that the Rumanians of the Balkan peninsula are in part at least descended from Trajan's colonists.

The Empire at its Height.—The Roman Empire was, under Trajan, at the height of its power. It never again reached the extent of dominion to which he carried it by his Dacian and Assyrian conquests. Its government, moreover, was never before or after so humane and equitable as under Trajan and his three successors; and the morals of the people, under these happy influences, steadily improved. Society was tired of the beastly debauchery which characterized the first century of the Empire, and there seems little doubt that there was less vice at the end of this period than one hundred or two hundred years before.

Economic Decay.—Nevertheless, even as early as this, we begin to see indications of an economic decay of society. The most distinct sign of this is in the financial distress of the Italian cities at this date. The cities, as we have seen (p. 159), were not scattered and isolated municipalities, like those of modern times, but were territorial divisions of the entire country. The whole population of Italy was, therefore, contained in these municipalities; and when it is said that the municipalities had fallen into financial embarrassment, this means that the whole population of Italy was in a condition of economic distress. The extravagance of the early Empire and the collapse of native Italian industry (p. 149), which went on under the Empire with increased rapidity, were having their natural effects. The worst feature of this was, however, that the municipal governments showed themselves so incapable of dealing with these financial difficulties that the Emperor was obliged to appoint commissioners (*curatores*) to inspect and regulate their accounts. In this way some degree of prosperity was restored, but self-government had proved a failure.

Decay of the Peasantry.—An effort was made to check the decay of the free peasantry by a system of poor relief, called *alimentationes*, introduced at this period. In order to relieve the embarrassments of the land-owners and the municipalities, loans were made to them by the state, which took mortgages of their lands. Through this agency provision was also made for the support of poor children of the neighborhood. In this way it was

hoped to protect the peasantry from the encroachments of capital. But the scheme, beneficent no doubt for the time and in individual cases, could not check a tendency which was the inevitable consequence of slave labor and the degradation of industry. The peasantry steadily sank in status until, in the century following, it is found reduced to a condition of "predial serfdom"; that is, a condition in which, without legally ceasing to be freemen, they were held under an hereditary obligation to labor upon certain lands to which they were bound (*ascripti glebae*).¹

The Silver Age. — The reign of Trajan not merely marks the highest degree of power and dominion reached by the Roman Empire, but presents that unerring mark of national vitality, a strong and original literature. The style of composition and the forms of language had changed considerably since the time of Augustus, as must necessarily be the case where there is a genuine national life. The age of Trajan has been called the "Silver Age," to distinguish it from the "Golden Age" of Augustus; but for originality and vigor and many of the best qualities of style, the writers of this period are not unworthy to rank with those of a century before. The busy and practical Silver Age excelled in prose writers: its poets were for the most part of inferior type.

Tacitus. — The greatest literary name of this period is that of the historian, Tacitus, whose writings contained an account of the events of the Empire from the death of Augustus. Only about a third of them, however, are extant. His most marked characteristics as an historian are his wonderful picturesqueness and his intense moral earnestness, qualities in which few historians of any age have equalled him. It cannot be denied that the strength of his moral convictions, joined with the lack of critical acumen which belonged to his age, make him often prejudiced and unjust; but there is no reason to impugn his motives. His account of

¹ The serfs of the later Roman Empire were known as *coloni*, and their condition as *colonatus*. The origin of this institution is very obscure; the best discussion of the subject (although still not wholly satisfactory) is found in Coulanges' *Recherches sur quelques problèmes d'histoire*.

the reigns of Tiberius and Nero and of the disturbed events which followed the death of Nero are priceless treasures of literature.

The Younger Pliny. — A contemporary and intimate friend of Tacitus was the younger Pliny, whose published correspondence places before us a picture of the times, unequalled in ancient history except for the correspondence of Cicero. It is from two of his letters that we derive our information of the death of his uncle in the eruption of Vesuvius (p. 258) ; and his A.D. 79. official correspondence with Trajan, when he was governor of the province of Bithynia, contains a complete picture of the administration of a province of the second rank. The broad humanity and modern spirit of Pliny contrast him with almost all other writers of pagan antiquity.

Quintilian. — A prose writer, somewhat earlier in time and of great and enduring influence, was Quintilian, whose treatise upon rhetoric is one of the soundest and most complete in existence. In the deterioration of literature and of intellectual life which followed shortly, the influence of Quintilian was soon lost ; but his book has in modern times been an exhaustless mine of sagacious criticism.

Juvenal. — The greatest name in the poetry of this period is that of Juvenal, the satirist. His works are not voluminous ; but as satire was the most original branch of Roman literature, and Juvenal was the greatest Roman writer of satire, he may in a certain sense rank as the most distinctive Roman author. There is a marked contrast between him and his greatest forerunner, Horace (p. 240), whose satire was genial, good-natured, in keeping with the easy epicureanism of its author. Far surpassing Persius (p. 254) in poetic merit, Juvenal was inspired with an equal ethical passion ; his writings fairly burn with indignation and intensity of conviction. It is easy to believe that writers of so strongly moral tone as Tacitus and Juvenal had a large share in raising society to that higher moral plane in which we find it a generation or two later.

Lesser Writers. — Of the writers of less reputation we need say only a few words. Frontinus, a statesman and general of great merit, has left two short works, containing much information and

practical knowledge, — one is an account of the Roman aqueducts, the other a scrap-book of military anecdote. The epigrammatist Martial is brilliant and witty, often indecent. His writings are of great value as a picture of society ; only the reader must bear in mind that it was Martial's aim to find objects of entertainment and ridicule, and that his delineations, like those of Juvenal, present only one phase of life, and that the worst. Statius was a court poet of great popularity, but showy and inflated in style. Silius Italicus wrote a poem upon the Second Punic War, rather a dull performance, but containing some acceptable information.



SIEGE OF A DACIAN STRONGHOLD. (From Trajan's Column.)

Art. — Art, too, in this century had a vigorous life. There was no great school of art, perhaps there were no artistic creations of the highest merit. But the taste and the technical skill, inherited from earlier periods, kept the art of the second century at a high standard. This is especially marked in the bas-reliefs of this period, which are numerous and well preserved. The most significant monuments of the time are the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. The reliefs which clothe these columns from top to bottom are not only admirable works of art, but an inexhaustible mine of information, in their graphic representations of the actions of war and peace.

The Christians. — One of the most interesting of the letters of Pliny is one in which he consults the Emperor as to the treatment of the Christians, who had now become somewhat numerous in the East. The Romans were not intolerant in religion. They readily accepted the religion of every people with whom they came in contact, and incorporated it with their own. We have seen this in the case of Æsculapius (p. 95), the Great Mother (p. 129), etc. As the Empire had become a world empire, gathering in all nations under its organization, it aspired to make its religion a world religion, embracing all national religions. But Judaism and Christianity could not be thus incorporated. Their fundamental tenet, the unity of the divine nature, was incapable of accommodating itself to the loose polytheistic notions of the Romans. Their God could not be placed on the same footing with Jupiter, Mars, and Apollo. But even this need not have led to persecution, because the easy-going faith of the people took little notice of strange and individual forms of religion. There were large numbers of Jews residing in Rome during the Republic, and their worship was not disturbed. It was not until the deification of the Emperor (p. 237), and the insistence upon his cult as the duty of a patriotic citizen, that there was any motive to persecute. The man who would not sacrifice at the altar of the Emperor was no good citizen. A Christian could not so sacrifice, and was punished, — not as a Christian, but as disloyal.

Policy towards the Christians. — As a rule, the government took little notice of these sectaries. It was not until they became numerous, organized, and self-assertive, that the arm of the law was stretched out against them. The Jews were few and quiet; and they were generally let alone, as were also the Christians, unless there was special reason to molest them. For the most part, the policy pursued was the compromise prescribed by Trajan in his answer to Pliny. The governor had testified to the harmlessness and good character of the Christians, but also to their obstinacy and impiety. The Emperor tells him not to make any effort to trace them out and bring them to justice; but, if they are brought

before him, the law must take its course. The law under which the Christians were punished at this time was that which forbade unlicensed associations.¹ It was in Trajan's reign that A.D. 115. occurred one of the earliest and most noted of the Christian martyrdoms — that of Ignatius of Antioch, who was thrown to the lions in Rome.

Hadrian, 117-138. — Hadrian,² the successor of Trajan, was a ruler as strongly contrasted as possible with his predecessor, but perhaps of a type more needed by the age. His reign was a period of peace. While Trajan carried his arms with restless



HADRIAN.

activity and brilliant success to all parts of the frontier, Hadrian displayed as unwearied an activity in traversing the Empire from one end to the other, personally examining its situation, and putting it in the best condition for administration and protection. He seems to have felt, what proved to be the case, that the attitude of the Empire after this time would be one of defence. No emperor after Trajan attempted, with any success, to enlarge the bounds of the Empire. Hadrian surrendered the three new provinces upon the East, and made the Euphrates and the desert again the boundary in this direction;³ and after a brief period of peace, under Hadrian and his successor, the series of aggressions by foreign powers commenced, before which the Empire finally succumbed.

¹ See Hardy's *Correspondence of Pliny and Trajan* (p. 243).

² Ebers' *The Emperor*.

³ These territories were partly regained by Marcus Aurelius, see p. 270.

Hadrian's Wall. — The most interesting work of defence which we associate with Hadrian is a wall and line of fortified posts across the narrow part of Britain, similar to that which Domitian had constructed in Germany. The remains of this great work, extending from the Tyne to the Solway, at nearly the modern boundary between England and Scotland, are still to be traced in nearly their whole extent. Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius, extended the frontier, and built a new wall between the Clyde and the Forth.

II. THE ANTONINES.

Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138–161. —

Antoninus Pius was a man of noble and benign countenance, and his character corresponded to his features. His reign of twenty-three years is marked by no striking events; but in its unvarying justice and humanity, it affords, perhaps, the best illustration in history of the familiar saying, "Happy is the people whose annals are uninteresting."



ANTONINUS PIUS.
(From a Coin in the Berlin Museum.)

Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 161–180.¹ — Marcus Aurelius, the adopted son and successor of Antoninus Pius, was equal to his predecessor in virtue, and perhaps even superior to him in conscientious devotion to duty. His tastes were studious, and he delighted in the pleasures of family life; but he set aside his preferences, and devoted himself unremittingly to the duties of war and administration, which his station imposed upon him. His eminence in literature has given him the title of "the philosopher"; but when he was called from his books into active life, he showed himself equally able as a soldier and administrator. Philosophy was always his favorite pursuit; and at the very end of his life he composed a treatise upon practical morality, *The Thoughts*, which is to this

¹ Watson's *Marcus Aurelius* is the best account of this Emperor in English.

day read and valued for its lofty ethical teaching and tonic power.¹

Reign of Marcus Aurelius. — It was a hard fate which associated this upright and conscientious prince with the most disturbed and calamitous events of the century, and has made his reign a critical moment in the downfall of the Empire. After the long period of quiet and prosperity under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, the Empire suddenly found itself disturbed by war and rebellion, famine, pestilence, and religious dissensions; and in respect to each of these, the reign of Marcus Aurelius may be regarded as a turning-point in the history of Roman society. In three special fields, — the economic interests of society, the progress of Christianity, and the relations to the German barbarians, — we find here noteworthy and critical events.²

Lucius Verus. — In accordance with an arrangement made by the Emperor Hadrian, Marcus associated with himself as colleague a young man named Lucius Verus; but the selection was an unfortunate one, as Lucius was wholly unfitted for the responsibility and labors of the imperial throne. Fortunately he died A.D. 169. within a few years, leaving Marcus in sole possession of the power. During the first portion of his short reign Lucius was nominally in charge of a war against the Parthians, the real command being in the hands of his lieutenant, Avidius Cassius. Cassius, a general of great ability, gained distinguished successes, capturing both the Parthian capitals, Seleucia and Ctesiphon, and forcing from the enemy the cession of the left bank of the Euphrates.

The Pestilence. — The victorious army, on its return A.D. 166. to the West, brought with it that most dreadful of oriental scourges, the plague. This was the first, and perhaps the most destructive, of a long succession of such visitations from

¹ The religious life of this time is portrayed with remarkable truthfulness and delicacy in Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*.

² For these causes of decay, read the second of the lectures in Seeley's *Roman Imperialism*.

the East, the last being the oriental cholera, within the present century. Whether the present was the most destructive of the series or not, it was certainly the most fatal in its consequences; for the Empire never rallied from the losses which it now sustained. We have already noticed (p. 263) the loss of economic vigor in the second century. This does not appear to have been arrested, even during the long period of good government through which the Empire had just passed. Population could not increase, could barely hold its own, under such circumstances. In the reign of Marcus new causes of decline were at work. A few years before the pestilence an inundation of the Tiber, **A.D. 162**, unprecedented in extent and destructiveness, had been followed by distress and famine. To this were now added the horrors of the pestilence, which carried off perhaps half the population of Italy. And as, just at this time, the necessities and embarrassments of the government were greatly increased by the German invasions, it will be seen that this pestilence was a factor of the first importance in the downfall of the Empire. With a diminishing population and diminishing resources, the emperors of the third century found themselves called upon to meet constantly increasing dangers and difficulties.

The Christians. — In all times of great disaster the ignorant populace are disposed to throw the blame upon some obnoxious or unpopular class; and in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, it was easy to turn the popular suspicion against the growing sect of Christians. The gods, it was thought, must have sent these repeated calamities, — war, inundation, famine, pestilence, barbarian inroad, — as a punishment for some national guilt; and this could be nothing but the toleration of this impious and atheistic sect. For, it was reasoned, men who deserted the temples, and refused to worship the gods under whose protection the state had prospered, were of necessity impious and atheistic. The Roman religion was not by nature intolerant. As we have seen (p. 267), it permitted all forms of belief and worship, and readily received them into fellowship; but Christianity refused to be so received.

Persecution. — An outcry was therefore raised against this unpopular sect, and the mild and just Emperor had no choice but to carry out the laws against those who refused to worship the national gods ; a religion which interfered with their duties as citizens could not be tolerated. The hatred against the Christians as an impious and unpatriotic class was intensified by the quarrels and dissensions among themselves, and by the discreditable shape in which the religion presented itself to observers. The Christianity which Marcus Aurelius knew was not a religion of peace and love, a sublime and intelligent theory of life and the unseen world ; the Christian church was full of bickerings and jealousies, and its religion presented itself to him as a system of absurd and metaphysical speculations. It was with no misgivings, therefore, that he ordered the laws to be enforced, and made himself the agent of an active persecution.

The Martyrs. — The most distinguished victim of this persecution was Justin, known as the Martyr, one of the earliest of the extant writers of the church. Probably in the same A.D. 166. year was the well-known persecution at Smyrna, in which perished Polycarp, the head of the church in that city. He was an aged man, who, as tradition asserted, had conversed with the apostle John ; and when, as was regularly done, the opportunity was given him to recant by cursing Jesus, he answered : “ Eighty and six years have I served him, and he never did me harm ; and how can I now blaspheme my King who has saved me ? ” He was condemned to death, and burned A.D. 177. at the stake. Some years later, a violent persecution broke out at Lyons, occasioned by the dissensions among the Christians themselves. The most conspicuous martyr in this persecution was a serving-maid named Blandina. When asked to deny her faith, she answered : “ I am a Christian ; there is no evil among us.” She was put to death in the arena, with cruel tortures, after witnessing the sufferings of many of her fellow-worshippers.

The German Inroads. — These persecutions appear to have

been excited by a sudden outburst of popular fury at the calamities of this fatal year, 166. The year of the pestilence was marked also by the beginning of the Marcomanic War, the beginning, as we have said, of a long series of similar events which continued for centuries from this time. From this date the Empire was never free from peril from this source. Julius, and afterwards Augustus, had invaded Germany and attempted its conquest. Tiberius had withdrawn from the enterprise (p. 245), and since his time there had been almost a condition of equilibrium upon the frontier, the Rhine and the Danube separating the Empire from the barbarians. Domitian had even advanced the frontier at the angle between these rivers (p. 260), and Trajan had conquered the Dacians, north of the Danube. But now the balance was turned. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius the Germans began to be the aggressors, and the Empire to be upon the defensive until at last it fell under their repeated blows.

The Marcomanic War. — The Marcomani (*frontiersmen*) were a powerful nation inhabiting Bohemia and Bavaria, probably in their origin a group of tribes rather than a single tribe. In the early Empire they had been, as a rule, friendly to the Romans, or neutral in the great wars with the Germans farther north (p. 235). With them the great forward movement of the Germanic race now commenced. In the year 166 Marcus was called to resist a band of Marcomani who had advanced as far as Aquileia, upon the Adriatic Sea; and the remaining thirteen years of his reign were occupied with a succession of border wars, in which the Marcomani were aided by the Quadi (of Moravia) and other neighboring tribes. Rome was still the strongest power, and Marcus was an able commander, who carried on his campaigns with success; but he was still engaged in these wars when he died, probably at Vindobona (*Vienna*), A.D. 180.

Commodus, 180–193. — With Marcus Aurelius the line of "Good Emperors" came to an end. Great as he was, he had not the magnanimity to set aside his own son and adopt a successor to the throne; nor, considering the natural tendencies to



MARCUS AURELIUS RECEIVING THE SUBMISSION OF GERMAN CAPTIVES.
(From a Bas-relief in the Capitoline Museum, Rome.)

hereditary succession, is it likely that he could have succeeded if he had made the attempt. It was the misfortune of Rome that he was not childless, like his four predecessors ; for his son Commodus was wholly unfit for the throne. As in the case of every one of the previous emperors who had been brought up in expectation of the crown, — Caligula, Nero, Domitian, — his moral nature was not capable of resisting the temptations of absolute power ; and he speedily showed himself a gross and cruel tyrant. It was his delight to appear in the guise of Hercules, and himself take part



COMMODUS (as Hercules).

in gladiatorial games and other combats of the amphitheatre, — carefully protected, however, against danger, as when he sat safely in a gallery and amused himself by shooting the wild beasts in the arena. He could be brutal and severe, but had neither firmness nor vigor. Under his heedless administration military discipline was relaxed, and the army was demoralized by a spirit of insubordination and lawlessness. He was at last, A.D. 193, murdered by a conspiracy in his own household, and Pertinax, an able and experienced soldier, proclaimed Emperor.

PERIOD VII.—THE CENTURY OF TRANSITION.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE SEVERI.

I. THE DYNASTY.

Pertinax and Didius Julianus.—It would have seemed that Pertinax, the ablest and most experienced officer in the army, was the man pointed out by circumstances to hold the reins of government with a firm hand at this crisis. But the prætorians were too far demoralized by the license of the last reign to submit to the vigorous discipline of the new Emperor. He was murdered by them after a reign of three months, and his murderers then had the effrontery to offer the throne to the highest bidder. Two senators were willing to humiliate themselves and their office by competing for the empty dignity, which was at last given to Didius Julianus for a gratuity of twenty-five thousand *sesterces* (\$1250) to each soldier. He promised at the same time that he would restore the good old times of license under Commodus. It is a satisfaction to know that both parties to this infamous bargain were deceived, as the new Emperor had not the means to pay the donation in full.

Septimius Severus, A.D. 193–211.—The news of the murder of Pertinax and of the sale of the imperial dignity to Didius Julianus excited indignation in all parts of the Empire; and the three armies of Syria, Britain, and Pannonia proclaimed each its own general as Emperor. Nearest and promptest of the three was Septimius Severus, commander of the legions upon the Danube. He declared himself the avenger of Pertinax, and was recognized

as Emperor by the Senate, which immediately condemned the unfortunate Julianus to death. The next **A.D. 194.** year the Syrian pretender, Pescennius Niger, lost his empire and life ; and three years later the overthrow of **A.D. 197.** Clodius Albinus left Severus in sole possession of the throne.

Character of Severus.—The situation of Septimius Severus was in many respects similar to that of Vespasian in 69 (p. 232). Like him, he was a brave and capable soldier, who succeeded to the throne after an interval of disturbance and civil war ; like him, the avenger of a good and capable prince, who had been the victim of the prætorian guards ; and as Pertinax had followed the tyrant Commodus, so Galba had followed the tyrant Nero. Like Vespasian, too, Severus founded a dynasty ; and the family of the Severi occupied the throne, with the interval of one year, for a period of forty-one years. But Severus was a man of lower type than Vespasian. He was cruel and without good faith or magnanimity. His character is reflected in his features, the vulgarity of which presents a strong contrast to the elegance of Augustus, the manliness of Trajan, or the serenity of Antoninus Pius. His sternness and vigor were, nevertheless, qualities needed by the Empire at this juncture ; and he may fairly rank among the able and efficient rulers of Rome. The last years of his reign he spent in Britain, where he died, at Eboracum (*York*), **A.D. 211.**

Caracalla, A.D. 211–217.—He was succeeded by his two sons, Antoninus, better known by his nickname of Caracalla, and Geta. But the very next year Caracalla murdered his brother, and reigned alone until he was himself murdered, five years later, by Macrinus, the commander of his guards, while engaged in a campaign in the East. Caracalla was, like his father, an able soldier, but even more cruel and vindictive. He is not counted among the worst



SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.
(From a Coin in the Berlin
Museum.)

tyrants, with Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and Commodus ; but his place is not much above them.



CARACALLA.

Elagabalus, A.D. 218–222.—The usurped reign of Macrinus was of short duration. The late Emperor had left two young cousins, sons of two sisters, Julia Soemias and Julia Mammæa. The son of Soemias was a priest in the temple of the sun-god, Elagabalus, at Emesa in Syria. His mother, giving him the name Antoninus, declared him the son of Caracalla ; and soon he was at the head of an army, attracted by the popularity of his name and family among the soldiers. Macrinus was defeated in battle, and soon afterwards killed ; and the young Antoninus was recognized as Emperor. The name Antoninus, however, associated with the virtuous Pius and Marcus, has escaped the discredit of being attached to Caracalla and his unworthy cousin. The new Emperor is always known by the name of the god, Elagabalus, whose priest he was. Elagabalus was the vilest of the Roman emperors, with all the vices of his worst predecessors, and with no sparks of manliness or sense of the responsibilities of his office, such as even they sometimes displayed. The corrupt priest of a corrupt religion,

his life was given up to the grossest sensual enjoyments; and after a shameful reign of four years, he was slain, together with his mother, in a mutiny of the guards.

Alexander Severus, A.D. 222–235.—He was succeeded by his cousin, Alexander Severus, the last of his family, a prince whose reign of thirteen years, — a long one for this period, — brought back the good times of the Antonines. His mother, Mammæa, favorably contrasted to her weak sister Soemias by strength of character and worthy ambition, had trained him carefully, and prepared him well for the government of the world. But his vigorous reforms brought upon him the same fate that had befallen Pertinax. First, the able agent of his reforms, the prætorian præfect, the eminent jurist, Ulpian, was murdered in his presence by a body of mutinous soldiers. A few years later the Emperor A.D. 235. himself fell victim to a mutiny while on a campaign in Germany; and a gigantic soldier of Gothic descent, named Maximin, was proclaimed Emperor.

II. THE GOVERNMENT.

The Age of the Jurists.—The period of the Severi forms an important epoch in Roman history, marking as it does the close of the early Empire, and preparing the way for the reorganization of the Empire by Diocletian and Constantine a century later. The decay of society was now most marked. All independent art and literature ended with the Antonines. The age of the Severi was, to be sure, that of the jurists. Papinian, Paullus, and — greatest of all — Ulpian flourished at this time, and completed that great work of scientific jurisprudence, which is the most illustrious monument of the Roman genius. But these great jurists only completed the work of many generations, and with them the Roman intellect seems to suffer a sudden eclipse. The age that followed the Severi was an age of barbarism.

Buildings.—The second century had been an age of magnificent building, and its architectural activity was continued by the

princes of the house of Severus. Trajan had carried the system of public squares or forums (p. 238) to its northernmost extension, where he was obliged to level the hill to the depth of one hundred and seventeen feet in order to make room for his forum and the column which still marks the height of the hill which was removed. A similar column had been built still further to the north by Marcus Aurelius ; and the bronze equestrian statue of this emperor upon the Capitoline Mount, one of the finest works of its class, is still one of the most striking monuments of modern Rome. The triumphal arch of Septimius Severus is familiar to all travellers, and the gigantic public baths erected by Caracalla still preserve his memory. But from this time building activity, as every other work of a high civilization, ceased, on any large scale, until revived by Diocletian and Constantine.

Military Rule.—The leading characteristic of this period is that it marks the end of the dyarchy (p. 231) or system of government by which power was divided between the Senate and the Emperor. The popular assemblies and the magistrates had long ceased to have any real power ; and most of them had disappeared, even in name. The Senate had still continued to be in theory the seat of national authority, and even under the most despotic rulers it had been an essential part of the machinery of government. But this system was now outgrown, and Severus gave to it a rude blow. Owing his authority to his own right arm and to the weapons of his soldiers, he disdained to regard the Senate as its source. The century which followed witnessed several efforts on the part of the Senate to regain its lost authority, and was in this respect a period of transition from the republican empire of the first two centuries to the genuine monarchy of the fourth ; but the transition began with the accession of Septimius Severus, who may fairly be regarded as the founder of the military monarchy. He put an end, however, to the insolence of the turbulent prætorians, dissolving this corps, and forming a new body-guard composed of legionary soldiers.

Assimilation of Italy and the Provinces.—In a second point

of view this period marks an important transition in the history of the Empire. Until now it had consisted of two sharply contrasted portions — Italy, the ruling power, and the Provinces, which were subject. But this sharp line of division had long ceased to have any meaning, and it was now time it should be done away with. The municipal system had been extended to the provinces, which were divided into municipalities after the Roman plan ; and many of these municipalities had received a complete or qualified Roman citizenship. Roman citizens had taken up their residence in the provinces, and the population was now thoroughly intermixed and pretty completely assimilated. Even Roman emperors, like Trajan and Septimius Severus, were natives of the provinces. The abolition of the prætorian cohorts was another step in this assimilation ; for the rule that the legions could not legally be stationed in Italy was the excuse for the organization of this body-guard.

Edict of Caracalla, A.D. 212. — The most important step in this direction, however, was taken by Caracalla, who in the year 212 issued an edict granting citizenship to all the inhabitants of the provinces. This famous act was not dictated by any enlightened statesmanship ; its object was to extend the operation of certain taxes, which fell only upon Roman citizens, and thus to fill the coffers of the Emperor. It was, however, directly in the line of his father's policy, and it had beneficent and important results. The administrative system of the provinces was by degrees extended to Italy, and the revenue system of all parts of the Empire made uniform. The centralization of power in the hands of the Emperor, and the unity of the Empire under a single administrative and financial system, were the fruits of the policy of Septimius Severus.

Prætorian Præfect. — In abolishing the prætorian cohorts Severus did not, however, abolish the office of Prætorian Præfect. This officer, being now relieved of his especial military functions, became the chief minister of the Emperor, representing him in public business and clothed with authority hardly second

to his. As the Emperor was the fountain of justice to whom all appeals in judicial proceedings were carried, it was natural that he should need an experienced jurist by his side, from whose trained intelligence should emanate the judgments which were nominally rendered by the Emperor. The office of Prætorian Præfect was therefore regularly given to some distinguished jurist ; so that, from having originally been a purely military office, its duties were now principally civil, and at last exclusively so. It was as the incumbent of this office that Ulpian carried out his reforms and lost his life.

Finances. — The financial embarrassment which was the most menacing sign of decay in the preceding century now reached its height. To other causes of economic disturbances there was now added the depreciation of the currency, which had been begun by Nero and was pushed recklessly by Caracalla and Elagabalus. But Elagabalus, indifferent as he was to affairs of state, while paying his debts in debased currency was careful to have the taxes paid in good money.

III. THE RELIGION.

Christianity. — The period of the Severi is an important epoch in religious history also. Until now the Christian church had been an obscure association of believers, with creed and organization in process of formation. The persecutions of Marcus Aurelius appear to have aroused the consciousness of the Christians, and to have at the same time attracted to them a more general attention. From this time their progress was rapid, and they became more and more active and conspicuous. The church had been a brotherhood of co-religionists, whose aims were essentially moral and social. Their doctrines began now to assume a more definite and dogmatic form, and unity of belief to be considered more essential. This was the age of Irenæus of Lyons, Clement and Origen of Alexandria, and Tertullian of Africa, — names of the first importance in the history of doctrine. The complete organization of the church, too, was the work of this century and chiefly

of this period ; and it was through these two instrumentalities — unity of belief and unity of discipline and administration — that it achieved its great triumphs in the following century. The organization of the church was based upon that of the state, and every city (p. 160) was made the seat of a bishop.

The Religion of the Severi. — The spirit of the age and of the dynasty were favorable to the progress of Christianity. The Severi were not, like the Antonines, earnest believers in the pagan system, and austere upholders of its faith. Even Elagabalus, the fanatic devotee of his religion, had not the moral earnestness to be a persecutor. And the women, who controlled the sentiments of this dynasty in a remarkable degree, — the sisters Soemias and Mammæa, their mother Julia Mæsa, and her sister Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, — were fully in sympathy with that religious philosophy, the controlling one at this age, known as Syncretism.¹

Syncretism. — Syncretism is that development of pagan religion which recognizes the universality and identity of the religious sentiment, but has not yet advanced to the conception of a genuine unity of the divine nature, or monotheism. It is polytheistic, but a form of polytheism which embraces all countries and nations, seeing in their different systems of gods only varying names for the same beings. It was an act of Syncretism when the Romans identified their Minerva with the Greek Athena, and their Mercury with the German Woden. This sentiment controlled the popular religion of the early Empire, and in the time of the Severi it became formulated into a religious system, tolerant and humane, and moral in its tone, even if somewhat vague and lacking consistency in the form it took. Along with this reconstruction of the popular religion the old Greek philosophies were eagerly studied, revised in the light of recent thought, and thus invested with a new life. The Neo-platonism, or revised Platonic philosophy, thus constructed, was until the extinction of paganism the most dangerous rival of Christianity.

¹ For the religious thought of this period, read *The Mind of Paganism*, by J. H. Allen, *Christian History*, Vol. I.

Alexander Severus.—Syncretism reached its completest triumph in the reign of Alexander Severus, under the influence of his wise and tolerant mother, Julia Mammæa. Christianity was no doubt fully as hostile to the syncretic principle as to the older forms of paganism: but the Severi did not care to push these sectaries into opposition, but rather tried to win them by a tolerant policy; while the Christians of this age were too busily engaged in practical work to seek wilfully the crown of martyrdom. It is related of Alexander Severus that he had a chapel in his palace containing images of the saints of all religions, among them Christ, Abraham, Orpheus, and Apollonius of Tyana. But Syncretism had but a short career. It disappeared as an organic force in the disorderly times that followed,—vitality, earnestness of purpose, strength and coherence of organization were with Christianity.

IV. FOREIGN RELATIONS.

The Northern Frontier.—This period is marked also by a distinct and important stage in the onward movement of the Germanic tribes. The operations of the Marcomanic war had occupied nearly the middle point upon the German frontier; that war was now past, and from this time we hear little more of the Marcomani.¹ Further to the east the Goths had already moved in a southeasterly direction from their old homes upon the Baltic, and were now established on the northern shore of the Black Sea. Here in the following century they were troublesome neighbors to the Roman province of Dacia, which at last had to be given up to them. At the western extremity of the frontier, upon the Rhine, we meet with a new and menacing condition of things in the time of the Severi.

The German Political System.—The Germans in earlier times, as they are described by Caesar and Tacitus, consisted of a num-

¹ This nation gradually disappears from history. The western portion of it became the Bavarians, while the territories to the east were gradually occupied by Slavic tribes.

ber of independent tribes, who were with difficulty brought to unite for special ends, and easily fell apart when the occasion had passed. But they had now begun to be conscious of their strength, and had learned that their strength was wasted by their disunion. We find them gathering together in loose confederacies, by which their resources were made more effective, while the independence and individuality of the several tribes were preserved. The Marcomani appear to have been the earliest confederacy of this type. Next to them came the Alamanni, — the *All-men*, — a body of tribes which gathered along Domitian's line of fortified posts (p. 260), extending from the middle Rhine to the Danube, and began to push their way across the bounds into the Empire. Here they were met and defeated by Caracalla; A.D. 213. but before the end of the century they succeeded in their object, and took possession of the country along the upper Rhine. A few years later than the Alamanni, A.D. 242. a similar association of tribes, known as the Franks,¹ are met upon the lower Rhine, principally in Belgium and Holland. Thus nearly the entire course of the Rhine was occupied by these new organizations.

The Western Germans. — The migrations of these western Germans are very different in character from those of the eastern nations, — the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards. These, as we shall see, swept rapidly and destructively over wide spaces of territory, taking military possession of all the countries of southern Europe. The Franks and Alamannians, on the other hand, consisted of tribes which had long been under the influences of Roman civilization, had learned to cultivate the soil, and had adopted other customs of civilized life.² They formed compact and permanent settlements, and only spread over as much territory as they could use. Forcing their way into the territories of the Empire, and occupying vacant lands which had become deserted and desolate in the disorders of these times, many of these in the course of

¹ The name of the Franks is barely mentioned a few years earlier.

² This important distinction was first pointed out by Dahn.

about it. The old walls of Servius Tullius had been long outgrown, and had fallen into ruin. Rome, in her days of greatness, needed, like Sparta, no walls except the shields of her legions. But these days had passed, and the walls of Aurelian are one among many signs of the approaching downfall of the imperial city. Having thus settled the affairs of Italy and the northern frontier, Aurelian proceeded against his rival in the East.

Zenobia.—Zenobia is one of the heroines of history. To great beauty and unblemished virtue she added a lofty ambition and, along with it, the power of ruling her subjects with combined mildness and justice. Herself a monotheist, she practised perfect toleration; Christian, Jew, Mazdean, and Pagan lived side by side in peace under her equable rule. The great Greek philosopher Longinus, the chief personage in Grecian literature in this century, and the most illustrious teacher of the new Platonism of the age, had been invited to Palmyra, and became her chief minister. But her ambition was not satisfied, like that of her husband, with a second place in the Empire, nor would even such a place have been conceded by a prince like Aurelian. She aspired to independence, — to rule a “middle kingdom” between the two great rival empires; and she had extended her bounds to the west so as to include Egypt and half of Asia Minor. But a middle kingdom such as she desired is sure, in an age of warfare, to be ground to pieces by its neighbors.

Fall of Palmyra, A.D. 273.—The campaign of Aurelian was rapid and successful. The armies of Zenobia were defeated in two battles, and then her capital city was besieged and taken. The captive queen had the weakness and meanness to throw upon her ministers the blame for her resistance; and they, including the illustrious Longinus, were put to death, while Zenobia was carried to Rome to adorn the conqueror's triumph. The city was spared; but an ill-timed revolt, when Aurelian was on his way home, called him back. This time he inflicted a terrible punishment. The citizens were massacred, the city was burned, and Palmyra rapidly fell from its wealth and beauty. It is now the seat of lonely and majestic ruins, visited by occasional travellers.

Subjugation of Gaul. — Having overthrown this powerful kingdom in the East, Aurelian found it an easy task to reduce his western rival (p. 292). Tetricus was tired of the mockery of state, and made only a feeble resistance. Like Zenobia, he was led in his victor's triumphal procession. But Gaul was in too serious a condition of social and economic decay to be speedily restored to order. Even before the conquest of this country by Cæsar, its peasantry had been a wretched and degraded class ; they had sunk even lower in condition, as the demoralization which had seized upon the industrial relations of Italy spread to the provinces also. The depreciation of the currency, now at its height, fell — as it always does — with the greatest severity upon the laboring classes ; and during the rest of the century Gaul was a hot-bed of discontent and revolution. A few years later (285), it broke out in the first, and one of the most formidable, of the peasant wars which have at various epochs laid waste this country. The *Bagaudæ* of the third century were the legitimate precursors, and probably the ancestors, of the *Pastoureaux* of the thirteenth, the *Facquerie* of the fourteenth, and the insurgent peasantry of the French revolution. To suppress this insurrection was the first task of Diocletian, the greatest emperor of the third century, who succeeded to the throne in 284, and here as elsewhere re-established peace and order.

PERIOD VIII.—THE LATER EMPIRE (284-476).

CHAPTER XXV.

REORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE.

I. DIOCLETIAN.

Reforms of Diocletian.—In the century which we have just traversed, the Roman Empire appeared upon the point of falling to pieces from defects in its organization, decay of material prosperity, and the increased strength and aggressive spirit of foreign enemies. For the economic decay and the assaults from without there was no remedy, and they finally wrought the destruction of the Empire. The constitution, however, was capable of revision ; and a statesman ascended the throne at the very close of the century who instituted a series of reforms which, while fundamentally changing its character, gave it a new efficiency, and prolonged its life for more than a hundred years. This was Diocletian, the



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last of the Illyrian emperors.

Preparation for the Reforms.—The reform was not carried through at one stroke, nor was it entirely the work of Diocletian ; it had been in preparation for a century, and was brought to completion by his more distinguished successor Constantine. But Diocletian was the first who saw clearly the logical conse-

quences of earlier reforms, and carried them out to practical results. He was the man of ideas, Constantine the man of action, of this reform. Septimius Severus had put an end to the dyarchy (p. 280), but had not definitely established the monarchy; Caracalla had extended citizenship to the provincials (p. 281), but had not entirely effaced the distinction between Italy and the provinces. It was Diocletian who organized the entire Empire upon a uniform basis, and placed it under the irresponsible rule of a monarch. Free government was now at an end, even in name and semblance; but nothing but centralized despotism could hold society together under its present difficulties.

The Illyrian Emperors. — The reign of Gallienus (260–268) was the period at which the Empire was at the lowest point of weakness and disintegration. The Illyrian peasants who succeeded him — Claudius, Aurelian, Probus, Carus, all rulers of great merit — succeeded in holding the disruptive forces in check, and preventing any further dissolution; but they did not see just where the evil lay, nor were their reigns long enough for any matured policy of reform. The starting point in Diocletian's reforms was the observation that the Empire was too large and too varied in nationality to be efficiently administered by one chief. In the parts of the Empire where the Emperor could not be present in person, it was easy for the provincial governors, practically irresponsible and armed with both military and civil power, to set on foot rebellions which might perhaps become successful revolutions, placing their leaders upon the imperial throne. Vespasian, Septimius Severus, and numbers of others had been made emperors by *pronunciamentos*; why not Tetricus and his compeers?

Partnership Emperors.¹ — One of the first acts of Diocletian therefore was to associate with himself as "Augustus" a capable and trusted officer, although rude and harsh in character, named Maximian. They were colleagues, just as the consuls of the Republic had been, and all official acts were in their joint names; but they divided the administration upon local lines. Diocletian, residing

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and if this god was symbolized by the fire, so that his votaries came to be known as fire-worshippers, yet this was in reality only a symbol, not an object of worship.

Religion of the Sassanidæ.—The form of Mazdeism which now, after many centuries of eclipse, mounted the throne of Persia, was not the pure religion of Zoroaster. It was, nevertheless, a new and inspiring force, arming the soldiers of the Sassanidæ with religious fervor and the zeal of propagandism. The world had never before known a great empire and conquering armies whose



TRIUMPH OF SAPOR.

inspiration was so controllingly religious. This is what principally makes it an epoch in the world's history. The conquering zeal which characterized Islam and the Crusades was introduced into the world by the Sassanian monarchs. They were the first rulers in history who persecuted on purely religious grounds.¹

The Sassanidæ.—The revolution which established the new Persian empire and the Sassanid dynasty took place in the year 226 ;

¹ This statement is made by Bryce (*Transcaucasia and Ararat*), and is, at any rate, approximately true. The religious propagandism of the early oriental monarchies was rather the extension of a national worship than of a distinctively religious faith.

and the empire now established continued as the principal rival of Rome, and far more bitter and obstinate in its rivalry than the Parthian had been, until overthrown by a new band of religious conquerors, the followers of Mohammed. After A.D. 641. a short reign Artaxerxes was succeeded by his son, Sapor, in whom the vigor, insolence, and cruelty of his A.D. 240. race culminated. It was he who captured the Emperor Valerian, and treated him with cruel indignity.¹ By his A.D. 260. arrogance Odenatus, Prince of Palmyra, was offended, and driven to alliance with Rome.

Reign of Gallienus, B.C. 260–268. — By the captivity of Valerian the Roman throne was left to be occupied by his son, Gallienus, a prince of many strong and amiable traits, but wholly unfitted for the stormy times in which he lived. The Empire seemed literally falling to pieces. What had occurred in the revolutionary years 68 and 193 in two or three provinces now took place in all directions. Everywhere the governors of single provinces or groups of provinces set up the standard of revolt, and there seemed every likelihood that the Empire would be resolved into its original elements. This period is known, very inappropriately, as that of the “Thirty Tyrants.” To this internal dissolution there were added formidable dangers upon the frontiers. The Persians were incited to new arrogance by their victory over Valerian. Upon the north the German tribes were in a ferment. A company of Franks made its way through Gaul, plundering and B.C. 256. destroying, and even passed the Pyrenees, and ravaged portions of Spain. Some of them are said to have crossed to Africa. At about the same time the Goths north of the Black Sea possessed themselves of some swift galleys, and not only plundered the ports of that sea, but made their way into the Ægean.

¹ Of the details really nothing is known. Mommsen says, “That Sapor used him as a footstool in mounting his horse, and finally caused him to be flayed, is a Christian invention, — a requital for the persecution of the Christians ordered by Valerian.” It is related that his skin was preserved by Sapor in a temple, but the body may have been flayed after death.

Palmyra. — Of all the fragmentary powers called into existence by the disruption of the Empire, Palmyra, the "City of Palms," was the strongest, most illustrious, and longest-lived. This city was an emporium of commerce upon an oasis of the Arabian Desert, at the junction of two caravan routes, a community of merchant princes, essentially Semitic in nationality, but very cosmopolitan in character. It was a city of great wealth and splendid architecture. The father of Odenatus had raised himself to a position somewhat similar to that of Lorenzo di Medici in Florence ; and Odenatus himself, taking up arms for Rome, and
A.D. 264. defending the frontier against the menacing Sapor, had been recognized as colleague and even as "Augustus" by Gallienus, whose hands were so fully occupied with wars in every part of the Empire that he was glad to secure the loyalty of Palmyra by the concession of this title. Soon after
A.D. 267. Odenatus was murdered, and his throne occupied by his widow, Zenobia.

Aurelian, 270–275. — Claudius, during his short reign (268–270), had restored some degree of order ; and his able and vigorous successor, Aurelian, re-established the imperial authority throughout the realm, and brought to an end the period of the "Thirty Tyrants." He was a coarse and uncultured peasant of Illyria, but his energy and native good sense have made his reign an epoch in the history of the period. The perils were great in every direction. In the

COIN OF AURELIAN. East Zenobia had severed from the Empire a great portion of its Asiatic possessions. In the West a rival empire had been created, embracing Gaul, Britain, and a part of Spain, which, under a succession of "tyrants," had held the legitimate Emperor at defiance. At present this precarious throne was occupied by a pretender named Tetricus. In the North, where the German tribes had already pushed across the frontier, the emergency was even more pressing.

Wars in the North. — Aurelian saw that the conquests of Trajan





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| 1. Colosseum. | 15. Pantheon. |
| 2. Arch of Constantine. | 16. Theatre of Pompey. |
| 3. Arch of Titus. | 17. Portico of Pompey. |
| 4. Via Sacra. | 18. Circus Flaminius. |
| 5. Via Nova. | 19. Theatre of Marcellus. |
| 6. Vicus Tuscus. | 20. Forum Holitorium. |
| 7. Vicus Jugarius. | 21. Forum Boarium. |
| 8. Arch of Septimius Severus. | 22. Mausoleum of Augustus. |
| 9. Clivus Capitolinus. | 23. Mausoleum of Hadrian. |
| 10. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. | 24. Baths of Constantine. |
| 11. Arch. | 25. Baths of Diocletian. |
| 12. Column of Trajan. | 26. Baths of Titus. |
| 13. Column of Antonine. | 27. Baths of Caracalla. |
| 14. Baths of Agrippa. | 28. Amphitheatrum Castrense. |

beyond the Danube (p. 262) were a source of weakness rather than strength. He withdrew the garrisons and most of the colonists to the south of the Danube, and left the province of Dacia to be occupied by the Goths. A formidable invasion of the



RUINS OF TEMPLE OF THE SUN BUILT BY AURELIAN.

Alamannians had crossed the Alps, -and was laying waste the regions about the Po. Aurelian defeated these barbarians, and freed Italy from this scourge. In order to secure the capital city more completely, he now proceeded to build a line of fortifications

about it. The old walls of Servius Tullius had been long outgrown, and had fallen into ruin. Rome, in her days of greatness, needed, like Sparta, no walls except the shields of her legions. But these days had passed, and the walls of Aurelian are one among many signs of the approaching downfall of the imperial city. Having thus settled the affairs of Italy and the northern frontier, Aurelian proceeded against his rival in the East.

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at Nicomedia, governed the East ; Maximian, making Mediolanum (*Milan*) his capital, governed the West. A few years later the principle was extended further, and each "Augustus" associated with himself a "Cæsar," a younger man, who should have charge of the most exposed and laborious parts of his dominions. Galerius commanded upon the Danube, Constantius in Gaul and Britain ; and it was the plan that when either Emperor should die or abdicate, his Cæsar should succeed to his vacant place. In this way it was thought that provision was made for a regular and peaceful succession to the throne,—the weakest point in the constitution of the Empire.

Oriental Despotism.—With four emperors at the head of affairs, there was no longer any danger that a successful rebellion would change the occupant of the throne at one blow. But Diocletian did not merely place the imperial office upon a new basis,—he gave it a new character and authority. The Senate now wholly ceased to be a part of the government, and from this time was hardly more than the municipal council of Rome. All authority and law emanated from the Emperor. But the Emperor's authority was not merely an actual autocracy, such as Julius Cæsar and Septimius Severus had exercised ; it was remodelled after the type of oriental monarchs, and surrounded with oriental ceremonial and homage. The Emperor of the first century was *Prince*, that is, "first citizen" ; the Emperor of the fourth century, as has been remarked, was a *Sultan*.¹

Re-organization of the Provincial System.—The provincial system was also remodelled. In the time of Septimius Severus there were about forty provinces, all of them outside of Italy ; and all were ruled as subject communities by governors sent from Rome. Italy was under a wholly independent administration, as being in law a part of the city of Rome (p. 175). Under Diocletian there were about a hundred provinces, Italy being now placed on the same footing as the other parts of the Empire ; and these were all mere districts of territory for administrative, financial, and judicial

¹ Seeley's *Roman Imperialism*, Lecture 3.

purposes. In the Republic and early Empire it was a fundamental principle that the provinces, but not Italy, were subject to a land-tax or tribute. Now the land-tax, like other taxes, was made uniform in all parts of the Empire. Under the earlier system every province stood by itself, subject to Rome, but having no organic connection with the other provinces. Diocletian grouped them into larger divisions called *dioceses*; and this made the work of administration much simpler and easier, because the *Vicar*, or governor, of a diocese stood between the Emperor and half a dozen governors of provinces. Thus the administration was systematized, and the functionaries stood in successive grades from the Emperor to the lowest official. By this a regularity and efficiency like that of the modern bureaucracies was introduced into the public service.

Military System.—At the same time with this reorganization of the civil service, another reform of fundamental value separated the civil from the military authority. The governor of a province had been its absolute master, having command of its military forces and administering justice in it, as well as being its executive head; and it was this union of civil and military power in the same hands that made the rebellions of the provincial governors so formidable a danger during the third century. The military power was, by Diocletian, entirely taken away from the provincial governors, who now became merely civil functionaries; while the army was placed under a wholly different set of officers, responsible to the Emperor alone.

Permanence of Diocletian's Reforms.—By thus centralizing the executive power in the hands of two or four supreme rulers, invested with absolute power, and surrounded with a pomp and ceremonial wholly foreign to the earlier Roman government; by transforming the administrative system into an official bureaucracy, divested of all military power; and by establishing a uniformity of administration for all parts of the Empire; the government acquired a degree of vigor and efficiency which gave it a new life, and placed the name of Diocletian among those of the great law-

makers and organizers of history. Some parts of his scheme broke down in practice, and some were afterwards changed by Constantine ; but, on the whole, the principles of absolute government now put in operation, not only held their own during the short remaining life of ancient Rome, but have been the controlling principles in the courts of Europe down to the present day.

Tenth Persecution of the Christians.—The name of Diocletian is chiefly associated, in most minds, not with his great work as an organizer and a ruler, but with the "Tenth Persecution" of the Christians, ordered by him in the year 303.¹ The cause of this

would seem to have been dread of the growing strength and formidable organization of the Christians, for in the early years of his reign he was far from unfriendly to them. An edict of the year 303, followed by others of still greater severity, directed the Christian churches to be torn down, ordered their sacred writings to be given up and destroyed, and prohibited all their assemblies. Christians in public office were to be removed from their positions.



CHRIST AS THE GOOD SHEPHERD.
(From the Catacombs.)

Christians of low rank were to lose their civil privileges, and those of all ranks were to be subject to torture. The mildness and favorable disposition of Constantius Chlorus, the Western Cæsar, prevented or mitigated the execution of the edict in the regions under his rule. In the other parts of the Empire it was carried out with great severity, especially under Diocletian's successor in the East, Galerius, a bitter enemy of Christianity.²

¹ The ecclesiastical writers have fixed upon this number, but it would not be easy to count exactly ten distinct persecutions.

² For this persecution read Cardinal Wiseman's *Fabiola, or the Church of the Catacombs*, a rather dull and very one-sided work, but containing an authentic and valuable account of the catacombs and their relation to the Church.

Abdication of Diocletian. — The year following this edict Diocletian was visited by a severe illness, which probably hastened the execution of a long-cherished purpose to retire into private life as soon as his scheme of government should be fully in operation. He and his colleague, Maximian, abdicated on the same day at their respective capitals. Diocletian retired to his splendid residence at Salona in Dalmatia, where he spent the remainder of his life in honorable leisure. Maximian, on the other hand, was drawn again into public life, with no great credit to himself, by the disorders of the following years. Diocletian's motive in this act has been the subject of many surmises. Possibly he had no further motive than to test the working of his scheme by actual experience.¹

Failure of his Scheme. — Diocletian's abdication made evident the weak spot in his scheme, where his fondness for systematizing had resulted in an artificial and impracticable rule of succession. It took no account of human relations and personal ambitions or the accidents of life. Galerius and Constantius succeeded to the throne without opposition; but when Constantius died suddenly the next year, his troops refused to recognize the man of straw whom the scheme placed over them, in the person of one Severus, but proclaimed Constantine, the son of Constantius, as Emperor. From this time for a period of eight years there followed a dreary succession of civil wars between rival pretenders, — at one time there being six claimants to the imperial throne. The events of this period may be tabulated as follows: —

A.D.

- 305. Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian; *East*: Galerius (Augustus), Maximin (Cæsar); *West*: Constantius (Augustus), Severus (Cæsar).
- 306. Death of Constantius; Constantine proclaimed; Maximian and his son Maxentius assume the imperial title.

¹ This is the suggestion of the French historian, Michelet.

A.D.

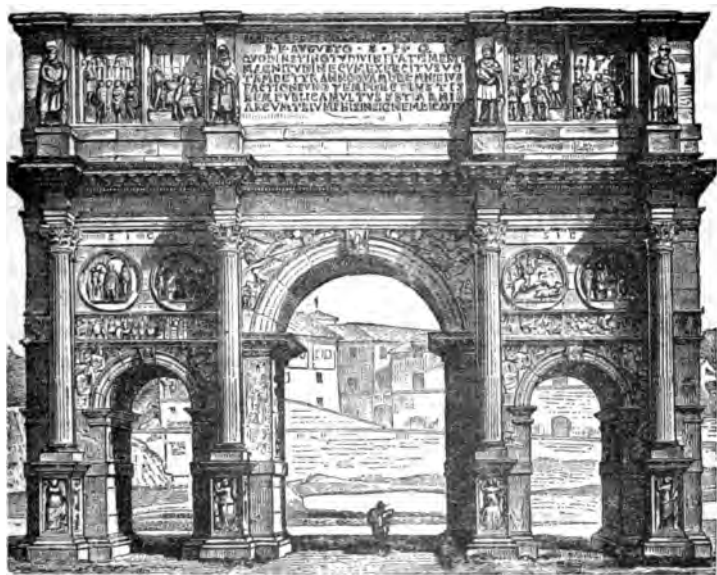
- 307. Severus put to death by Maxentius ; Licinius proclaimed by Galerius for the West.
- 310. Maximian put to death by Constantine.
- 311. April, edict of toleration ; May, death of Galerius ; Licinius and Maximin Emperors in the East.
- 312. Oct. 27 : Maxentius defeated by Constantine in the battle of the Mulvian Bridge, and drowned in the Tiber ; Constantine sole Emperor in the West.
- 313. April 30 : Maximin defeated by Licinius at Adrianople ; died shortly after ; murder by Licinius of the families of Galerius, Severus, and Maximin ; Licinius sole Emperor in the East.
- 314. Marriage of Licinius with Constantine's sister ; war between Constantine and Licinius ; peace ; the Empire divided — Constantine in the West, Licinius in the East.

II. CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

Constantine's Administration.—By the terms of the treaty of peace made after the war between Constantine and A.D. 314. Licinius, Constantine received a large addition of territory, so that his dominions extended so far east as to comprise Greece and Macedonia. In commemoration of his victory a magnificent triumphal arch was erected by the Senate, which is still standing complete.¹ His Basilica, likewise, whose ruins are among the most conspicuous of those in Rome, was built at this period. Entire toleration was extended to the Christians, and great favor shown to them, although the Emperor did not yet declare himself a convert. The most important administrative act of this period was the reform of the currency, which had fallen into complete confusion. The depreciation of the currency had

¹ It must not be understood that this fine work represents the taste and technical skill of the age. Its plan and details are for the most part taken from earlier monuments.

begun in the time of Nero, and by the time of the Severi the silver coinage had sunk to less than half of its nominal value, while even gold was so uncertain in its standard that it was necessary to weigh the coins instead of counting them. Aurelian and Diocletian had effected some reform in the currency, but Constantine restored it completely to its purity of standard. With his coinage begins a new era in the history of currency; the *solidus*,



ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

—whose name bespeaks its character,—a gold coin weighing one seventy-second of a pound, being the starting-point in all modern systems of money.¹

¹ Its name appears in the French *sou* and the Italian *soldo*, whose present value (about one cent) shows the depreciation which the currency has again suffered in modern times, the original value of the *solidus* being about \$3.00.

Bloodshed in the Imperial Families.— With the oriental type of monarchy had come in the oriental custom of securing the throne by political murder. Licinius, victor in the East, had put to death the families of Galerius, Severus, and Maximin, women and children inclusive; even the widow of Diocletian shared the fate of her daughter, the widow of Galerius. This wholesale bloodshed did not withhold Constantine from bestowing his sister in marriage upon its perpetrator; and when, notwithstanding, war had a second time broken out between the two Emperors, and victory had placed Licinius in the hands of his brother-in-law, Constantine, in violation of a positive promise made to his sister, caused Licinius to be strangled in prison. Thus, in the year 323, Constantine became sole Emperor, and ruled with unlimited power for fourteen years. In this period two events of special importance deserve to be mentioned — the establishment of Christianity, and the building of a new capital.

Adoption of Christianity.— The act by which Constantine is best known, and by which he earned the title of Great, is the adoption of Christianity as the state religion. His mother, Helena, was a Christian; and we have seen that his father, Constantius, protected the Christians. But he does not appear to have been brought up in the Christian faith; at all events, he did not declare himself a Christian until near his death. But even as early as the year 311, his influence secured the edict of universal toleration, — the persecutor Galerius and the rude Licinius alike seeing the impossibility of crushing the new sect. When he A.D. 312. marched the next year against Maxentius, he caused the Christian symbol¹ to be inscribed upon the standards and shields of the army; and it was believed that this was done in consequence of a vision. But the events which followed show that, even if he was a Christian in belief, which is hardly likely, he was not one in heart.

Policy of Toleration.— As Emperor, he held the old republican

¹ The monogram XP (*Christos*) on a banner of crimson silk called the *Labarum*.



CONSTANTINE.

305



dignity of Pontifex Maximus, or official head of the state religion ; and it was as Pontifex Maximus, — a title which his Christian successors also held for half a century longer, and which is now borne by the Roman Popes, — that he assumed authority over the Christian organization, making it the official religion ; but the pagan worship was still tolerated until nearly the end of the century, when it was proscribed by Theodosius the Great (p. 315).

Christianity as an Organization. — Christianity had been, during the two first centuries of its existence, a spiritual faith and moral impulse, rather than a body of doctrines or an organized power. The work of the third century was that of organization (p. 282) ; and the persecution of Diocletian found the church a strong, coherent association, pervading every corner of the Empire. It was apprehension of the strength of this power within the state that incited Diocletian to persecute. Constantine, too, saw the immense power which the Christian church had gained, but instead of attempting to crush it, he determined to ally himself with it, and make it serviceable as an instrument of government.

Christian Doctrine. — Christianity had now advanced to a third stage in its development. Having been first a company of scattered believers, and having now become an organized church, it next proceeded to formulate its beliefs. The work of the church in the fourth century was to determine its creed, or authoritative set of doctrines. A series of controversies now began, which distracted the church for several centuries, and by the virulence of the debates which they excited, and the intolerant spirit which they engendered, exercised a baleful influence upon the spirit of Christianity. All the intellectual activity of the age concentrated itself in the field of speculative theology, and was busily engaged in determining questions of faith, many of which were upon points too subtle to be expressed in any language except Greek. Engaged in these polemics, the officers of the church lost that burning zeal for rectitude and purity of life which had been its great power in the earlier centuries.

The Arian and Athanasian Controversy. — At the time that

Constantine became sole Emperor, a violent controversy was raging, upon the most fundamental of these questions—the nature of Christ and his relation to the Father. The original seat of this controversy was Alexandria, the home of the subtlest intellects of this age, and the two parties were headed by two ecclesiastics of Alexandria, Arius and Athanasius. At first Constantine attempted to discourage what seemed to him idle discussion upon a question incapable of solution. He saw at last that no peace was possible without an authoritative decision of the question, and summoned for this purpose a general council of the rulers of the church, to be held at Nicæa, near his residence Nicomedia, in the year 325. It was the first of the great series of so-called (Ecumenical Councils, held at intervals for the settlement of these controversies.

The Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325. — Although called a general council of the church, it was to all intents and purposes confined to the church of the East, where alone any real interest was felt in these subtilities. The church of the West concerned itself rather with practical matters. Of the 318 bishops who were present, only seven or eight were from the West; even Rome was only represented by two priests. The assembly was summoned and presided over by the Emperor, who, although not yet in name a Christian, was nevertheless, as *pontifex maximus*, the official head of religion. The debates were long and acrimonious. The Emperor had at first inclined to the party of Arius; but he changed his attitude, and at length threw the weight of his authority in the opposite scale. The doctrine of Athanasius, as formulated in the so-called *Nicene Creed*, was now made the orthodox or accepted doctrine, and was designated by the term *Homoousian* (of the same substance with the Father), the opposing doctrine being known as *Homoiousian* (of like substance). But the Arian doctrine, now condemned as a heresy, and proscribed in the church of the Empire, had yet a history of great importance. When the German invaders of the Empire were converted to Christianity, it was in nearly every case the Arian form of this religion which they

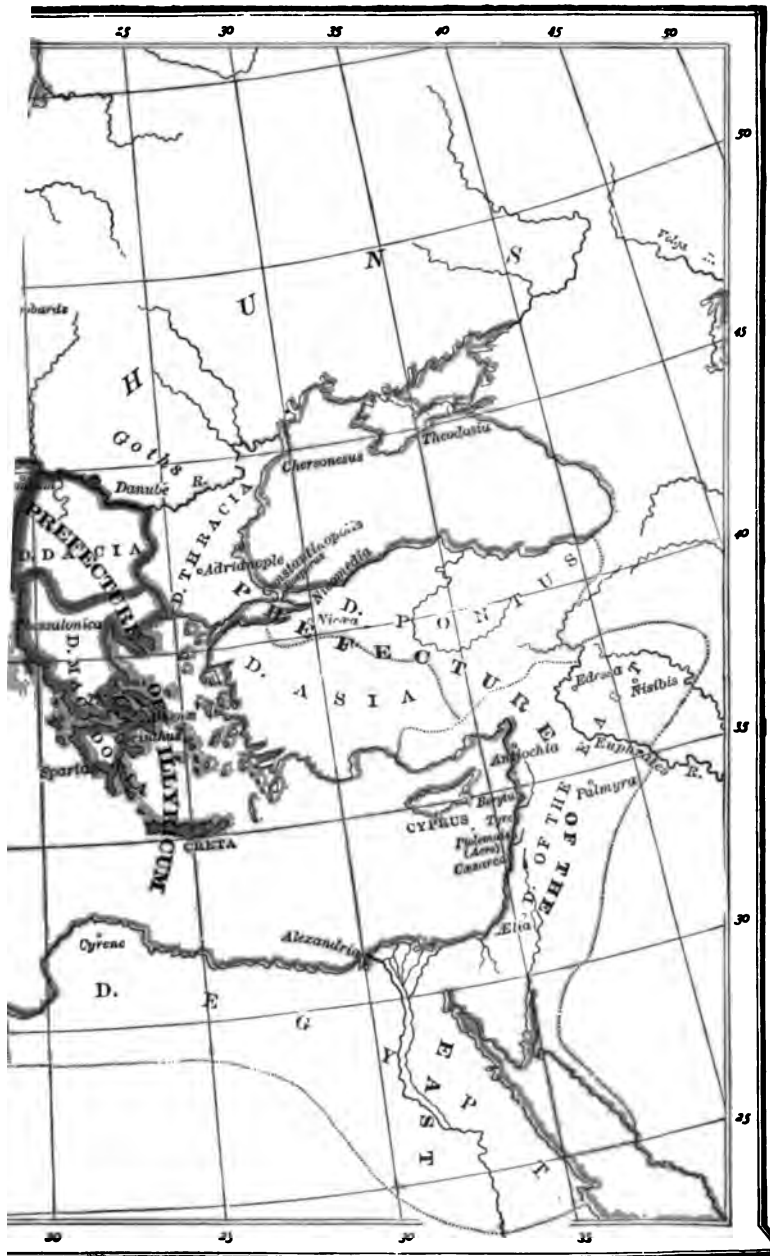
received. The historical consequences of this fact do not fall within the limits of the present work.

Death of Crispus. — Shortly after the Council of Nicæa, Constantine committed the greatest crime of his life, in putting to death his son Crispus. The cause of this act is a mystery, but it is supposed that he had conceived a jealous suspicion of this promising and popular young man, and that this suspicion was fomented by his second wife, Fausta, who wished to secure the succession to her own worthless sons. At any rate, the death of Crispus was soon followed by bitter remorse, and by vengeance inflicted upon Fausta. The only event of history to be compared with this tragedy is the execution of Alexis, son of Peter the Great, at his father's command ; but Alexis was a turbulent and dangerous character, while Crispus was, according to all accounts, a worthy heir to the throne. It was not only a crime, but a public disaster ; for by Crispus' death the crown passed to heirs as low in ability as in character.

Administrative Reorganization. — A year or two after the death of Crispus, Constantine accomplished the second great act of his reign, the establishment of a new capital. A glance at the map shows that the Empire, consisting of the countries which lie about the Mediterranean Sea, was excessively long from east to west in proportion to its breadth. This was a chief cause of the difficulties of administration, and we have seen that Diocletian endeavored to remedy it by having an Emperor reside at each end of the Empire (p. 298). This scheme was broken down by its complexity, but Constantine carried out its fundamental idea in a more practical way. As Diocletian had grouped the provinces into dioceses (p. 299), so Constantine united the dioceses into four large divisions, governed by prætorian præfects, who were all equally under the authority of the Emperor. Thus the unity of the imperial office was maintained, and in place of the two Augusti and their two Cæsars there were now four prætorian præfects, with only civil powers, at the head of the four great divisions of the Empire ; each præfecture being divided into dioceses, thir-









teen in number in the whole Empire, and the dioceses containing an average of eight or nine provinces apiece.¹ The number of provinces was now one hundred and twenty.

Foundation of a New Capital. — Rome was no longer fitted to be the capital of this wide-extended Empire. It was too far from the centre and from the field of active operations. Diocletian, during his long reign, never visited his capital but once ; he made his residence at Nicomedia, which was now the Eastern capital, while Milan became practically the capital of the West. But Nicomedia was neither accessible enough nor defensible enough. Constantine determined to build a new capital for the eastern half of his Empire, — a new Rome, which should be a worthy rival of the old. The spot which he selected for this purpose has been universally recognized to be of all within his reach the one possessing the most commanding situation and best fitted to be the capital of the world. And yet, although his decision seems to us self-evident, it was only after long and careful deliberation that he fixed upon the site of Byzantium.

Constantinople. — The Bosphorus, the great stream of water which flows from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, dividing the continents of Europe and Asia, broadens out about midway of its course into a sea of moderate extent, — the Propontis, or, as we call it, the Sea of Marmora. At just this point a deep inlet, the Golden Horn, runs up into the shore of Europe, and on the triangular space between the Golden Horn and the Propontis the Greeks had founded their colony of Byzantium. It was this city that Constantine determined to take as the nucleus of his New Rome. His new capital was a city of magnificent proportions. Its walls were laid out at a distance of two miles outside those of the old ; and it was not easy, in an Empire which was not growing in wealth or population, to fill up so enormous a space with inhabitants. But the presence of the court, the commercial advantages of the situation, the magnificence of the new city, and the

¹ See map of *The Roman Empire divided into Praefectures.*

offer of extraordinary favors and privileges soon attracted settlers; so that even when the Empire did not flourish, the city of Constantine grew. The formal founding of this New Rome was on the fourth of November, 328.

The Municipalities. — One of the most significant signs of social decay in the later Empire is found in the condition of the municipalities. In the early Empire these had been the seat of a vigorous and healthy self-government, and their constitution rested upon the popular will. As early as the time of Trajan we note indications of loss of prosperity (p. 263), and in the disintegration of the third century a fundamental change in their government seems to have taken place. From this time they appear as narrow oligarchies, in which all power is vested in a few rich citizens, who composed the municipal Senate or *Curia*, and hence were called *curiales* or *decurions*. The fourth century marks another downward stage. This privileged class itself, the *curiales*, has now become rather the bearer of burdens than the possessor of power. The cities being territorial districts (p. 160), the regular subdivisions of the provinces, they were naturally made use of in the machinery of taxation; and as the taxes now became heavier and heavier with the increasing cost of government, the duty of collecting them, being placed upon the municipality, gave rise to a personal responsibility for the taxes on the part of its members, the *curiales*. The burdens thus laid upon them they of course shifted to others, and all classes of society were alike crushed by an unbearable weight of taxation. One of the great services which the emperor Valentinian rendered to the poorer classes was the creation of a new magistracy (A.D. 364), that of *Defensor Civitatis*, to protect them against the exactions of the *curiales*.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY.

Death of Constantine.—Constantine the Great died May 22, 337, having been baptized a short time before his death. The death of Crispus was now bitterly avenged upon his house and his people. Fully aware of the unfitness of his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, the Emperor did not venture to appoint either of them his sole heir, but divided the Empire between them, joining with them in the administration their two cousins, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus. But before the year was out, the three sons of Constantine brought about the murder of their cousins, and divided the Empire between themselves alone.

Constantius II., 337–361.—In a few years the death of his two brothers¹ placed the sole rule in the hands of Constantius, a prince with a great taste for theological controversy, but endowed with neither virtue nor capacity to govern. As the family of Constantine was near extinction, and the affairs of the Empire were steadily growing worse, Constantius associated in the rule his cousin Julian, with the title of Cæsar. This **A.D. 355**. able and energetic prince soon restored order and good government in the western provinces which were assigned to him, and to him belongs the distinction of being the last general of the Empire who placed an effectual check upon the impending advance of the German barbarians.

The Alamannians.—We have seen that the Germans upon the Rhine had gathered into two formidable confederacies, the Franks and the Alamannians, and had pushed across the frontier of the Empire to seek for themselves new homes. The strong Illyrian

¹ A.D. 340, death of Constantine II.; 350, of Constans.

emperors had held these invaders in check, and had even made of them a serviceable military force. But in the reign of the weak Constantius the Germans pressed forward again; the Alamannians already possessed the right bank of the Rhine, and now they began to cross that river, and take possession of the same country from which Ariovistus had been expelled four hundred years before (p. 206).

Battle of Strassburg. — Julian met the invaders at Strassburg in August, 357, and defeated them with great slaughter after a long and hard-fought battle. The "boar's head," the wedge-shaped battle column of the Germans, was pushed forward with energy, and for a while with success, but it could not withstand the discipline and effective armament of the Roman legions; and when both parties had brought up their reserves, the Romans were left masters of the field. We say *Romans*; but the Roman legions were now principally composed of German volunteers and auxiliaries. It was German against German, but Roman discipline against only half-trained courage. Thus the Alamannians were driven back for the present from the fields of Alsace, but it was only for a time. They were an orderly and industrious people, who were not in search of conquests but of homes; and before a century had passed they had again begun to spread over the left bank of the Rhine, through Alsace and Lorraine, where their descendants remain to the present day.

Julian Emperor, 360–363. — During three years Julian was engaged in settling the affairs of Gaul along the Rhine; but he was constantly menaced by the jealousy and hostility of Constantius, and in 360 he was proclaimed by his soldiers Augustus at Paris,¹ his capital. War was threatened, but Constantius died the next year, and Julian peacefully occupied the throne of the united Empire.

Julian's Apostasy. — Julian, like the rest of the family of Constantine, was brought up as a Christian; but his upright soul re-

¹ *Lutetia Parisiorum*, the chief town of the Parisii; as in numerous other cases, the name of the modern city is derived from that of the ancient tribe.

volted at the perfidies and cruelties of the imperial house, and his intellect was repelled by the metaphysical hair-splitting and the incessant bickerings of the Christian theologians. He was a man somewhat like Marcus Aurelius, but of a more robust nature, and with more taste for intellectual subtilities. The refinements of Neo-platonism, which tried to pour new wine into the old bottles of pagan mythology (p. 283), attracted his mind rather than the dogmatisms of Christian theology; and Christianity as a religion, as a moral force, seems never to have been presented to his mind.

Restoration of Paganism. — As soon as he was able to think for himself, therefore, Julian cast away the system of faith in which he had been trained, and ardently devoted himself to reviving the dead rites and beliefs of paganism. He was of a humane spirit, and did not institute any persecution of Christianity, but made it his effort to discourage it among his subjects. For this purpose he issued edicts ordering all municipal prop- **A.D. 362.** erty which had been given to the churches by Constantine to be restored, and forbidding Christians to instruct in grammar and rhetoric, — thus cutting them off from the most effective means of propagating their faith. The shortness of Julian's reign gives this pagan reaction the appearance of a mere passing incident; if he had lived longer it is impossible not to believe that he would have been forced to a persecution of the Christians, probably the most relentless of all.

Campaign in the East. — Affairs in the West were now quiet, but a storm was arising in the East. Sapor II. of Persia, an energetic and ambitious sovereign, had invaded the eastern provinces, and gained great successes. But Julian was an antagonist of a different type from Constantius. Crossing the Euphrates with a powerful army, he marched down the left bank of that river to the region of Babylon, opened a canal from the Euphrates to the Tigris, and through this conveyed his forces to attack the Persian forces on the Tigris. The Persians resisted with energy his passage of this river, but were routed in a decisive **A.D. 363,** battle and forced to retreat to the highlands beyond. **May 27.**

Here Julian undertook, in emulation of Alexander the Great, to follow them, but was obliged to turn back from lack of provisions. In a skirmish on the return march he was killed by a Persian arrow, June 26, 363. His chief officer, Jovian, was at once proclaimed Emperor in his place.

Valentinian I., 364–375. — After a reign of less than a year Jovian died, and was succeeded by Valentinian, one of the ablest emperors of the century and with many of the best qualities as a ruler. But his virtues were offset by an extreme of severity, even amounting to blood-thirstiness. He was chaste and just, but his justice was not tempered with mercy. Unfortunately for the Empire he associated with him his brother Valens as a colleague, assigning to him the Eastern præfecture, with Constantinople as a capital; and Valens was a wholly incompetent ruler. After a reign of eleven years, spent in energetic and unremitting efforts to hold together his fast crumbling dominions, a good ruler in most respects, but stained with many acts of ferocious cruelty, Valentinian died, and was succeeded by his two sons, Gratian and Valentinian II., — the latter an infant.

A.D. 375. Three years later, Valens was succeeded in the East by Theodosius, called the Great (p. 320).

Gratian, 375–383. — Gratian was a mild and cultivated prince, with the qualities of a good ruler and a good commander. He was a sincere upholder of the Christian faith, which he held in the orthodox form, — that which had carried the day in the Council of Nicæa, — while his uncle Valens was an adherent of the Arian heresy. In the ardor of his partisanship, Gratian took a step which led the way to the greatest evils and disgraces of Christian history, by issuing an edict which forbade freedom of worship to all the heretical sects.

A.D. 376. This step is supposed to have been taken under the influence of the illustrious Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, the greatest ecclesiastic and probably the greatest man of his time, but whose uncompromising devotion to his faith coincided too well with his sentiment of the interests of his order to leave room for the policy

of toleration. With this act the Christian church deliberately adopted the policy of persecution of other Christians on ground of difference in belief. Gratian was also the first Roman Emperor who laid aside the title of *pontifex maximus*, which had properly been borne by the pagan emperors, but was inconsistent with the present relations of church and state. It was afterward assumed by the bishops of Rome.

The Final Establishment of Christianity. — Within a few years both Gratian and Valentinian II. were murdered, and Theodosius, their Eastern colleague, now reunited the Empire and reigned as sole Emperor for three years. Theodosius completed the work of Gratian by the promulgation of an edict forbidding all exercise of the heathen rites of worship.¹ Orthodox Christianity was from this time the only lawful religion.

¹ This edict was issued during the life of Valentinian II. ; but it will be remembered that in theory the authority of each Emperor extended over the whole Empire (p. 297).

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS.

I. THE VISIGOTHS UPON THE DANUBE.

The Three Critical Events of the Fourth Century. — We have followed the fortunes of the Roman Empire from its foundation by Augustus, through its career of greatness and glory, and then of disintegration, to its reorganization and new life under Diocletian and Constantine. We have seen how the effort to infuse a new life into the religions of the pagan world had broken down (p. 284), and a new religion, possessing at once greater vital force, higher spirituality, and stronger moral power, had conquered society. We now pass to the third great series of events of the closing years of the Empire, — the infusion into the decaying population of the Old World of a new and more healthy element, in the German barbarians of the North. The conquest of the Empire by these peoples was not an unmixed benefit. The good as well as the bad of ancient society was ruthlessly trampled down. The new masters of the world were incapable of administering the elaborate system of government which had been worked out by the practical genius of the Romans, and society had to create a new set of institutions and a new social structure.¹ Nevertheless, these invasions were, in the long run, a good thing. Society did, after a long time, come out of the crisis better and stronger, under

¹ Under the rule of the Franks the financial system of the Empire gradually gave way to a species of *Naturalwirtschaft*, in which the obligatory services of individuals, and contributions in kind, took the place of taxes; while a crude militia system was substituted for the standing army, and civil, military, and judicial powers were all united in the same hands, as before the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine (p. 299).

the control of its new members; while it is a question whether ancient civilization had not sunk too low to be inspired with new life.

The Germans. — When we call the Germans *barbarians*, we use this word in its scientific sense, to designate a people by no means at the lowest social stage, but also not yet advanced to the stage of conscious civilization. The Greeks, as depicted by Homer, were barbarians, but with the capacity of unlimited progress. So the Germans, as described by Cæsar and Tacitus, and even when they conquered new homes for themselves within the limits of the Empire, were barbarians; but they possessed a healthy moral nature, pure domestic relations, systematic industry, and a well-ordered political system of remarkable efficiency and adaptability.

The Germans within the Empire. — The Germans were not new-comers at the period which we have reached. For years, even for centuries, they had been gaining a foothold within the limits of the Empire. The entire left bank of the Rhine was in the possession of German settlers (p. 285), and the Roman army was principally composed of German mercenaries. We shall even see Germans, within a very few years, occupying the highest places of government and administration, and at last by their will determining the destiny of the Empire. What was new at this period was the forcible entrance of organized nations within the boundaries of the Empire, sweeping over its entire extent, and carving out for themselves national kingdoms from the territories which they occupied. The Franks and Alamanni, in the West, had settled in the fields of the Empire by a gradual process of colonization. The Goths and Vandals, in the East, moved as hostile armies, conquered lands for themselves, and set up in them their already organized kingdoms. And yet they too entered the Empire as colonists; entire nations, — men, women, and children, with their flocks and herds and possessions of every kind, — traversing the countries of the Empire in long wagon-trains, fighting their way with the sword, and occupying by force lands which they might afterwards cultivate in peace.

The Gothic Empire. — This new and most impressive series of events was commenced by the invasion of the B.C. 376. Visigoths. We have seen (p. 284) that the Goths had, in the second century, moved from their earlier seats upon the Baltic, and established themselves upon the shores of the Black Sea ; and that even the conqueror Aurelian had found himself obliged to cede to them the province of Dacia north of the Danube (p. 293), so that their dominions now extended from that river to the Crimean peninsula. They were in two divisions, the East Goths (*Ostrogoths*), dwellers in the steppe, and the West Goths (*Visigoths*), dwellers in the forest. The Ostrogoths were recognized as the superiors, although they had no very well-defined authority or right of command over their brethren ; and their great king, Ermanarich, was one of the most powerful sovereigns of his time. The Ostrogoths were still stoutly attached to their heathen faith ; while the Visigoths, nearer to the Empire, had been in part converted to the Arian form of Christianity. Their bishop, the illustrious Ulfilas, had translated the Scriptures into their tongue ; portions of this translation are still extant, an invaluable record of the early forms of Germanic speech.

The Invasion of the Huns. — A rude shock from a distant and unexpected quarter overthrew the Ostrogothic empire, and in its results forced both Gothic nations to seek new homes. This event was one of those rapid and resistless movements of savage hordes, — as unforeseen and unaccountable as a flight of locusts, — which at various times in history have swept from the regions of Central Asia, bringing terror and desolation among the inhabitants of the civilized West.¹ The Huns, of Tartar race, small, dark-hued, and hideous of feature, mounted on small, nimble horses, upon which they passed most of their lives, poured resistlessly over the steppes of Russia, prostrated the Ostrogothic power, and extended

¹ There have been at least six of these waves, — the Huns, in the fourth century ; the Avars, in the sixth ; the Magyars, or Hungarians, in the ninth ; the Seljukian Turks (of whom the Ottomans were an offshoot), in the eleventh ; the Mongols, in the thirteenth ; and the Tartars at the end of the fourteenth.

their dominion over all Germany. The Visigoths, not exposed to the direct shock of the invasion, had time to take refuge upon the banks of the Danube, and there entreated permission to cross and receive lands as subjects of the Empire. A few Ostrogoths were in their company. A.D. 376.

Passage of the Danube.—There was vacant land enough within the limits of an empire which was losing every day in population; and it was for the interest of all that these vacant fields should be filled up with the healthy offspring of a people which was rapidly increasing in numbers, and needed homes. After some hesitation, therefore, Valens consented to grant to the Visigoths lands south of the Danube. It was agreed that they should give up their arms, cross the river peaceably, and be distributed in the unoccupied lands of the Balkan peninsula.

Battle of Adrianople.—But the well-devised plan was frustrated by the knavery of the Roman officials who had its execution in charge. By their corrupt connivance the Goths were allowed to keep their arms; by their greediness the newcomers were defrauded of promised supplies; and by their perfidy they were driven into open rebellion. The Emperor Valens hastened against the insurgents, but was totally defeated in the battle of Adrianople (Aug. 9, 378); and the Emperor lost his life after the battle.¹

Theodosius the Great.—The young Emperor of the West, Gratian, was on his way to the assistance of his uncle, and had already reached the lower Danube, when Valens was driven by the impatience of his troops to engage in the disastrous battle, without waiting for the re-inforcements. Left in sole possession of the imperial power, for his brother Valentinian was too young to take any active part in the government, Gratian searched for a fit person with whom to share a task too great for his sole powers. He found the right person in Theodosius, one of his generals, a man of upright character and great ability, both as a general and

¹ It is generally stated, although not on very good authority, that he was burned alive in a cottage in which he had taken refuge.

as a statesman. Theodosius was promptly proclaimed A.D. 379, Augustus, and received the government of the East as Jan. 19. his portion (p. 314).

Settlement of the Goths. — The new Emperor made Thessalonica the seat of his government while engaged in the arduous and perplexing task of restoring order in his provinces, and disposing of his troublesome guests. In the course of four years he had accomplished his task. The Goths received assignments of land, — the Visigoths in the provinces south of the Danube, their Ostrogothic auxiliaries in Phrygia, — as allies (*foederati*) of the Empire, upon the condition of receiving yearly presents, and rendering military service when called upon.

The Foederati. — The arrangement thus made with the Goths we find a common one in this last century of the Empire. They were settled within the limits of the Empire, and of course under its sovereignty, and yet were recognized as an independent nation, and bound to the imperial government by regular treaty provisions, as the word *foederati* indicates. It was an unnatural order of things, hard to reconcile with the idea of imperial sovereignty ; but it has a certain analogy with the relations of the United States government to the Indian tribes, and may be illustrated by these. The Indian tribes, like the Visigoths, are independent nations under the sovereignty of the American government, with which they are connected by formal treaties ; and, by the terms of these treaties, they occupy certain tracts of land, their *reservations*. The lands occupied by the Visigoths in Moesia and Dacia were analogous to our Indian reservations.¹

Character of Theodosius. — Theodosius, fitly called the Great, was the last great ruler of the Roman Empire. In the year 392, by the death of Valentinian II., the whole Empire was united under his rule, and continued so united for three years. Theodosius was not only an able ruler, but an upright and conscientious man. Apart from his religious intolerance, which was the expres-

¹ We might carry the analogy a step farther, and compare the dishonest officials of Valens with a certain class of Indian agents.

sion in that age of religious earnestness, there is only one stain upon his reputation. A garrison of Gothic soldiers in Thessalonica had been massacred by the mob for some trivial offence. It was not only an outrage in itself, but it embarrassed the Emperor in his earnest endeavors to establish peaceful relations with the Goths. He fell into a transport of fury, and inflicted upon the populace of Thessalonica the most fearful punishment, gathering them into the circus to the number of seven thousand, and there having them massacred by a detachment of Gothic soldiers. His good faith was thus vindicated with the Goths, but at the expense of justice and humanity. The great Ambrose, bishop of Milan, appealed to by the bishop of Thessalonica, exhibited a dignity and courage, in his treatment of the offence, which have made this one of the significant incidents of history. Theodosius was forbidden entrance into the church until he exhibited a genuine repentance, and made complete submission, his penance continuing about eight months. He was required, moreover, to renew a law of Gratian, fixing an interval of at least thirty days between crime and punishment.¹

Division of the Empire.—In the year 395 Theodosius died, leaving the Empire to his two young sons, Arcadius in the East and Honorius in the West: Arcadius received as his adviser the crafty and unscrupulous Rufinus; Honorius, the Vandal Stilicho, the most noteworthy personage of his time. This division, like that between Diocletian and Maximian (p. 297), was in theory one of administration alone, the two emperors being colleagues with co-equal powers. But as a matter of fact the two sections of the Empire steadily grew apart after their separation under the sons of Theodosius, and they were never again united except in name.

The Family of Theodosius.—The House of Theodosius sat upon the imperial thrones of Rome and Constantinople for two

¹ The humbling of Theodosius by Ambrose may rank with that of Henry IV. by Gregory VII.; but it was a far nobler act, inasmuch as Theodosius was a greater man than the penitent of Canossa, and no element of self-assertion or of ecclesiastical aggrandizement entered into the action of Ambrose.

generations.¹ The personality of the later emperors of this house was wholly insignificant. Events, however, of the most vital importance occurred in their reigns, and it will be well to append their names in a synchronistic table.

HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS.			
<i>East.</i>		<i>West.</i>	
379.	Theodosius the Great.	392.	
395.	Arcadius.		Honorius.
408.	Theodosius II.		
		423.	Valentinian III.
450.	Death of Theodosius II.		
		455.	Death of Valentinian III.

II. STILICHO.

Stilicho, the Vandal. — Theodosius, at his death in 395, left the government of the Western Empire in the hands of Stilicho, as guardian of the nine-year-old Emperor Honorius. This German officer, who for thirteen years was the foremost character in the Empire, was now in the prime of life, and had earned the confidence of his patron by long and faithful services. He had bitter enemies, who at last compassed his downfall and death, and their enmity has left its mark in charges of bad faith in his public policy, — charges which the meagreness of our information does not allow us either to admit or to disprove. What can be asserted without question is that his policy was attended with entire success, that he defeated the enemies of the Empire in every engagement, and successfully maintained its integrity; while after his death disaster followed disaster, and no general or statesman was found competent to maintain the authority of the Empire.

Claudian. — The chief eulogist of Stilicho was the poet Claudian, a poet who, in these late days, is not unworthy to be compared with those of the great period of Roman literature, for genuine

¹ Hodgkin's *The Dynasty of Theodosius* is the best condensed history of this period.

poetic sentiment and elegance of style. His is the last great name in Roman literature. But the truest eulogy of Stilicho, and the real vindication of his character, are found in the history of his times.

Reign of Honorius, A.D. 395-423. — The death of Theodosius was the signal for all elements of discord to break into activity. The long reign of Honorius is the period in which the great barbarian invasions began in earnest, and the gradual dissolution of the Empire commenced. The first step was taken by the Visigoths, who, as we have seen (p. 320), had been established in the provinces of the Balkan peninsula.

Alaric. — In the year of the death of Theodosius, the Visigoths of the Danubian regions elected as their king the young Alaric, a high-spirited and ambitious youth, honorable in his personal relations, and not vindictive or inhuman on the whole, although goaded to vengeance by continued bad faith. For a number of years Alaric and his Goths traversed the provinces of the Eastern Empire, for the most part in the peninsula of Greece, where they committed great destruction and ravages. It is during this period that the relations between Stilicho and Rufinus, the minister of the Eastern Empire, excited suspicion of Stilicho's good faith. It seems probable, that in his dealings with the perfidious and vindictive Rufinus, Stilicho showed something of the wisdom of the serpent, and that his unscrupulous adversary found himself surpassed in his own cunning.

Victories of Stilicho. — After a number of years passed in devastating Greece and Epirus, Alaric was induced by Rufinus to carry his arms into the Western Empire. In this first invasion of Italy Alaric sustained two defeats at the A.D. 402-3, hands of Stilicho — at Pollentia and Verona — and was obliged to depart from the peninsula and leave it unmolested for several years.

Rhadagais. — In the year following the battle of A.D. 404, Verona, a fearful danger threatened Italy in an invasion of Germans under the Ostrogoth Rhadagais. This was not the

movement of a nation, like that of the Visigoths ; the Germans of Rhadagais were soldiers of fortune gathered from all sources, and seeking plunder rather than homes. Rhadagais was a personal leader, not a national king like Alaric. These invaders too, like the Visigoths, came by the pass of the Julian Alps at the head of the Adriatic, and swept, two hundred thousand warriors in number, through the northern parts of the peninsula as far as A.D. 405. Florence. Here they were met by Stilicho, and their army was annihilated. Rhadagais and thousands of his followers were slain, a large number were converted into serfs, and some twelve thousand were taken into the service of the Empire as soldiers.

Vandal Invasion. — The invasion of Rhadagais was A.D. 406. a passing storm. The next year an even more serious disaster befell the Empire, although it did not touch Italy directly. The Vandals, a nation of the eastern Germans, who had been settled by Constantine in Pannonia, left their abodes upon the Danube, and, their number swollen by Sueves and Alans (these last of Hunnic stock), crossed the Rhine into Gaul, which they occupied for three years with fearful destruction and spoliation.

The Usurper Constantine. — The authority of the Empire was practically suspended in these western provinces, and their armies and officials looked in vain to the inert Emperor at Rome for relief. The task set to Stilicho was too great even for him. The armies of Britain, in this emergency, did again what had been done so many times before, — threw off the authority of the Emperor and set up an Emperor of their own, a common soldier by the name of Constantine — a name of good import.¹ This pretender soon brought all Britain and Gaul under his rule, and maintained his authority for four years. In this interval his officers induced the Vandals and their companions to abandon A.D. 409. Gaul and pass into Spain, where they took into their possession nearly the whole peninsula, — the Suevi occu-

¹ Church, *The Count of the Saxon Shore*.

pying the northwest, the chief body of the Vandals the south (where they have left their name to the province of Andalusia), the Alans and the rest of the Vandals in Lusitania (*Portugal*). Thus the only region west of Italy which still recognized the authority of Honorius was the eastern portion of Spain.

Fall of Stilicho.—Stilicho was held responsible for disasters which no power could have averted. His faithful services to Theodosius and Honorius, and the successive defeats of Alaric and Rhadagais were forgotten, and his enemies prevailed upon the weak and inexperienced Emperor—he was not much over twenty years of age—to have him put to death. He was beheaded at Ravenna, August 23, 408.

Ravenna.—Ravenna had become the capital of the Western Empire. Rome had, as we have seen, long ceased to be the residence of the Emperors, although it still retained its prestige and dignity. Milan was the military centre of the western provinces; but Honorius had neither military abilities nor ambitions. When Rhadagais was laying waste the north of Italy, Milan was an unsafe refuge for his sacred person, and he sought a secure retreat in the city of Ravenna, which was protected from assault by the marshes of the Adriatic. This city continued for four hundred years from this time to be the seat of government, and still contains splendid remains of architecture dating from this period.

III. ALARIC.

Second Invasion of Alaric.—The death of Stilicho was followed by cruel vengeance inflicted upon his adherents by his victorious enemies, and the massacre of the wives and children of the German soldiers in Italy. It was in a sense the revival of the sentiment of Italian nationality, in opposition to the impending domination of the German. These atrocious acts summoned Alaric a second time to Italy; and this time there was no Stilicho to meet him. He traversed the peninsula without opposition, and stood at length before the walls of Rome, — A.D. 408.

the first enemy since Hannibal who had looked upon them at the head of a hostile army.

Capture of Rome. — It was not Alaric's purpose to destroy or injure the world's capital. He invested it closely and reduced it by famine, after the Senate, in its frenzied hatred of the barbarians, had condemned to death Stilicho's widow, Serena, on the suspicion that she had invited the Goths in revenge for the death of her husband. When famine and pestilence had brought the citizens to submission, an embassy was sent to the conqueror to ask for terms on which they might surrender. The demand was for all their gold and silver, their movable property, and their slaves of barbarian origin. "What, then, do you leave to us?" was asked, and the answer, "Your lives." But the conqueror was after all satisfied with easier terms, and retired from Italy with immense treasures, the price of the city.¹

Sack of Rome. — Twice again Alaric besieged Rome. A.D. 409. The first time it surrendered voluntarily, the second A.D. 410. time he took it by assault, and gave it up to plunder for three days. His patience was exhausted, and his soldiers had been too often disappointed of their prey. Much destruction and many outrages were no doubt wrought during these three days of rapine; but it is not probable that the city suffered nearly so much as from Geiseric, the Vandal, forty-five years later, or from the imperial troops of Bourbon's army in 1527. Alaric was of a finer and nobler nature than either of these.

Death of Alaric. — From the sack of Rome Alaric proceeded with his Goths to southern Italy, and there suddenly died in the same year, 410. His body received a unique and characteristic burial. The course of the river Busento was turned aside, the young chief was interred in its bed, and then the waters were suffered to flow back into their channel, so that his sepulchre might remain forever concealed.

Ataulf. — The successor of Alaric was his brother-in-law Ataulf (*Adolf*), a prince of mild temper and enlightened mind, whose

¹ Wilkie Collins' *Antonina; or the Fall of Rome*.

desire it was to bring his Goths into the current of civilization, and create a new race of men by uniting them with the citizens of the Empire—the result that has actually been wrought by the slow forces of time.¹ Ataulf departed from the policy of his brother-in-law, entered into negotiations with the court of Ravenna, and, in 412, led his people from Italy into Gaul, where the power of the usurper Constantine (p. 324) had just been overthrown.

Galla Placidia.—The story of Ataulf's short career is at once romantic and pathetic. The Goths had taken prisoner Placidia, the sister of the Emperor, and had refused to give her up, although they treated her kindly and honorably. The Gothic prince and the Roman princess, both noble by birth and of noble character, young, and of great personal beauty, became strongly attached to each other; but their marriage was forbidden by Honorius, and Placidia's hand was also sought by Constantius, the officer who had put an end to Constantine's usurped power, a favorite of Honorius, but a personal enemy of Ataulf. After long waiting, the lovers were united at Narbonne, **A.D. 414.** in spite of the Emperor's opposition; but their happiness was of short duration. Forced the next year by Con- **A.D. 415.** stantius to withdraw into Spain, Ataulf was murdered at Barcelona. Placidia then returned to her brother's court, where she was at last obliged to marry her husband's enemy, Constantius, by whom she became the mother of the wretched Valentinian III., the last of the family of Theodosius.

¹ The words of Ataulf were: "It was at first my wish to destroy the Roman name, and erect in its place a Gothic empire, taking to myself the place and the powers of Cæsar Augustus. But when experience taught me that the untamable barbarism of the Goths would not suffer them to live beneath the sway of law, and that the abolition of the institutions on which the state rested would involve the ruin of the state itself, I chose the glory of renewing and maintaining by Gothic strength the fame of Rome, desiring to go down to posterity as the restorer of that Roman power which it was beyond my power to replace. Wherefore I avoid war and strive for peace" (in Orosius; translated by Bryce).

Kingdom of the Visigoths.—After a brief interval Wallia, brother of Ataulf, was made king of the Visigoths. He led his nation back to Gaul, and received from the Emperor in the year 419 a formal grant of territory upon the Bay of Biscay, with Toulouse as his capital. By this act the Visigoths were established, as allies (*foederati*) (p. 320) of Rome, upon lands of their own. But these were not vacant lands, as those in Thrace had been, but were occupied by a numerous and wealthy people, over whom the king of the Visigoths exercised the authority of a Roman magistrate. Thus was established the first Germanic kingdom upon the soil of the Empire, soon to be followed by others; and with this act began that union of Roman and barbarian which had A.D. 419. been the hope of Ataulf. Wallia died in the same year, and was succeeded by Theodoric, a grandson of Alaric.

St. Jerome.—The age of Alaric and Ataulf was made illustrious by the genius and literary activity of two distinguished fathers of the Church, one of them among the greatest men of A.D. 420. all time,—Jerome and Augustine. Jerome had been educated in Rome, but had now lived for many years in Bethlehem of Judæa, where the news of the fall of Rome reached him and filled him with dismay and sorrow. He is best known as the author of the Vulgate, a Latin version of the Scriptures, which he translated from the Greek.

St. Augustine.—Augustine was an African by birth and residence. He had lived a wild life in his youth, but had been converted by Ambrose, and became a zealous and earnest Christian, devoting his great intellectual powers to the service of the Church. He was bishop of Hippo, where he died in 430. He, too, like Jerome, was powerfully impressed by the capture and sack of Rome, and was led by this event to the composition of his greatest work, *The City of God* (*De Civitate Dei*), the object of which is to show that the calamities of the Empire were not to be attributed to the change of religion; and that, though the city builded by men may perish, the city of God will abide forever. St. Augustine, in conjunction with Athanasius, was the founder of the great theological system which has held possession of the Church since his day.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

AETIUS.

The Age of Valentinian III.—Even in these days of degeneracy and dissolution, the Roman Empire and nationality did not cease to produce characters worthy of their best days ; and in the reign of the good-for-nothing Valentinian III. there flourished two generals and statesmen of a high order, Aetius and Boniface. Unfortunately they were rivals. Each was by nature upright and loyal, and by himself would have done the Empire good service. But their rivalry and the unbalanced ambition of Aetius led both into treasonable conduct, which brought great calamities upon the Empire.

Count¹ Boniface.—Boniface was governor of Africa, that province which stood nearest to Italy, both in situation and importance ; for here were the choice plantations of the Roman nobles, and from here came the most abundant supplies of grain for the capital. He was peculiarly favored and trusted by the Empress Placidia, who governed in the name of her son, Valentinian. This favor awakened the jealousy of Aetius, who occupied a position of trust in Italy, corresponding to that of Boniface in Africa, but who seems to have aspired to make himself to the present sovereign what Stilicho had been to Honorius, the supreme manager of affairs. In this he was successful, but only by base intrigue and perfidy, and to meet at the end a fate like that of Stilicho.

The Vandals in Africa.—Aetius succeeded, by false representations, in exciting Placidia and Boniface to sus- **A.D. 426.**
picion and jealousy towards one another, even to the

¹ In the later Empire we meet with the term *Comes* (companion) as an official title, which may be rendered by the modern word "count," derived from it.

degree that Boniface was made to fear for his life ; for under despotic rule there is only one step from suspicion to punishment. In his fear and resentment Boniface was tempted to commit a crime, less to be condemned morally than that of Aetius, but attended with the most disastrous consequences. He invited the Vandals of southern Spain to bring their forces to his aid, promising them as reward a tract of land in Africa. Hardly had he taken this treasonable step than he was made aware of the perfidy of Aetius and the true sentiment of Placidia. But it was A.D. 429. too late. The Vandals were already on their way.

Geiseric. — The Vandal king, Geiseric,¹ was a man of mark, one of the most conspicuous among the German leaders of this century. He was not attractive and imposing in aspect, like Alaric and Ataulf, but of small stature and limping ; neither had he their magnanimity and fineness of nature. He was shrewd and designing, and at the same time blood-thirsty and relentless. Boniface tried in his remorse to drive back his dangerous allies, but Geiseric carried everything before him ; and Boniface was forced to return in discomfiture to Italy, where, the next A.D. 432. year, he lost his life in a civil war with Aetius.

Aetius in Gaul. — Aetius was now, as he had aspired to be, in possession of undivided authority ; and the services which from this time he rendered to the Empire are almost sufficient to wipe out the memory of his great crime. The scene of his activity during the twenty years which followed was chiefly Gaul, where the clouds were gathering fast over society. As long as Aetius lived, these perils were held in check, and the integrity of the Empire was maintained. As soon as his strong hand was removed, the Empire moved rapidly, and without hindrance, to its fall.

The Situation in Gaul. — By the withdrawal of the Vandals into Africa, Spain had been restored to the authority of the Empire, except for the occupation of the northwest of the peninsula by the Sueves. The Visigoths in southwestern Gaul were allies of the Empire, and nominally under its authority ; and the vigorous

¹ This is the correct form of the name instead of the familiar *Geneseric*.



AETIUS.

rule of Aetius maintained this authority sufficiently well. Along the Rhine the Alamannians and Franks were quietly pushing their way into the fields of Gaul, and between them a new nation had now thrust itself.

The Burgundians. — The Burgundians had made their appearance in western Germany in the century before, having moved thither from their old homes upon the Oder. In the disturbed reign of Honorius they had got a foothold upon the Rhine, making the city of Worms their capital, where their memory was long preserved, although it was their residence for only thirty years.¹ These people now began, like their neighbors, the Franks and Alamannians, but more turbulently and rapidly, to push further to the West; but they were defeated by Aetius, and transplanted by him to the high mountain region of Savoy, where they occupied a position similar to that of the Visigoths in Aquitania. These two nations, after the death of Aetius, gradually spread out from their lawful territories, and between them gained possession of nearly the whole of southern Gaul.

Attila, the Hun. — A new peril, the most menacing of all, now approached from the East. The Huns had remained in quiet occupation of the territories north of the Danube since their great migration of the century before (p. 318). From this seat of empire they had extended their authority as far as the Rhine, making tributary to themselves all the nations of free Germany, — the Ostrogoths, the Gepidæ, the Franks of the right bank of the Rhine, and other nations. Their king, Attila, was superior to his race in culture and humanity; but he was a Tartar, a man belonging to the class of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, even if less savage than they.²

¹ The great German epic, the *Nibelungenlied*, has its scene at Worms in the time of the Burgundian rule.

² He appears under the name of *Etzel* in the *Nibelungenlied*, and is depicted as a humane and noble character, far nobler indeed than the Burgundian heroes of the poem.

Attila's Invasion. — Attila, master of all Europe north of the Danube and east of the Rhine, now conceived the mighty ambition of bringing the rest of Europe into subjection. In this plan he seems to have been secretly encouraged by the crafty Geiseric. Gathering the forces of all the nations which were subject to him, he crossed the Rhine with an army of at least five hundred thousand men, and made his way across Gaul as far as the river Loire, plundering and destroying as he went. He then laid siege to the city of Orleans; and his battering rams were already crashing against its walls, — according to some accounts his warriors had even entered the streets of the city, — when Aetius, with Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, appeared at the head of a great army, and the city was saved.

"Battle of the Peoples." — For some reason, unknown to us, Attila, in spite of the superiority of his forces, found himself obliged to retreat, and hastened towards the Rhine, pursued by Aetius and Theodoric. He was overtaken in his retreat, and brought to bay at a spot upon the river Seine, not far from the modern city of Troyes, about fifty miles south of Châlons.¹ The Roman general had under his standard all the forces of the Empire. Besides his legions, there were contingents from the allied Visigoths and Burgundians, as well as from the Alamannians and Salian Franks upon the left bank of the Rhine, who held their lands on the tenure of military service. All the nations of Europe were assembled on this great battle-field, — Roman against Hun, Visigoth against Ostrogoth, and Salian Frank against Ripuarian Frank. The battle is fitly called the "Battle of the Nations."

Defeat of Attila. — Aetius had skilfully taken possession of a ridge of ground, which the Huns vainly endeavored to storm; their horsemen, armed with bow and arrow, were ill-suited to this task. As Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, was rallying his men, he was pierced by a Hunnic spear. At this his people, excited to

¹ The engagement, called by contemporary writers "Battle of the Mauriac Plain," is usually known as the battle of *Châlons sur Marne*. But it is now generally admitted to have been fought at Méry upon the Seine.

fury rather than discouraged by his loss, rushed upon the enemy with irresistible force, and carried all before them. In the night which followed Attila retreated, leaving the victory to Aetius. In this fight it is said that a hundred and sixty-five thousand people fell. This great battle was fought in the summer of 451.

Results of the Battle. — The "Battle of the Peoples" is with good reason reckoned one of the decisive battles of the world's history. The Huns were not, like the Goths, the Franks, or the Vandals, a people of cognate race with the Romans and readily amenable to civilization; their aim was not to carve out for themselves a domain from the superabundant lands of the Empire, but to overthrow the very structure of the Empire, and destroy the fabric of Roman civilization and religion. The Empire did not long survive this victory, but when it fell it left its civilization as an inheritance to those who succeeded to its power. We cannot say that the Huns would not in time have developed the same high political aptitudes as their kinsmen the Magyars, but it is not likely. The times were different in the two cases. The Magyars fitted themselves into the scheme of an advancing civilization and a newly developed organization of society. In the time of Attila society was decaying, and the political structure just ready to fall. His triumph, and the overthrow of the Empire, would have led to a dominion like that of Genghis Khan, the enemy of humanity and of society itself.

A.D. 452. Invasion of Italy. — The year after this repulse, Attila advanced again upon the Empire, this time making his way into Italy by the old open route of the Julian Alps. The city of Aquileia, at the head of the Adriatic Sea, was taken and destroyed. The Venetian plains were laid waste, and a remnant of their inhabitants, seeking a refuge from the destroyer among the lagoons and marshy islands of the seashore, carried with them their national name. The scattered huts of these fugitives have grown into the stately palaces of Venice.

Death of Attila. — Advancing through the plains of northern Italy, Attila took up his residence at Milan, the military capital of

the Western Empire. What were his plans, and in what manner Aetius proposed to meet them, cannot now be known. All we know is that Attila was here visited by an embassy from the Emperor, headed by Leo the Great, bishop of Rome, one of the most noteworthy men of his time, the one who laid the foundation of the temporal power of the popes. At his entreaties Attila consented to give up his schemes of conquest and return to his home beyond the Danube. The next year he suddenly died, and his immense empire crumbled to pieces. A.D. 453. The Ostrogoths took possession of Pannonia, the Gepidæ of Dacia further east, while the more distant German tribes were left to their isolation and independence.

The Anglo-Saxons in Britain. — During these events Britain, too, began to be occupied by German tribes. This island had been practically severed from the Empire from the time of the usurper Constantine (p. 324). He had carried the Roman troops with him to Gaul, leaving Britain defenceless; A.D. 407. and after his fall there had been no disposition or opportunity to reoccupy the island. But the native Britons had, under the long Roman rule, lost all habit and capacity of self-government or self-defence. Harassed by their unruly neighbors at the north, the Scots and Picts, abandoned by their Roman protectors, they, as Boniface had done (p. 329), called in the aid of auxiliaries from northern Germany, only to find A.D. 449. at last that they had set a new master over themselves. For over a hundred years Angles and Saxons in successive companies flocked across the sea to Britain, and a new Germanic realm was established on its soil.

Death of Aetius. — As Stilicho's prestige had been destroyed by the disasters in Gaul (p. 325), so Attila's successes in Italy appear to have weakened the hold of Aetius upon the confidence of the Emperor. The year after Attila's death Valentinian procured the assassination of his great general, and was himself assassinated the following year by the senator Maximus, whom he had grossly injured, and who now succeeded him upon the imperial throne. A.D. 454.

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¹ It was formally dissolved in the reconstruction of Germany under Napoleon's influence in 1806; its last emperor, Francis II., had two years before saved his imperial dignity by assuming the title of Emperor of Austria.

² The period from the fall of the Empire to its renewal by Charlemagne can be best studied in Emerton's *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, a book which in an unusual degree combines exact scholarship with graphic power. See also Curteis' *History of the Roman Empire*, and Church's *Beginning of the Middle Ages* (Epochs series); for larger works Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders*, and (principally for the Eastern Empire) Bury's *Later Roman Empire*.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS OF ROMAN HISTORY.

PERIOD I.—THE MONARCHY.

B.C.		PAGE
753.	Traditional date of foundation of Rome. Patrician State; conquest of the course of the Tiber.	15
616.	Traditional date of Tarquinian dynasty. Empire over Latium. Great building activity.	29

PERIOD II.—THE EARLY REPUBLIC.

509.	The Republic; two consuls. War with Etruscans and Latins.	38
494.	Secession of the Plebs; establishment of the tribunate.	43
493-86.	Triple alliance with Latins and Hernicans; hegemony of Rome. Establishment of Latin colonies.	44
486.	Agrarian agitations. Death of Spurius Cassius.	49
471.	Publilian Law of Volero; establishment of plebeian assembly by tribes.	52
451-49.	The Decemvirate; codification of the laws.	58
445.	The Canuleian Law; intermarriage between patricians and plebeians.	61
444.	The military tribunate; 443, the censorship established; 421, the quæstorship thrown open to plebeians.	63
442.	Conquest of Ardea, followed by that of other towns.	65
406-396.	Siege of Veii. Military reforms of Camillus.	67
390.	Battle of the Allia; capture of Rome by the Gauls.	70
386.	Annexation of Pometia; 381, of Tusculum; 353, of Cære.	73, 78
384.	Sufferings of the poor; death of M. Manlius.	74
367.	The Licinian Laws; equalization of the orders; attempt to regulate the occupation and cultivation of the public lands.	75

PERIOD III.—ITALIAN WARS.

354.	Treaty with the Samnites; 348, with Carthage.	79
343.	First Samnite War; annexation of Capua.	79
340-38.	Latin War; dissolution of the Latin Confederacy. Establishment of municipal system and of maritime colonies (see p. 99).	80

PERIOD V.—CIVIL DISSENSIONS.

B.C.	PAGE
146-139. War of Viriathus in Spain; 143-133, siege of Numantia.	154
133. Legislation and death of Tiberius Gracchus. Creation of peasant freeholds.	154
123-121. Legislation and death of Gaius Gracchus; the Equestrian Order, an aristocracy of wealth, made the rival of the Senate; colony of Narbo.	162
120. Province of Transalpine Gaul.	164
112-106. War with Jugurtha.	167
105-101. War with Teutones and Cimbri: 102, the Teutones defeated by Marius at Aquæ Sextiæ; 101, the Cimbri at Campi Raudii. Military reforms of Marius.	168
100. Attempt at revolution by Saturninus and Glaucia.	171
95. Affront given to the Italian allies; 91, reforms and death of Drusus; the Varian Commission, to punish his adherents.	173
90-89. Social War: admission of the Italians to citizenship; extension of the municipal system over Italy.	174
88. First Mithradatic War conducted by Sulla; 83, Second Mithradatic War.	176
88. Civil War: banishment of Marius; 87, return of Marius; rule of Marius, Cinna, and Carbo.	177
83. Return of Sulla; aristocratic remodelling of the Roman constitution.	179
78. Death of Sulla; 78, attempt of Lepidus to undo his work.	185
74. Third Mithradatic War: victories of Lucullus.	195
73. Revolt of Spartacus; 71, suppressed by Crassus.	193
72. War with Sertorius finished by Pompey.	193
70. Consulship of Pompey and Crassus; democratic legislation.	194
67. Pompey appointed against the pirates; 66, against Mithradates; 65, end of the war; 64, expedition to Syria; its conquest.	195
63. Cicero's consulship; conspiracy of Catiline suppressed.	198
60. First triumvirate; coalition of Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar; 59, Cæsar's consulship; banishment of Cicero; 57, his return.	200
58-49. Cæsar's proconsulship in Gaul; 56, conference of Luca; 55, Cæsar's visit to Britain; second consulship of Pompey and Crassus.	201
54. Crassus in the East: 53, battle of Carrhæ; his defeat and death.	202
52. Revolt of Vercingetorix in Gaul; anarchy in Rome.	208
49. Civil war of Cæsar and Pompey: 48, battle of Pharsalus; death of Pompey; 46, battle of Thapsus; overthrow of Republic; 45, battle of Munda; defeat of sons of Pompey.	213

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¹ The name is commonly spelt *Odoacer*; his birth is uncertain, but he is usually ascribed to the petty tribe of the Heruli.

² See Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* and Freeman's review of it in the first series of his *Historical Essays*.

Constantinople, still continued, in all its forms and with substantial power, another thousand years ; and Charles the Great (*Charlemagne*), after three hundred years, re-established the Empire at Rome in a form which survived as a form until the present century.¹ But, however much the Empire of Charles owed to the memories and theories of the Empire of Augustus and Constantine, it was yet essentially a new creation, borrowing the style of the old Empire, and living on its traditions, but differing from it in organization, character, and composition.²

¹ It was formally dissolved in the reconstruction of Germany under Napoleon's influence in 1806; its last emperor, Francis II., had two years before saved his imperial dignity by assuming the title of Emperor of Austria.

² The period from the fall of the Empire to its renewal by Charlemagne can be best studied in Emerton's *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, a book which in an unusual degree combines exact scholarship with graphic power. See also Curteis' *History of the Roman Empire*, and Church's *Beginning of the Middle Ages* (Epochs series); for larger works Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders*, and (principally for the Eastern Empire) Bury's *Later Roman Empire*.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS OF ROMAN HISTORY.

PERIOD I.—THE MONARCHY.

B.C.	PAGE
753. Traditional date of foundation of Rome. Patrician State; conquest of the course of the Tiber.	15
616. Traditional date of Tarquinian dynasty. Empire over Latium. Great building activity.	29

PERIOD II.—THE EARLY REPUBLIC.

509. The Republic; two consuls. War with Etruscans and Latins.	38
494. Secession of the Plebs; establishment of the tribunate.	43
493-86. Triple alliance with Latins and Hernicans; hegemony of Rome. Establishment of Latin colonies.	44
486. Agrarian agitations. Death of Spurius Cassius.	49
471. Publilian Law of Volero; establishment of plebeian assembly by tribes.	52
451-49. The Decemvirate; codification of the laws.	58
445. The Canuleian Law; intermarriage between patricians and plebeians.	61
444. The military tribunate; 443, the censorship established; 421, the quæstorship thrown open to plebeians.	63
442. Conquest of Ardea, followed by that of other towns.	65
406-396. Siege of Veii. Military reforms of Camillus.	67
390. Battle of the Allia; capture of Rome by the Gauls.	70
386. Annexation of Pometia; 381, of Tusculum; 353, of Cære.	73, 78
384. Sufferings of the poor; death of M. Manlius.	74
367. The Licinian Laws; equalization of the orders; attempt to regulate the occupation and cultivation of the public lands.	75

PERIOD III.—ITALIAN WARS.

354. Treaty with the Samnites; 348, with Carthage.	79
343. First Samnite War; annexation of Capua.	79
340-38. Latin War; dissolution of the Latin Confederacy. Establishment of municipal system and of maritime colonies (see p. 99).	80

B.C.	PAGE
339. Publilian Laws of Philo; further gains of the plebeians.	77
327-304. Second Samnite War; The Roman army entrapped in the Caudine Forks.	85
312. Censorship and innovations of Appius Claudius.	89
311. War with the Etruscans; 310, expedition into the Ciminian Forest.	88
298-290. Third Samnite War; 295, battle of Sentinum. Annexation of the Sabine territory.	92
286. Sufferings of the poor. The Hortensian Law; legislative power of the plebeian assembly.	94
281-272. War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus; 280, battle of Heraclea; 279, of Asculum; 275, of Beneventum. Authority of Rome established over all Italy.	96
269. Coinage of silver; rapid rise of prices and depreciation of the currency.	102

PERIOD IV. — FOREIGN CONQUEST.

264-241. First Punic War: 260, battle of Mylæ; 256, invasion of Africa by Regulus; 249, defeat of Publius Claudius; 241, battle of the Ægates.	106
241. Peace made: conquest of Sicily; 237, of Sardinia and Corsica; 222, of Cisalpine Gaul. Establishment of provincial system.	109
218-201. Second Punic War: Hannibal passes into Italy; battle of the Trebia; 217, of Lake Trasimenus; 216, of Cannæ; surrender of Capua to Hannibal. 215, First Macedonian War. 212, surrender of Syracuse to Rome; 211, of Capua; 209, of Tarentum; 207, battle of the Metaurus; 202, of Zama; military reforms of Scipio.	116
201. Peace made: acquisition of Spain.	127
200-196. Second Macedonian War: 197, battle of Cynoscephalæ; liberation of Greece.	132
192-190. War with Antiochus the Great: 191, battle of Thermopylæ; 190, battle of Magnesia; acquisitions of territory by Pergamus and Rhodes.	134
172-168. Third Macedonian War: 168, battle of Pydna; Macedonia divided.	136
167. Illyricum made a province.	136
149-146. Third Punic War: 146, capture and destruction of Carthage. Province of Africa.	143
146. Capture and destruction of Corinth. Province of Macedonia. Supremacy of Rome in the Mediterranean.	142
133. Annexation of Pergamus; province of Asia.	146

PERIOD V.—CIVIL DISSENSIONS.

B.C.	PAGE
146-139. War of Viriathus in Spain; 143-133, siege of Numantia.	154
133. Legislation and death of Tiberius Gracchus. Creation of peasant freeholds.	154
123-121. Legislation and death of Gaius Gracchus; the Equestrian Order, an aristocracy of wealth, made the rival of the Senate; colony of Narbo.	162
120. Province of Transalpine Gaul.	164
112-106. War with Jugurtha.	167
105-101. War with Teutones and Cimbri: 102, the Teutones defeated by Marius at Aquæ Sextiæ; 101, the Cimbri at Campi Raudii. Military reforms of Marius.	168
100. Attempt at revolution by Saturninus and Glaucia.	171
95. Affront given to the Italian allies; 91, reforms and death of Drusus; the Varian Commission, to punish his adherents.	173
90-89. Social War: admission of the Italians to citizenship; extension of the municipal system over Italy.	174
88. First Mithradatic War conducted by Sulla; 83, Second Mithradatic War.	176
88. Civil War: banishment of Marius; 87, return of Marius; rule of Marius, Cinna, and Carbo.	177
83. Return of Sulla; aristocratic remodelling of the Roman constitution.	179
78. Death of Sulla; 78, attempt of Lepidus to undo his work.	185
74. Third Mithradatic War: victories of Lucullus.	195
73. Revolt of Spartacus; 71, suppressed by Crassus.	193
72. War with Sertorius finished by Pompey.	193
70. Consulship of Pompey and Crassus; democratic legislation.	194
67. Pompey appointed against the pirates; 66, against Mithradates; 65, end of the war; 64, expedition to Syria; its conquest.	195
63. Cicero's consulship; conspiracy of Catiline suppressed.	198
60. First triumvirate; coalition of Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar; 59, Cæsar's consulship; banishment of Cicero; 57, his return.	200
58-49. Cæsar's proconsulship in Gaul; 56, conference of Luca; 55, Cæsar's visit to Britain; second consulship of Pompey and Crassus.	201
54. Crassus in the East: 53, battle of Carrhæ; his defeat and death.	202
52. Revolt of Vercingetorix in Gaul; anarchy in Rome.	208
49. Civil war of Cæsar and Pompey: 48, battle of Pharsalus; death of Pompey; 46, battle of Thapsus; overthrow of Republic; 45, battle of Munda; defeat of sons of Pompey.	213

B.C.	PAGE
49. Cæsar's first dictatorship; 47, second dictatorship; 46, third dictatorship, for ten years; 45, Imperator; 44, perpetual dictator.	214
44. Cæsar's assassination; civil war between the Senate and Mark Antony.	221
43. Second triumvirate; Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian; 38, renewed; 36, Lepidus set aside; 35, death of Sextus Pompey.	227
42. Battle of Philippi; defeat and death of Brutus and Cassius.	228
31. Battle of Actium; Antony and Cleopatra defeated by Octavian.	229

PERIOD VI.—THE EARLY EMPIRE.

THE JULIAN AND CLAUDIAN HOUSES.

27. Establishment of Empire; Octavian takes the name Augustus. The Golden Age of Literature.	231
15. Conquest of Rætia and Noricum; 10, of Pannonia; of Germany to the Elbe.	235
A.D.	
9. Defeat of Varus; the Danube and Rhine frontier.	236
14. Tiberius Emperor: rule of Sejanus.	245
37. Caligula.	249
41. Claudius: conquest of Britain.	250
54. Nero: rule of Tigellinus; 64, fire in Rome; first persecution of the Christians.	251

THE FLAVIAN HOUSE.

68-69. Galba, Otho, Vitellius.	255
69. Vespasian: siege and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.	255
79. Titus: destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum.	258
81. Domitian: conquest of Britain completed.	259

THE FIVE GOOD EMPERORS.

96. Nerva.	261
98. Trajan: conquest of Dacia, Arabia Petræa, Assyria, etc.; the Silver Age of Literature.	261
117. Hadrian.	268
138. Antoninus Pius.	269
161. Marcus Aurelius: conquests in the East; great pestilence (166); persecution of the Christians; Marcomanic War.	269
180. Commodus.	273

PERIOD VII.—CENTURY OF TRANSITION.

A.D.		PAGE
193.	Pertinax. Didius Julianus.	276
193.	Septimius Severus: establishment of military monarchy; dis- solution of the Prætorian Guards.	276, 280
211.	Caracalla [and Geta, d. 212]: citizenship granted to the pro- vincials; war with the Alamanni.	277, 281
217.	Macrinus; 218, Elagabalus.	278
222.	Alexander Severus: 226, the Sassanian or New Persian Empire; murdered, 235.	279, 289
240.	First appearance of the Franks.	285
250.	Persecution of the Christians by Decius.	288
251.	Decius killed in battle with the Goths.	288
260.	Valerian captured by the Persians.	291
269.	The Goths defeated by Claudius.	288
270.	Aurelian: Dacia given up to the Goths; 273, capture and destruc- tion of Palmyra.	292

PERIOD VIII.—THE LATER EMPIRE.

284.	Diocletian: reorganization of the Empire; absolute monarchy; 296 bureaucratic government; new provincial system; tenth persecu- tion of the Christians; 305, abdicated.	296
306.	Constantine the Great; 323, sole Emperor; adoption of Christianity; 302 325, Council of Nicæa; 328, founding of new capital (Constanti- nople); 337, death.	302
357.	The Alamanni defeated by Julian at Strassburg.	312
360.	Julian; apostatizes from Christianity; expedition into the East; 312 363, death.	312
364.	Valentinian I. and Valens.	314
376.	Crossing of the Danube by the Visigoths; 378, battle of Adrianople; 318 death of Valens; the Goths brought to submission by Theodosius.	318
375.	Gratian, Emperor of the West; 376, edict against heresy.	314
378.	Theodosius the Great, Emperor of the East; 391, edict suppressing paganism; 392, unites the Empire.	319
395.	Death of Theodosius; division of the Empire.	321
395.	Honorius, Emperor of the West; Arcadius, Emperor of the East; 321 Alaric, king of the Visigoths; 402, first invasion of Italy by Alaric, defeated by Stilicho; 404, invasion of Rhadagais; 406, migration of the Vandals into Gaul; 408, death of Stilicho, second invasion of Italy by Alaric; 409, the Vandals pass into Spain; 410, third invasion, sack of Rome; the Visigoths, under Ataulf, pass into	321

A.D.	PAGE
Gaul; 413, the Burgundians established at Worms; 419, the Visigoths at Toulouse.	
429. The Vandals take possession of Africa.	329
443. The Burgundians transferred to Savoy.	332
449. Beginning of the Angle and Saxon conquest of Britain.	335
451. Invasion of Gaul by Attila, king of the Huns; defeated at <i>Méry-sur-Seine</i> by Aetius; 453, death of Attila, and dissolution of his empire.	332
455. Occupation and plunder of Rome by Geiseric, king of the Vandals; Vandal empire in the Western Mediterranean.	337
476. The Empire overthrown in Italy by Odovacar the Herulian; 480-4, in Spain by Euric, king of the Visigoths; 486, in Gaul by Clovis, king of the Franks.	339

FORMATION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

B.C.	
486. The Triple Alliance; hegemony in Latium.	44
396. Conquest of Veii, followed by that of other cities.	68
338. Dominion of Rome in Latium.	80
275. Dominion of Rome in all Italy.	84
241-37. First two provinces: Sicily; Sardinia and Corsica.	109, 110
222. Conquest of northern Italy. ¹	122
201. Provinces of Hither and Further Spain.	127
167. Province of Illyricum.	136
146. Provinces of Africa and Macedonia.	142, 145
133. Asia; 120, Transalpine Gaul.	146, 164
89. Citizenship extended to the Italian peninsula.	175
74. Bithynia; 74, Cyrene; 67, Crete; 64, Cilicia and Cyprus.	196
64. Province of Syria.	196
52. Conquest of Gaul completed.	209
49. Citizenship extended to northern Italy.	214
46. Numidia conquered, and annexed to Africa.	218
31. Conquest of Egypt.	229
29. The Danube frontier: Moesia; 15, Rætia and Noricum; 10, Pannonia.	234
29. Galatia; Pamphylia.	
A.D.	
17. Cappadocia; 40, Mauretania; 43, Britain; 46, Thrace.	251
105. Conquests of Trajan: Arabia Petræa; 106, Dacia; 114, Armenia; 117, Mesopotamia. Assyria.	261

¹ Probably not organized as a province until 82.

DISRUPTION OF THE EMPIRE.

A.D.		PAGE
117.	Hadrian surrenders the provinces of Armenia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia.	268
270.	Dacia occupied by the Goths.	293
282.	The <i>Agri Decumates</i> occupied by the Alamannians.	317
—	Northern Gaul (<i>Belgium</i>) occupied by the Franks.	317
419.	Aquitania occupied by the Visigoths; capital, Toulouse.	328
429.	Africa occupied by the Vandals; capital, Carthage.	330
443.	Savoy occupied by the Burgundians; Lyons afterwards made their capital.	332
—	The Visigoths and Burgundians by degrees occupy all southern Gaul; the Alamannians, eastern Gaul (<i>Alsace and Lorraine</i>).	332
476.	The authority of the Empire overthrown in Italy by Odovacar; 480-4, by Euric in Spain; 486, by Clovis in Gaul.	341



INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

ABBREVIATIONS: A., Aulus; App., Appius; C., Gaius; Cn., Gnaeus; D., Decimus; K., Kæso; L., Lucius; M., Marcus; M', Manius; P., Publius; Q., Quintus; Ser., Servius; Sex., Sextus; Sp., Spurius; T., Titus; Ti., Tiberius.

- Achæ'an League: 132; receives territory, 134; ally of Rome, 134.
 Achai'a: made province, 143.
 Ac'tium: battle, B.C. 31, 229.
 A-dri-an-o'ple: battle, 319.
 Adriatic Sea: 3, 324.
 Æ'du-i: Gallic tribe, 206; join Ver-
 cingetorix, 208.
 Æga'tes, Id.: battle, B.C. 241, 109.
 Æge'an: 291.
 Ægid'ius, Count: 339.
 Æ'lia Capitoli'na (*Jerusalem*): 258.
 Æ'lius Seja'nus, L.: prætorian præ-
 fect, 248.
 Ælius Sti'lo, L.: philologist, 191.
 Æmil'ian: Emperor, 288.
 Æmil'ius Lep'idus, M.: civil war,
 185.
 Æmil'ius Lepidus, M.: master of
 horse, 222; triumvir, 227; set
 aside, 228.
 Æmil'ius Pau'lus, L.: killed at Can-
 næ, 120.
 Æmil'ius Paulus, L., his son: com-
 mands at Pydna, 136; his son
 Scipio, 144.
 Æne'as: 18.
 Æ'qui: 11; wars, 43, 53, 56, 73.
 Æscula'pius: 24; worship intro-
 duced, 95.
 Æ'tius: relations to Valentinian
 III., 329; in Gaul, 330 ff.; defeats
 Attila, 333, 334; death, 335;
 work, 336.
 Æto'lian League: 132; receives ter-
 ritory, 134; ally of Antiochus,
 134.
 Africa: Roman province, 145; held
 by Senate, 214, 217; Boniface gov-
 ernor, 329; Vandals, 329.
 Agric'ola: see Julius.
 Agrigen'tum: captured by Romans,
 106.
 Agrip'pa: see Vipsanius.
 Agrippa Pos'tumus: 233.
 Ag-rip-pi'na: wife of Germanicus:
 243; ruin, 247.
 Agrippina, her daughter: 250;
 death, 252.
 Ah'riman (or Ahriman'): 289.
 Alaman'ni: 285; cross Alps, 293;
 contest with Julian, 311, 312; set-
 tle in empire, 317; along Rhine,
 332; against Attila, 333; in Gaul,
 339.
 Alans: 324, 325.
 Al'aric: king of Visigoths, 323; in
 Greece, 323; in Italy, 323; second
 invasion, 325; captures Rome, 326;
 sacks Rome, 326; death, 326.
 Alba Longa: 10; conquered, 17.
 Alban Mount: 10; occupied by
 Rome, 29.
 Ale'sia: city of Gaul, 208.
 Alexander: 2; division of empire,
 97, 131.
 Alexander Seve'rus: Emperor, 279,
 287; Syncretism, 284.
 Alexan'dria, 2, 307.
 Al'gidus, Mt.: important pass, 53,
 56; victory of Postumius, 65.
 Al'lia, R.: battle, B.C. 390, 70.
 Alps: crossed by Hannibal, 116;
 crossed by Goths, 293.
 Alps: Julian, important pass, 1, 3;
 passage of Visigoths and Ostro-
 goths, 324; passage of Attila, 334.
 Alps: Maritime, 3.
 Alsace: 312.
 Ambarva'lia: 26.

- Ambrose: bishop of Milan, 314; relations to Theodosius, 321; Augustine converted by, 328.
- An'cus Mar'tius: king of Rome, 15; conquests, 17.
- Andalu'sia: 325.
- Androni'cus: see Livius.
- Anglo-Saxons: in Britain, 335.
- A'nio, R.: 17.
- Anio Ve'tus; Aqueduct: 94.
- An'nus Mi'lo, T.: 210.
- Anthe'mius: Emperor, 337.
- Antiochi'a: 2.
- Anti'ochus III., king of Asia: 128; "the Great," 131; war with Rome, 134; cedes territory, 135.
- An'tium: Volscian town, 53; Roman colony, 82.
- Antoni'nus: see Caracalla, Elagabalus.
- Antoninus Pius: Emperor, 269.
- Anto'nus, M. (*Mark Antony*): tribune, 213; consul, 219-223; power, 224; relations to Octavian, 226; triumvirate, 227; joined with Cleopatra, 228; defeated at Actium, 229; death, 229.
- Antonia, his daughter: 252.
- Anxur: see Terracina.
- Apennines, Mts.: 3.
- Apollo: 24, 96, 190.
- Ap'pian Way: built, 90; to Capua, 161; death of Clodius, 210.
- Appulei'us Sat-ur-ni'nus, L.: attempt at revolution, 171.
- Apu'lia: 4; pasture-lands, 9; Hannibal, 125.
- A'quæ Sex'ti-æ: battle, B.C. 102, 169.
- Aqu-i-lei'a: 2; attacked by Marcomani, 273; destroyed by Attila, 334.
- A-quil'lius, M.: governor of Asia, 177.
- Aqu-i-ta'ni-a: 209.
- Arabia Petra'ea: conquered, 262.
- Arabian desert: 292.
- Aran'sio (*Orange*): victory of Cimbri, 169.
- Ar'ar, R. (*Saone*): route into Gaul, 205.
- Arca'dius: Emperor of East, 321.
- Archime'des: death, 124.
- Ardashir': 289.
- Ar'dea: Latin town, 18; colony, 65; exile of Camillus, 74.
- Arela'te (*Arles*): 339.
- A'res (*Mars*): 23, 190.
- A'rian: controversy, 306, 307.
- Aric'ia: Latin town, 18; chief of confederacy, 45; annexed to Rome, 80.
- Arim'inum: Latin colony, 112; in Second Punic War, 119.
- Ar-i-o-vis'tus: German king, 206.
- A'rius: 307, 308.
- Arme'nia: allied with Pontus, 176.
- Armin'ius: German warrior, 236.
- Armor'icans: 339.
- Arnus, R. (*Arno*): 4; in Second Punic War, 119.
- Arpi'nium: birthplace of Cicero, 197.
- Arre'tium: Etruscan town, 6; occupied by Flaminius, 119.
- Arsac'idæ: 289.
- Artaxerx'es: 289, 291.
- Arver'ni: Gallic tribe, 208.
- Ar'yan race: 4.
- As'culum: battle, B.C. 279, 98.
- Asia Minor: 2; war with Antiochus, 134, 135; war with Mithradates, 176-178; in power of Zenobia, 294.
- Asin'ius Pol'lio, C.: orator, 242.
- Astar'te: Phœnician goddess, 105.
- Asty'ages: 289.
- At'aulf: king of Goths, 326, 327; death, 327.
- Ath-a-na'si-an: controversy, 306-308.
- Athanasius: 307, 328.
- Athe'na (*Minerva*): 190.
- Athens: empire, 45; laws, 58.
- Atil'ius Reg'ulus, M.: commander, 107, 108.
- At'talus I.: king of Pergamus, 132.
- Attalus II.: king of Pergamus; bequeaths his dominions to Rome, 146; his treasures, 157.
- At'tila: king of the Huns, 332; invasion of Gaul, 333; Chalons, 333; invasion of Italy, 334; death, 334.

- Au'fidus, R.: 4; in Second Punic War, 120.
 Au'gustine: bishop of Hippo, 328.
 Augu'stus: makes Achaia a province, 143; renews colony of Carthage, 145; tribunician power, 163; divorce, 189; returns to Rome, 226; triumvirate, 227-230; Emperor, 232; establishes Danube frontier, 235; death, 237; Age of Augustus, 238-242.
 Aure'lian: Emperor, 288; reign, 292; campaign against Zenobia, 294; subjugates Gaul, 295; mentioned, 297; reforms in currency, 303.
 Aure'lius, M.: Emperor, 269-274; persecution of Christians, 271; Marcomanic War, 273; statue, 280.
 Ave'tine, Mt.: enclosed, 31; temple of Diana, 34; assigned to plebeians, 57; secession, 59; temple of Juno, 68.
 Avid'ius Cas'sius: general, 270.
 Avi'tus: Emperor, 337.
 Bacchus: 24; secret rites, 140.
 Bagau'dæ: 295.
 Bal-e-ar'ic Isles: taken by Geiseric, 338.
 Baltic: Visigoths on, 318.
 Barca: see Hamilcar.
 Barcelo'na: 327.
 Bel'gica: 209.
 Bello'na: 23.
 Ben-e-ven'tum: battle, B.C. 275, 98.
 Bethlehem: 328.
 Bi-thyn'i-a: independent, 132; ally of Rome, 134; bequeathed to Rome, 196; governed by Pliny, 265.
 Black Sea: 1, 176, 291, 309, 318.
 Blandi'na: martyr, 272.
 Bocchus: king of Mauritania; aids Rome, 168.
 Bola: captured by Rome, 67.
 Bon'iface: governor of Africa, 329; invites the Vandals, 330; death, 330.
 Bos'porus: 309.
 Britain: 4; visited by Cæsar, 207; conquered, 251; part of rival empire, 292; commanded by Constantius, 298; ruled by the usurper, Constantine, 324; withdrawal of Roman troops, 335; Anglo-Saxons in, 335.
 Britan'nicus: son of Claudius, 251, 252.
 Brittany: 339.
 Brutus: see Junius.
 Burgundians: at Worms, 332; in Gaul, 332; against Attila, 333; dominions, 339.
 Burrhus: prætorian præfect, 252.
 Busen'to, R.: 326.
 Byzan'tium: site of capital, 309.
 Cæcil'ius Metel'lus, Q. (Numidicus): war with Jugurtha, 167; refuses oath, 172.
 Cæcilius Metellus, Q. (Pius): commander in Social War, 174; joins Sulla, 180; commands against Sertorius, 193.
 Cæcilius Metellus, Q. (Scipio): consul, 211; defeated at Thapsus, 217.
 Cæcilius: dramatist, 114.
 Cæ're: Etruscan town, 6; tomb of the Tarquins, 36; conquered by Rome, 78.
 Cæsar: see Julius.
 Cæsars: Twelve, 260.
 Cala'bria: 5.
 Calig'ula: see Gaius.
 Callim'achus: Greek poet, 241.
 Calpur'nius Pi'so, Cn.: quarrel with Germanicus, 247.
 Camil'lus: see Furius.
 Campa'nia: 4; Etruscans, in, 5.
 Can'næ: battle, 121, 122; order of troops, 126.
 Canu'sium: town near Cannæ, 122.
 Cape'na: captured by Rome, 68.
 Capit'oline Mount: 34; seized by Herdonius, 56; besieged by Gauls, 71; faced with stone, 73.
 Capitoline Triad: 7, 23.
 Cappado'cia: independent, 132.
 Ca'pre-æ (Capri): residence of Tiberius, 248.
 Cap'ua: 6; conquered by Samnites, 67, 79; received Hannibal, 122;

- captured, 124; gladiatorial school, 193.
 Car-a-cal'la (Antoninus): Emperor, 277, 287; baths, 280; edict, 172, 281; debasement of currency, 282; defeats Alamanni, 285.
 Carbo: see Papirius.
 Car'i-nus: Emperor, 288.
 Car'na: 22.
 Carrhæ: battle, B.C. 53, 203.
 Cartha'go: 2; treaty with Rome, 35, 79; war with Pyrrhus, 98; first war with Rome, 104-109; revolt of Mercenaries, 109; second war with Rome, 115-128; third war with Rome, 143-145; colony, 145; chief city of Africa, 145; refuge of Marius, 178.
 Cartha'go Nova: founded by Hasdrubal, 116.
 Ca'rus: see Lucretius.
 Carus: Emperor, 288, 297.
 Caspian Sea: 132.
 Cas'sius, Spu'rius: treaty with Latium, 44; agrarian laws, 46 ff.; death, 46, 48, 74.
 Cassius, Q.: tribune, 213.
 Cassius Longi'nus, C.: conspirator, 221; governor of Syria, 224; death, 228.
 Castor: 36, 06.
 Catili'na: see Sergius.
 Cato: see Porcius.
 Catullus: see Valerius.
 Catulus: see Luta'tius.
 Cau'dine Forks: defeat of Romans, 87.
 Cau'dium: 87.
 Cenoma'ni: sided with Rome, 117.
 Ce'res: 24, 90; festival, 122.
 Chalons: battle, 333, 334; site, 333.
 Charles the Great (*Charlemagne*): 342.
 Cherus'ci: German tribe, 236.
 Chil'deric: 340.
 Christianity: as an organization, 306; doctrine, 306; made the only lawful religion, 315.
 Christians: persecuted by Nero, 253; by Trajan, 207; by M. Aurelius, 271; organization, 282; persecuted by Diocletian, 300; tolerated by Constantine, 302, 304; relations of Julian to, 313; edict of Gratian against heretics, 314.
 Cicero: see Tullius.
 Cilic'ia: war with pirates, 195; made province, 196.
 Cil'nius Mæce'nas, C.: 241.
 Cim'bri: invasion, 168-170.
 Cimin'ian Forest: passed by Fabius, 88.
 Cincinna'tus: see Quinctius.
 Cin'eas: embassy to Rome, 98.
 Cinna: see Cornelius.
 Cirmi'i: colony, 35, 46.
 Circus Maximus: 26, 252.
 Civi'lis: insurrection, 256.
 Clau'dian: poet, 322.
 Clau'dius: Emperor, 250-251, 288; Rhodes loses independence, 135.
 Claudius, Ap'pius: migrated from Sabines, 22.
 Claudius, Appius: decemvir, 59.
 Claudius, Appius, Cæcus: censor, 89-91; opposes propositions of Cineas, 98.
 Claudius, Appius, his son: advises to receive Mamertines, 106.
 Claudius Goth'icus: Emperor, 288, 292, 297.
 Claudius Pub'lius: loses naval battle, 108, 190.
 Claudius Marcel'lus, M.: commander in Second Punic War, 123-124.
 Claudius Marcellus, M., son of Octavia: 233.
 Claudius Nero, C.: gains victory at the Metaurus, 125; quarrel with Livius, 128.
 Claudius Nero, Ti., husband of Livia: 233.
 Clement: Christian father, 282.
 Cleon: 112.
 Cleopa'tra: Queen of Egypt, 216, visits Cæsar, 220; joins Antony, 228; death, 229.
 Clo'a'ca Max'ima: 30.
 Clo'dius, P.: 112; enemy of Cicero, 201; death, 210.
 Clodius Albi'nus: 277.
 Clo'vis: ascendancy over Salian

- Franks, 340; defeats Syagrius, 340.
- Clu'sium: Etruscan town, 6; war with Rome, 35; attacked by Gauls, 70.
- Cœ'lian Hill: 17.
- Colli'na (tribe): 33.
- Col'line Gate: (battle) 180.
- Col-os-se'um: 258.
- Colum'na Mœnia'na: 83.
- Comit'ium: 17, 83; narrowed, 239.
- Com'modus: Emperor, 273.
- Concor'dia, temple: renewed, 165.
- Constans: 311.
- Con'stantine: Emperor, 301; puts Maximian to death, 302; administration, 302-310; death, 311.
- Constantine, son of Constantine the Great: 311.
- Constantine the Usurper: 324; overthrown, 327.
- Constantinople: site 309.
- Constan'tius, Chlorus: 298, 300, 301, 304.
- Constantius II.: 311.
- Constantius: 327.
- Consua'lia: feast of Consus, 26.
- Cora: independent, 80.
- Corcy'ra: alliance with Rome, 112.
- Corfin'ium: capital of Italy, 174.
- Corin'thus: congress, 133; destroyed, 142.
- Co-ri-o-la'nus: legend, 56.
- Corne'lia: marries Gracchus, 154; 221.
- Corne'lius Scip'io Barba'tus, L.: sarcophagus, 103.
- Cornelius Scipio, P.: consul, 116; in Italy, 117; in Spain, 119; death, 124.
- Cornelius Scipio, Cn., his brother: 116; in Spain, 119; death, 124.
- Cornelius Scipio, P. (Africa'nus), his brother: in Spain, 124-125; wins battle of Zama, 126-127; policy, 139; exile and death, 140; Greek culture, 140.
- Cornelius Scipio, P. (Nasi'ca): the best Roman, 129.
- Cornelius Scipio, L. (Asiat'icus): conducts war with Antiochus, 134; accused, 140.
- Cornelius Scipio, P. (Africanus Æmilia'nus): commands in Third Punic War, 144-145; death, 158.
- Cornelius Scipio, P. (Nasica Sera'pio): murderer of Gracchus, 157.
- Cornelius Sulla, L.: captures Jugurtha, 168; commands in Social War, 174; against Mithradates, 177-178; Civil War, 179-181; legislation, 181-185; spares Cæsar, 200.
- Cornelius Cinna, L.: rule in Rome, 179.
- Cor'sica, Id.: 3; occupied by Etruscans, 6; trade with Rome, 79; seized by Rome, 110; Geiseric defeated, 338; taken by Geiseric, 338.
- Corvus: see Valerius.
- Cremona: Latin Colony, 112.
- Crete: 348.
- Crispus: death, 308.
- Crispus: see Sallustius.
- Ctes'iphon: Parthian capital, 270.
- Cu'rio: see Scribonius.
- Cu'rius Denta'tus, M.: controversy with Ap. Claudius, 91; finishes the war, 93; conquers Sabines, 93; character, 93; defeats Pyrrhus, 98; compared with Cato, 139, 150.
- Cursor: see Papirius.
- Cyb'ele: worship introduced in Rome, 129.
- Cyn-os-ceph'a-læ: battle, B.C. 197, 132, 136.
- Cyprus, Id.: conquered, 196.
- Cyrus, the Persian: 289.
- Da'cia: conquered, 261; troubled by Goths, 284; occupied by Goths, 293; by Gepidæ, 335.
- Dalma'tia: 301.
- Dalmatians: triumph, 229.
- Dalma'tius: 311.
- Dam-a-sipp'us: see Junius.
- Danube, R.: territory conquered by Augustus, 234; Aurelian withdraws garrisons to south of, 293; Galerius commands on, 298; crossed by Visigoths, 319; site of Vandals, 324.



1
2
3
4

5
6

7
8
9
10
11
12

13
14
15
16
17

18
19
20

21
22



- 332; relations to Attila, 332, 333; conquests, 339; rise under Clovis, 340.
- Fra'tres Arva'les: 26.
- Fregel'læ, Latin colony: revolt, 149.
- Fronti'nus: author, 265.
- Fuci'nus Lacus: drained, 251.
- Ful'vius Flac'cus, M.: death, 165.
- Fundi: annexed to Rome, 82.
- Fu'rius Camil'lus, M.: capture of Veii, 68; military reforms, 68-70; commander in war, 73; character, 73; temple of Concord, 75.
- Ga'bi-i: Latin town, 17; annexed to Rome, 34.
- Ga'des: Phœnician colony, 104, 115.
- Gai'us Cæsar, son of Julia: 233.
- Gaius (Calig'ula): Emperor, 249.
- Gala'tia: independent, 132.
- Galba: Emperor, 255.
- Gale'rius: Emperor, 298, 300, 301, 302, 304.
- Galli'e'nus: Emperor, 288; reign, 291; relations to Odenatus, 292; character of reign, 297.
- Gallus: Emperor, 288.
- Gaul, Cisalpine: 4; governed by Cæsar, 201; receives citizenship, 214.
- Gaul, Transalpine: province, 164; invaded by Cimbri, 169; governed by Cæsar, 201; conquered, 205-209; invaded by Franks, 291; part of rival empire, 292; subjugation by Aurelian, 295; commanded by Constantius, 298; invaded by Vandals, 324; ruled by Constantine the Usurper, 324; Aetius in, 330; Visigoths in southwest of, 330; Burgundians in, 332; Attila in, 333; under Syagrius, 339.
- Gauls: 8; conquests in Italy, 67; capture of Rome, 70-72; wars with Rome, 78, 92; conquered by Rome, 111, 136.
- Gei'seric: King of the Vandals, 326; character, 330; encourages Attila, 333; takes Rome, 337; power 338; defeated at Corsica, 338; becomes master of Western Mediterranean, 338.
- Genghis Khan: 332, 334.
- Gep'idæ: 332; in Dacia, 335.
- German'icus: wars in Germany, 236, 246; adopted by Tiberius, 243; death, 247.
- Germans: invasions, 168, 273, 291-293; Arians in religion, 307; invasions, 311, 312; within the empire, 317; characteristics, 317; invasions, 323-325; massacre, 325.
- Germany: visited by Cæsar, 208.
- Ge'ta: Emperor, 277, 287.
- Glau'cia: see Servilius.
- Golden Horn: 309.
- Gor'dian: Emperor, 287, 288.
- Goths: on Black Sea, 284; into Ægean, 291; occupy Dacia, 293; in the empire as colonists, 317; Gothic empire, 318; settlement under Theodosius, 320.
- Grac'chus: see Sempronius.
- Gra'tian: Emperor, 314-315; 319.
- Greece: influence, 36; part of Constantine's dominions, 302.
- Ha'drian: Emperor; destruction of Jerusalem, 258; reign, 268-269.
- Hamil'car Bar'ca: commands in Sicily, 108; conquest of Spain, 115.
- Han'nibal: Second Punic War, 115-128; death, 135; destruction of Italy, 151.
- Hannibalia'nus: 311.
- Has'drubal, son-in-law of Hamilcar: 116.
- Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal: leaves Spain, 124; defeated at Metaurus, 125.
- Ha'tria: Latin colony, 93.
- Hel'ena, mother of Constantine: 304.
- Helve'ti-i: Gallic tribe, 206.
- Her-a-cle'a: battle, B.C. 280, 97.
- Hercula'neum: destruction, 258.
- Her'cules: worship, 90.
- Herdo'nus, Appius: seizure of capitol, 55.
- Her'mes (Mercury): 190.

- Hermodo'rus : 58.
 Her'nicans : 11; alliance with Rome, 44; cut off from Rome, 53; confederacy dissolved, 85.
 Hi'ero : King of Syracuse, 106; death, 123.
 Hir'tius, A. : consul, 227.
 Hono'rius : Emperor of West, 321, 322; reign, 323-325.
 Horace : see Horatius.
 Hora'tius, M. : consul, B.C. 449, 59.
 Horatius Flac'cus, Q. : poet, 240.
 Horten'sius, Q. : dictator, 94.
 Hostil'ian : Emperor, 288.
 Huns : invasions, 318-319; under Attila, 332-335; battle of Chalons, A.D. 451, 334.

 I-be'rians : 5; subjects of Carthage, 104; in southwestern Gaul, 205.
 Igna'tius : martyrdom, 268.
 Illy'ricum : wars with Rome, 112; made a province, 136; governed by Cæsar, 201.
 I-re-na'e'us of Lyons : 282.
 I'sis : 24.
 Is'lam : 290.
 I-ta'lia : city, 174.
 I-u'lus : 18.

 Jac'querie : 219.
 Janic'ulum, Mt. : 12; enclosed, 31; secession to, 94.
 Ja'nus : 24, 190; temple closed, 229.
 Japyg'ians : 5.
 Jerome, St. : 328.
 Jerusalem : entered by Pompey, 196; captured by Titus, 257.
 John, the Apostle, 272.
 Jo'vian : Emperor, 314.
 Juba : King of Mauretania, 213.
 Judæ'a : part of Syria, 255; revolt, 256, 328.
 Jugur'tha : King of Numidia; war, 167-168.
 Julia, daughter of Julius Cæsar : 202.
 Julia, daughter of Augustus : 189; married Agrippa, 233.
 Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus : 283.

 Julia Læ'mias, mother of Elagabalus : 278, 283.
 Julia Mæsa, her sister : 283.
 Julia Mamma, mother of Alexander Severus : 278, 283.
 Julian, the Apostate : 311-314; death, 314.
 Julius Cæsar, L. : commander in Social War, 174.
 Julius Cæsar, C. : statesmanship, 185; divorce, 189; writings, 191, 204; associated with Catiline, 199; forms triumvirate, 200; conquers Gaul, 205-209; visits Britain, 207; breach with Pompey, 207; Civil War, 213; dictator, 214; war in Greece, 215; in the East, 216; suppresses mutiny, 217; war in Africa, 217; legislation, 218; battle of Munda, 219; ambition, 220; conspiracy for his death, 221-223; character, 224.
 Julius Agric'ola, Cn. : conquest of Britain, 251.
 Julius Ne'pos : Emperor, 337.
 Junius Brutus, D. : conspirator, 221; governor of Cisalpine Gaul, 224; besieged, 227.
 Junius Brutus, L. : 221.
 Junius Brutus, M. : conspirator, 221; governor of Macedonia, 224; death, 228.
 Junius Damasip'pus, L. : massacre, 180.
 Juno : 23; temple in Veii, 68; Mone'ta, temple : 102.
 Juno'nia (Carthage) : 145, 164.
 Jupiter : 23.
 Justin Martyr : 272.
 Juvena'lis : satirist, 265.

 Labi'cum : conquered by Rome, 67.
 Lanu'vium : annexed by Rome, 80.
 Latin Way : 4, 53.
 La'tium : 4, 10; Tarquinian empire; 29, 34; alliance with Rome, 44; war, 80; confederacy dissolved, 80; name extended, 81.
 Lauren'tum : Latin town, 18; independent, 80.
 Leo I. : Emperor, 337.

- Leo the Great : embassy to Attila, 335; intercedes with Vandals, 338.
 Lep'idus : see *Æmilius*.
 Li'ber : 96.
 Lib'era : 96.
 Lib'yans : subjects of Carthage, 104.
 Li-cin'i-us : Emperor, 302; bloodshed, 304.
 Licinius Crassus, L. : orator, 173.
 Licinius Crassus, M. : joins Sulla, 180; buys confiscated property, 181; commands against Spartacus, 194; consul, 194; forms triumvirate, 200; war in the East, 202-203.
 Licinius, Lucul'lus, L. : commands against Mithradates, 195.
 Licinius, Mure'na, L. : Second Mithradatic War, 178.
 Licinius Stolo, C. : laws, 74-76; punishment, 76.
 Ligu'rians : 5; conquered, 136.
 Lil-y-bæ'um : besieged, 108.
 Li'ris, R. : 4.
 Li-ter'num : death of Scipio, 140.
 Liv'ia : marries Augustus, 233.
 Livia, wife of Drusus : 248.
 Livius Androni'cus : poet, 113.
 Livius Drusus, M. : opposes C. Gracchus, 165.
 Livius Drusus, M. : reforms, 173.
 Livius, M. : pontiff, 92.
 Livius, M. : gains victory at the Metaurus, 125; quarrels with Nero, 128.
 Livius Patavi'nus, T. : historian, 241.
 Loire, R. : northern boundary of Euric's empire, 339.
 Longi'nus : see *Cassius*.
 Longinus : philosopher, 294.
 Longus : see *Sempronius*.
 Loren'zo de Med'ici : 292.
 Lorraine : 312.
 Luca : conference, 201.
 Luca'nia : 9; allied with Rome, 92.
 Luca'nus : poet, 252, 254.
 Lu'ceres (tribe) : 17.
 Lucius Cæsar, son of Julia : 233.
 Lucretius Ca'rus, T. : poet, 191, 203.
 Lugdunen'sis : 209.
 Lugdunum (*Lyons*) : 209; persecu-
 tion, 272; capital of Burgundians, 339, 340.
 Luper'ci : 26.
 Lusita'nia : occupied by Vandals, 325.
 Luta'tius Cat'ulus, C. : victory at Ægates, 109.
 Lutatius Catulus, Q. : victory at Raudian Fields, 169.
 Lutatius Catulus, Q., his son : civil war, 185.
 Lutit'ia Parisio'rum (*Paris*) : 312.
 Lyb'ius Seve'rus : Emperor, 337.
 Lycia : independent, 229.
 Lyons : see *Lugdunum*.
 Ly-sim'achus : king of Thrace, 97.
 Mac'cabees : independence of Jews, 136.
 Macedo'nia : first war with Rome, 123; second, 132; third, 136; divided, 137; province, 142; part of Constantine's dominion, 302.
 Macri'nus : Emperor, 277, 287.
 Ma'cro : prætorian præfect, 248.
 Mæan'der, R. : 135.
 Mæce'nas : see *Cilnius*.
 Mæcia (tribe) : 129.
 Mæ'lius, Sp. : treason, 74.
 Mæ'nus, C. : adornment of Forum, 83.
 Magna Græcia : 9.
 Magne'sia : battle, B.C. 190, 134, 136.
 Ma'go : work on agriculture, 141.
 Magyars (*Mod'jors*) : 334.
 Majo'rian : Emperor, 337; holds Vandals in check, 338; death, 338.
 Mam-er-ti'ni : Campanian mercenaries, 106.
 Man'lius, M. : saves capitol, 71; treason, 74.
 Manlius, M. : accomplice of Catiline, 199.
 Manlius Torqua'tus, T. : fight with Gaul, 78.
 Man'tua : Etruscan town, 6.
 Marcel'lus : see *Claudius*.
 Mar'cian : Emperor, 337.
 Marcoma'ni : German nation, 235; war, 273; confederacy, 285.

- Ma'rius, C.: conducts war against Jugurtha, 167-168; against Cimbri, 169-170; military reforms, 170; commander in Social War, 174; Civil War, 178-179.
 Marius, C., his son: 179, 180.
 Mar'mora: see Propontis.
 Mars: father of Romulus, 14; Roman god, 23, 190.
 Martia'lis: epigrammist, 266.
 Mas-i-nis'sa: king of Numidia, 126-128; aids Romans, 143.
 Massil'ia: Greek city in Gaul, 116; commerce, 145; government, 187; captured by Cæsar, 213; independent, 229.
 Maurita'nia: enlarged, 168; independent, 229.
 Maxen'tius: 301, 302, 304.
 Maxim'ian: 297-298, 301, 302.
 Max'imin: Emperor, 279, 287.
 Maximin: Emperor in the East, 302.
 Maximus: see Fabius.
 Maximus: Emperor, 288.
 Maximus: Emperor, 335, 337.
 Maz'de-ism: 289, 290.
 Me'dian Empire: 289.
 Me-di-o-la-num (*Milan*): 9, 298; capital of West, 309, 325; occupied by Attila, 334.
 Mediterranean Lands: 1.
 Me-nan'der: dramatist, 141.
 Mercury: 190.
 Messali'na, wife of Claudius: 250.
 Messal'la: see Valerius.
 Messa'na: seized by Mamertines, 106; independent, 111.
 Metau'rus, R.: battle, B.C. 207, 125.
 Metel'lus: see Cæcilius.
 Milan: see Mediolanum.
 Mile'tus: city in Asia, 146.
 Milo: see Annius.
 Minerva: 23, 190.
 Mintur'næ: Roman colony, 82; capture of Marius, 178.
 Mithrada'tes I.: king of Parthia, 135.
 Mithradates III.: king of Parthia, 202.
 Mithradates VI.: king of Pontus; first and second wars, 176-178; third war, 195-196.
 Mœ'sia: conquered by Augustus, 234.
 Mohammed: 291.
 Mo'loch: Phœnician god, 105.
 Mucia'nus: governor of Syria, 256.
 Mu'cius Scæ'vola, Q.: consul, 173; death, 180; jurist, 191.
 Mum'mius, L.: destroys Corinth, 142.
 Munda: battle, B.C. 45, 219.
 Mure'na: see Licinius.
 Mus: see Decius.
 Mu'tina (*Modena*): battle, B.C. 43, 227.
 My'læ: naval battle, B.C. 260, 107.
 Næ'vius, Cn.: poet, 114.
 Nar, R.: 94.
 Narbo: colony, 164.
 Narbonne: 327.
 Neo-Platonism: 283, 313.
 Nep'e-te: Latin colony, 68.
 Neptune: 22; Equestrian, 26.
 Nero: see Claudius.
 Nero Claudius, Ti.: Emperor, 251-254; debasement of currency, 282.
 Nerva: Emperor, 261.
 Netherlands: inhabited by Salian Franks, 340.
 Nicæ'a: council, 307.
 Nic-o-me'di-a: 298, 307, 309.
 Nile, R.: 1.
 Nodo'tus: 22.
 Nomen'tum: annexed to Rome, 80.
 Norba: colony, 45.
 Nor'icum: conquered by Augustus, 235.
 Numa Pompil'ius: king of Rome, 15.
 Numid'ia: subject to Carthage, 104; in Second Punic War, 126; divided, 168.
 Octa'via, sister of Octavian: 229; mother of Marcellus, 233.
 Octavia, wife of Nero: 252.
 Octavius, C.: see Augustus.
 Octavius, Cn.: consul, 179.
 Octavius, M.: tribune, 156.
 Od-e-na'tus: prince of Palmyra, 291; his father, 292; aids Rome, 292.

- Oder, R.: 332.
 O-do-va'car: grants land to Euric, 339; rules Italy, 341.
 Olyb'rius: Emperor, 337.
 Opim'ius, L.: consul, 165.
 Origin of Alexandria: 282.
 Orleans: besieged by Attila, 333.
 Or'muzd: 289.
 Oro'des: king of Parthia, 202.
 Ossipa'go: 22.
 Os'tia: colony, 12, 82; reception of Great Mother, 129; harbor filled up, 251.
 Os'trogoths: contrast with Visigoths, 318; prostrated by Huns, 318; in Phrygia, 320; relations to Attila, 332; into Pannonia, 335.
 O'tho: Emperor, 255.
 Ovid'ius Na'so, P.: poet, 240.
- Pa'dus, R. (*Po*): 4, 5, 8, 116, 117, 169, 293.
 Pal-a-ti'na (tribe): 33.
 Palil'ia: festival of Pales, 25.
 Palmy'ra: prince of, 291; city, 292; fall, 294.
 Panno'nia: conquered by Tiberius, 235; Vandals in, 324; Ostrogoths in, 335.
 Panor'mos: town in Sicily, 108.
 Pansa: see Vibius.
 Pan'theon: 239.
 Papin'ian: jurist, 279.
 Papir'ius Carbo, Cn.: revolutionary leader, 179.
 Papirius Cursor, L.: dictator, 86.
 Paris: 312, 339.
 Parthians: independent, 132; extension of empire, 135; war, 202; invaded by Trajan, 262; overthrown, 289, 291.
 Pastoureaux: 295.
 Paulus: see Aemilius.
 Paulus: jurist, 279.
 Pe'dum: annexed to Rome, 80.
 Pelas'gians: 46.
 Pergamus: allied to Rome, 129; independent, 132; war with Antiochus, 134; receives territory, 135; annexed to Rome, 146.
 Per'i-cles: authority, 162.
- Per'seus: king of Macedonia; war with Rome, 136.
 Persians: new empire, 289-291; contest with Julian, 313-314.
 Per'sius: poet, 254.
 Per'tinax: Emperor, 276.
 Pescen'nius Ni'ger: 277.
 Pes'sinus: worship of the Great Mother, 129.
 Pharna'ces: king of Pontus, 216.
 Pharsa'us: battle, B.C. 48, 216.
 Philip V.: king of Macedonia; war with Rome, 123; Second Macedonian War, 132; ally of Rome, 134; disloyal, 136.
 Philip: false, 142.
 Philip the Arabian: 288.
 Philip'pi: battle, B.C. 42, 228.
 Phi'lo: see Publius.
 Pi-ce'num: annexed to Rome, 93.
 Picts: 335.
 Pi-na'ri-i: worship of Hercules, 90.
 Pi'so: see Calpurnius.
 Placen'tia: Latin colony, 112; in Second Punic War, 117; battle, A.D. 69, 255.
 Placid'ia: marries Ataulf, 327; marries Constantius, 327; mother of Valentinian III., 327; regent, 329.
 Plautus: dramatist, 114, 141.
 Plin'ius Secun'dus: historian, 258.
 Plinius Secundus, his nephew: 265.
 Po: see Padus.
 Polen'tia: 323.
 Pol'lio: see Asinius.
 Pollux: 36, 96.
 Polyb'ius: Greek historian, 35.
 Pol'ycarp: martyr, 272.
 Pome'tia: conquered by Rome, 73, 79.
 Pomo'na: goddess, 23.
 Pompei'i: destruction, 258.
 Pompei'us Mag'nus, Cn.: commander in Social War, 174; joins Sulla, 180; commands against Sertorius, 193; against Spartacus, 194; against Pirates, 195; against Mithradates, 195-197; forms triumvirate, 200; receives Spain, 202; breach with Cæsar, 210; Civil War, 213; defeated at Pharsalus, 216; death, 216; theatre, 222.

Pompeius, Cn., his son : defeated, 219.

Pompeius, Sex., his brother : defeated, 219; death, 228.

Pon'tius, C. : Samnite commander, 87.

Pontius Tel-e-si'nus : Samnite commander, 180.

Pontus : independent, 132; Mithradatic War, 176.

Poppæ'a Sabi'na, wife of Nero : 253.

Por'cius Ca'to, M. : character, 139; opposed to Greek culture, 140; works, 141; basilica, 141; persuades to destruction of Carthage, 143; compared with Curius, 150; recommends grazing, 152.

Porcius Cato, M. (the younger) : commands at Utica, 217; death, 218.

Por'sena, Lars : king of Clusium, 35.

Porta Scel-e-ra'ta : 51.

Postu'mius, A. : dictator, 65.

Po-ti'ti-i : worship of Hercules, 90.

Prænes'te : Latin town, 53; independent, 80; siege, 180.

Pro'bus : Emperor, 288, 297.

Proper'tius, Sex. Aure'lius : poet, 241.

Propon'tis : 309.

Provence : 339.

Pru'sias : king of Bithynia, 135.

Ptol'emies : in Egypt, 131.

Ptolemy : king of Egypt, 221.

Ptolemy Di-o-ny'sus : king of Egypt, 216.

Publi'l'ius Phi'lo, Q. : 77.

Publilius Vo'lero : 53.

Pute'oli : port, 251.

Pydna : battle, B.C. 168, 136.

Pyrenees : 291.

Pyrrhus : war, 96-98.

Qua'di : associated with Marcomani, 273.

Quinc'tius Cincinna'tus, L. : 55.

Quinctius K. : 55.

Quinctius Fla-min'ius, T. : gains battle of Cynoscephalæ, 132; Greek culture, 141.

Quintilia'nus : rhetorician, 265.

Quintil'ius Va'rus, L. : defeated, 236.

Quir'inal Hill : Sabine settlement, 15, 17; religious ceremony, 71.

Quiri'nus : 23.

Ræ'tia : conquered by Augustus, 235.

Ram'nes (tribe) : 17.

Raven'na : Etruscan town, 6; Cæsar's camp, 213; becomes capital of the West, 325, 327.

Re-a'te : Sabine town, 94.

Red Sea : 1.

Regil'us, Lake : battle, 36.

Reg'ulus : see Atilius.

Rhad'agais : 323 ff.

Rhe'gium : seized by mercenaries, 106.

Rhine, R. : conquests of Cæsar, 234; Alamanni on, 311-312; left bank held by Germans, 317; crossed by Vandals, 324; Alamanni and Franks, 332.

Rho'dus, Id. : republic, 132; war with Antiochus, 134; receives territory, 135; gains commerce, 142; government, 187; independent, 229; residence of Tiberius, 233.

Rhone, R. : route into Gaul, 2, 205; eastern boundary of empire of Euric, 339.

Ric'imer, Count, grandson of Wallia : defeats Geiseric, 338; rule, 338; death, 338.

Robi'go : 26.

Rom'ulus : 14.

Romulus Augus'tulus : Emperor, 337, 340.

Rostra : 83; removed, 239.

Ru'bicon, R. : crossed by Cæsar, 213.

Rufi'nus : 321, 323.

Rufus : see Sulpicius.

Sabi'ni : 11; seizure of maidens, 26; wars, 43, 53, 56.

Sacred Mount : 43.

Sagun'tum : captured by Hannibal, 116.

Sal'i-i : 23.

Sallus'tius Crispus, C. : historian, 203.

Salo'na : 301.
 Sam'nites : 4; capture of Capua, 67; treaty with Rome, 79; First War, 79; Second War, 84-88; Third War, 92-94; uprising, 174.
 Sa'por : 291, 292.
 Sapor II. : 313.
 Sardin'ia : 3; conquered by Carthage, 6; trade with Rome, 79; seized by Rome, 110; taken by Geiseric, 338.
 Sassa'nian monarchs : prosecutions by, 290.
 Sassan'idæ : 289-290.
 Sat-ur-na'li-a : 26.
 Sat-ur-ni'nus : see Appuleius.
 Satur'nus : 23, 26.
 Savoy : Burgundians in, 332.
 Scæ'vola : see Mucius.
 Scip'io : see Cornelius.
 Scots : 335.
 Scribo'nus Cu'rio, C. : defeated in Africa, 213.
 Seine, R. : 333.
 Seja'nus : see Ælius.
 Seleu'cia : Parthian capital, 270.
 Seleu'cidæ : kings of Asia, 131; collapse of empire, 135.
 Seleu'cus Ni-ca'tor : king of Asia, 131.
 Sempronius Longus, Ti. : consul, 116.
 Sempro'nius Gracchus, Ti. : protects Scipio, 140; marries Cornelia, 154.
 Sempronius Gracchus, Ti., his son : reforms and death, 154-156.
 Sempronius Gracchus, C., his brother : reforms and death, 158, 162-165.
 Se'na Gal'lica : 8.
 Sen'eca, L. Annæ'us : philosopher, 252, 254.
 Senti'nium : battle, B.C. 295, 92.
 Septim'ius Seve'rus : Emperor, 276, 287; arch, 280; provincial system, 298.
 Seq'uani : Gallic tribe, 206.
 Sere'na : wife of Stilicho : 326.
 Ser'gius Cat-i-li'na, L. : conspiracy, 198-200.
 Serto'rius, Q. : war in Spain, 191-193.

Servil'ius Glau'cia, C. : attempt at revolution, 171.
 Ser'vius Tul'lius : king of Rome, 31.
 Seve'ri : 276, 303.
 Seve'rus : 301, 302, 304.
 Sicily : 3; occupied by Carthaginians, 6; trade with Rome, 79; ceded to Rome, 109; province enlarged, 124; taken in part by Geiseric, 338.
 Sicin'ius Denta'tus : 59.
 Sig'nia : colony, 35, 45.
 Sil'ius Ital'icus : poet, 266.
 Sines'sa : Roman colony, 82.
 Smyrna : city in Asia, 146; persecution, 272.
 So'lon : laws, 31; abolition of laws of debt, 41.
 Spain : 2; trade with Rome forbidden, 79; ceded to Rome, 127; wars, 136; war of Sertorius, 191; governed by Cæsar, 201; reduced by Cæsar, 213; ravaged by Franks, 291; part of rival empire, 292; occupied by Vandals, 324, 325; Visigothic kingdom, 339.
 Spar'tacus : gladiator, 193.
 Sta'tius : poet, 266.
 Stil'icho : minister of Honorius, 321, 322-325; victories, 323, 324; death, 325.
 Sti'lo : see Ælius.
 Strassburg : battle, 312.
 Subura'na (tribe) : 33.
 Sue'vi : occupy northwestern Spain, 324, 330, 339.
 Sulla : see Cornelius.
 Sulpic'ius Rufus, P. : propositions, 177.
 Suovetauril'ia : 26.
 Su'trium : Latin colony, 68; besieged by Etruscans, 88.
 Sya'grius : 339.
 Syn'cretism : 283.
 Sy'phax : king of Numidia, 126, 127.
 Syracu'sæ : aided by Pyrrhus, 98; independent, 111; captured, 123.
 Syr'ia : kingdom, 136; conquered, 196.
 Syrtis (Bay) : 2.

- captured, 124; gladiatorial school, 193.
 Car-a-cal'la (Antoninus): Emperor, 277, 287; baths, 280; edict, 172, 281; debasement of currency, 282; defeats Alamanni, 285.
 Carbo: see Papirius.
 Cari'nus: Emperor, 288.
 Carna: 22.
 Carrhæ: battle, B.C. 53, 203.
 Carthage: 2; treaty with Rome, 35, 79; war with Pyrrhus, 98; first war with Rome, 104-109; revolt of Mercenaries, 109; second war with Rome, 115-128; third war with Rome, 143-145; colony, 145; chief city of Africa, 145; refuge of Marius, 178.
 Cartha'go Nova: founded by Hasdrubal, 116.
 Ca'rus: see Lucretius.
 Carus: Emperor, 288, 297.
 Caspian Sea: 132.
 Cas'sius, Spu'rius: treaty with Latium, 44; agrarian laws, 46 ff.; death, 46, 49, 74.
 Cassius, Q.: tribune, 213.
 Cassius Longi'nus, C.: conspirator, 221; governor of Syria, 224; death, 228.
 Castor: 36, 96.
 Catili'na: see Sergius.
 Cato: see Porcius.
 Catul'us: see Valerius.
 Catulus: see Luta'tius.
 Cau'dine Forks: defeat of Romans, 87.
 Cau'dium: 87.
 Cenoma'ni: sided with Rome, 117.
 Ce'res: 24, 96; festival, 122.
 Chalons: battle, 333, 334; site, 333.
 Charles the Great (*Charlemagne*): 342.
 Cherus'ci: German tribe, 236.
 Chil'deric: 340.
 Christianity: as an organization, 306; doctrine, 306; made the only lawful religion, 315.
 Christians: persecuted by Nero, 253; by Trajan, 267; by M. Aurelius, 271; organization, 282; persecuted by Diocletian, 300; tolerated by Constantine, 302, 304; relations of Julian to, 313; edict of Gratian against heretics, 314.
 Cicero: see Tullius.
 Cilic'ia: war with pirates, 195; made province, 196.
 Cil'nius Mæce'nas, C.: 241.
 Cim'bri: invasion, 168-170.
 Cimin'ian Forest: passed by Fabius, 88.
 Cincinna'tus: see Quinctius.
 Cin'eas: embassy to Rome, 98.
 Cinna: see Cornelius.
 Circe'i: colony, 35, 46.
 Circus Maximus: 26, 252.
 Civi'lis: insurrection, 256.
 Clau'dian: poet, 322.
 Clau'dius: Emperor, 250-251, 288; Rhodes loses independence, 135.
 Claudius, Ap'pius: migrated from Sabines, 22.
 Claudius, Appius: decemvir, 59.
 Claudius, Appius, Cæcus: censor, 89-91; opposes propositions of Cineas, 98.
 Claudius, Appius, his son: advises to receive Mamertines, 106.
 Claudius Goth'icus: Emperor, 288, 292, 297.
 Claudius Pub'lius: loses naval battle, 108, 190.
 Claudius Marcel'lus, M.: commander in Second Punic War, 123-124.
 Claudius Marcellus, M., son of Octavia: 233.
 Claudius Nero, C.: gains victory at the Metaurus, 125; quarrel with Livius, 128.
 Claudius Nero, Ti., husband of Livia: 233.
 Clement: Christian father, 282.
 Cleon: 112.
 Cleopa'tra: Queen of Egypt, 216, visits Cæsar, 220; joins Antony, 228; death, 229.
 Clo-a'ca Max'ima: 30.
 Clo'dius, P.: 112; enemy of Cicero, 201; death, 210.
 Clodius Albi'nus: 277.
 Clo'vis: ascendancy over Salian

- Franks, 340; defeats Syagrius, 340.
 Clu'sium: Etruscan town, 6; war with Rome, 35; attacked by Gauls, 70.
 Cœ'lian Hill: 17.
 Colli'na (tribe): 33.
 Col'line Gate: (battle) 180.
 Col-os-se'um: 258.
 Colum'na Mænia'na: 83.
 Comit'ium: 17, 83; narrowed, 239.
 Com'modus: Emperor, 273.
 Concor'dia, temple: renewed, 165.
 Constans: 311.
 Con'stantine: Emperor, 301; puts Maximian to death, 302; administration, 302-310; death, 311.
 Constantine, son of Constantine the Great: 311.
 Constantine the Usurper: 324; overthrown, 327.
 Constantinople: site 309.
 Constan'tius, Chlorus: 298, 300, 301, 304.
 Constantius II.: 311.
 Constantius: 327.
 Consua'lia: feast of Consus, 26.
 Cora: independent, 80.
 Cory'ra: alliance with Rome, 112.
 Corfin'ium: capital of Italy, 174.
 Corin'thus: congress, 133; destroyed, 142.
 Co-ri-o-la'nus: legend, 56.
 Corne'lia: marries Gracchus, 154; 221.
 Corne'lius Scip'io Barba'tus, L.: sarcophagus, 103.
 Cornelius Scipio, P.: consul, 116; in Italy, 117; in Spain, 119; death, 124.
 Cornelius Scipio, Cn., his brother: 116; in Spain, 119; death, 124.
 Cornelius Scipio, P. (Africa'nus), his brother: in Spain, 124-125; wins battle of Zama, 126-127; policy, 139; exile and death, 140; Greek culture, 140.
 Cornelius Scipio, P. (Nasi'ca): the best Roman, 129.
 Cornelius Scipio, L. (Asiat'icus): conducts war with Antiochus, 134; accused, 140.
 Cornelius Scipio, P. (Africanus Æmilia'nus): commands in Third Punic War, 144-145; death, 158.
 Cornelius Scipio, P. (Nasica Sera'pio): murderer of Gracchus, 157.
 Cornelius Sulla, L.: captures Jugurtha, 168; commands in Social War, 174; against Mithradates, 177-178; Civil War, 179-181; legislation, 181-185; spares Cæsar, 200.
 Cornelius Cinna, L.: rule in Rome, 179.
 Cor'sica, Id.: 3; occupied by Etruscans, 6; trade with Rome, 79; seized by Rome, 110; Geiseric defeated, 338; taken by Geiseric, 338.
 Corvus: see Valerius.
 Cremona: Latin Colony, 112.
 Crete: 348.
 Crispus: death, 308.
 Crispus: see Sallustius.
 Ctes'iphon: Parthian capital, 270.
 Cu'rio: see Scribonius.
 Cu'rius Denta'tus, M.: controversy with Ap. Claudius, 91; finishes the war, 93; conquers Sabines, 93; character, 93; defeats P'yrhus, 98; compared with Cato, 139, 150.
 Cursor: see Papirius.
 Cyb'ele: worship introduced in Rome, 129.
 Cyn-os-ceph'a-læ: battle, B.C. 197, 132, 136.
 Cyprus, Id.: conquered, 196.
 Cyrus, the Persian: 289.
 Da'cia: conquered, 261; troubled by Goths, 284; occupied by Goths, 293; by Gepidæ, 335.
 Dalma'tia: 301.
 Dalmatians: triumph, 229.
 Dalma'tius: 311.
 Dam-a-sip'pus: see Junius.
 Danube, R.: territory conquered by Augustus, 234; Aurelian withdraws garrisons to south of, 293; Galerius commands on, 298; crossed by Visigoths, 319; site of Vandals, 324.

- Dari'us: 289.
 Decem'virs: 27.
 De'cius Mus, P.: commander, 86; devotion, 92.
 Decius: Emperor, 288.
 De'los: confederacy, 45; gains commerce, 142.
 Denta'tus: see Curius Sicinius.
 Dia'na (or Dian'a): 24; temple on Aventine, 34.
 Did'ius Julia'nus: Emperor, 276.
 Diocle'tian: Emperor, 288; suppresses the Bagaudæ, 295; reforms, 296-301; abdication, 301; reforms in currency, 303; murder of widow of, 304.
 Diodo'rus: 35.
 Domitia'nus: Emperor, 259.
 Drep'ana: attacked, 108.
 Drusus: see Livius.
 Drusus, son of Livia: 233; death, 235.
 Drusus: son of Tiberius, 243; death, 248.
 Duil'ius, C.: gains battle of Mylæ, 107.
 Dyrra'chium: attacked by Cæsar, 215.
 East Goths: see Ostrogoths.
 Eb-o-ra'cum (York): 277.
 Egypt: 2; ruled by the Ptolemies, 131; annexed to Rome, 229; taken by Zenobia, 294.
 El-a-ga-ba'lus (or El-a-gab'a-lus): Emperor, 278; debasement of currency, 282; religion, 283.
 El-eu-sin'i-an Triad: 96.
 Em'esa: a city of Syria, 278.
 En'nus, Q.: poet, 113.
 Eph'esus: city in Asia, 146.
 Ep-i-cu'rus: philosophy, 191.
 Ep-i-dau'rus: worship of Æsculapius, 96.
 Erc'te, Mt.: 108.
 Erman'arich: 318.
 Er'yx, Mt.: 108.
 Esquili'na (tribe): 33.
 Es'quiline Hill: 11.
 Etru'ria (Etruscany): 5 ff.; dynasty of kings, 29 ff.; war with Rome, 35; influence, 36; loss of power, 67; war with Rome, 73, 88, 92; invaded by Hannibal, 119; Cati-line's army, 199.
 Eudox'ia, wife of Valentinian III.: 337; calls Geiseric to Rome, 337.
 Eu'menes II.: King of Pergamus; ally of Rome, 134.
 Euphra'tes, R.: 1; boundary of Parthian empire, 135, 268; crossed by Julian, 313.
 Euric: King of Visigoths; extends boundaries of his empire, 339.
 Fa'bian gens: war with Veii, 22, 51.
 Fa'bius, K.: performs sacrifice, 71.
 Fabius Maximus, Q.: commander, 86-88; conservatism, 90; commands at Sentinum, 92.
 Fabius Max'imus, Q.: dictator, 120; conducts war, 123, 125.
 Fabius Pictor, Q.: historian, 113.
 Fa-bric'ius, C.: statesman, 94; censor, 101.
 Fæs'ulæ (*Fiesole*): 6; camp of Manlius, 199.
 Fausta, wife of Constantine: 308.
 Fel'sina (Bologna): 6.
 Fe-ti-a'les: 26.
 Fi-de'næ: Etruscan town, 17, 29; captured by Rome, 67.
 Flaccus: see Fulvius, Valerius.
 Flaminian Way: built, 112; to Ariminum, 161.
 Flam-i-ni'nus: see Quinctius.
 Flamin'ius, C.: divides Gallic land, 112; killed at Trasimenum, 119.
 Fla'vius, Cn.: divulges legal forms, 91.
 Flora: 23.
 Florence: 2c2, 324.
 Florian: Emperor, 288.
 Fora of the Cæsars: 238.
 For'mi-æ: annexed to Rome, 82.
 Forum: 17; drained, 30; adorned, 83; basilica, 141; new edifices, 238.
 Forum Bo-a'ri-um: 83.
 Forum Holito'rium: 83.
 Franks: 285, 291; confederacy, 311; settle in empire, 317; along Rhine,

- 332; relations to Attila, 332, 333; conquests, 339; rise under Clovis, 340.
- Fra'tres Arva'les: 26.
- Fregel'æ, Latin colony: revolt, 149.
- Fronti'nus: author, 265.
- Fuci'nus Lacus: drained, 251.
- Ful'vius Flac'cus, M.: death, 165.
- Fundi: annexed to Rome, 82.
- Fu'rius Camil'lus, M.: capture of Veii, 68; military reforms, 68-70; commander in war, 73; character, 73; temple of Concord, 75.
- Ga'bi-i: Latin town, 17; annexed to Rome, 34.
- Ga'des: Phœnician colony, 104, 115.
- Gai'us Cæsar, son of Julia: 233.
- Gaius (Calig'ula): Emperor, 249.
- Gala'tia: independent, 132.
- Galba: Emperor, 255.
- Gale'rius: Emperor, 298, 300, 301, 302, 304.
- Gal-li'e'nus: Emperor, 288; reign, 291; relations to Odenatus, 292; character of reign, 297.
- Gallus: Emperor, 288.
- Gaul, Cisalpine: 4; governed by Cæsar, 201; receives citizenship, 214.
- Gaul, Transalpine: province, 164; invaded by Cimbri, 169; governed by Cæsar, 201; conquered, 205-209; invaded by Franks, 291; part of rival empire, 292; subjugation by Aurelian, 295; commanded by Constantius, 298; invaded by Vandals, 324; ruled by Constantine the Usurper, 324; Aetius in, 330; Visigoths in southwest of, 330; Burgundians in, 332; Attila in, 333; under Syagrius, 339.
- Gauls: 8; conquests in Italy, 67; capture of Rome, 70-72; wars with Rome, 78, 92; conquered by Rome, 111, 136.
- Gei'seric: King of the Vandals, 326; character, 330; encourages Attila, 333; takes Rome, 337; power 338; defeated at Corsica, 338; becomes master of Western Mediterranean, 338.
- Genghis Khan: 332, 334.
- Gep'idæ: 332; in Dacia, 335.
- German'icus: wars in Germany, 236, 246; adopted by Tiberius, 243; death, 247.
- Germans: invasions, 168, 273, 291-293; Arians in religion, 307; invasions, 311, 312; within the empire, 317; characteristics, 317; invasions, 323-325; massacre, 325.
- Germany: visited by Cæsar, 208.
- Ge'ta: Emperor, 277, 287.
- Glau'cia: see Servilius.
- Golden Horn: 309.
- Gor'dian: Emperor, 287, 288.
- Goths: on Black Sea, 284; into Ægean, 291; occupy Dacia, 293; in the empire as colonists, 317; Gothic empire, 318; settlement under Theodosius, 320.
- Grac'chus: see Sempronius.
- Gra'tian: Emperor, 314-315; 319.
- Greece: influence, 36; part of Constantine's dominions, 302.
- Ha'drian: Emperor; destruction of Jerusalem, 258; reign, 268-269.
- Hamil'car Bar'ca: commands in Sicily, 108; conquest of Spain, 115.
- Han'nibal: Second Punic War, 115-128; death, 135; destruction of Italy, 151.
- Hannibalia'nus: 311.
- Has'drubal, son-in-law of Hamilcar: 116.
- Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal: leaves Spain, 124; defeated at Metaurus, 125.
- Ha'tria: Latin colony, 93.
- Hel'ena, mother of Constantine: 304.
- Helve'ti-i: Gallic tribe, 206.
- Her-a-cle'a: battle, B.C. 280, 97.
- Hercula'neum: destruction, 258.
- Her'cules: worship, 90.
- Herdo'nus, Appius: seizure of capitol, 55.
- Her'mes (Mercury): 190.

- Hermodórus : 58.
 Her'nicans : 11; alliance with Rome, 44; cut off from Rome, 53; confederacy dissolved, 85.
 Hí'ero : King of Syracuse, 106; death, 123.
 Hir'tius, A. : consul, 227.
 Hono'rius : Emperor of West, 321, 322; reign, 323-325.
 Horace : see Horatius.
 Hora'tius, M. : consul, B.C. 449, 59.
 Horatius Flac'cus, Q. : poet, 240.
 Horten'sius, Q. : dictator, 94.
 Hostil'ian : Emperor, 288.
 Huns : invasions, 318-319; under Attila, 332-335; battle of Chalons, A.D. 451, 334.

 I-be'rians : 5; subjects of Carthage, 104; in southwestern Gaul, 205.
 Igna'tius : martyrdom, 268.
 Illy'ricum : wars with Rome, 112; made a province, 136; governed by Cæsar, 201.
 I-re-næ'us of Lyons : 282.
 I'sis : 24.
 Is'lām : 290.
 I-ta'lia : city, 174.
 I-u'lus : 18.

 Jac'querie : 219.
 Janic'ulum, Mt. : 12; enclosed, 31; secession to, 94.
 Ja'nus : 24, 190; temple closed, 229.
 Japyg'ians : 5.
 Jerome, St. : 328.
 Jerusalem : entered by Pompey, 196; captured by Titus, 257.
 John, the Apostle, 272.
 Jo'vian : Emperor, 314.
 Juba : King of Mauretania, 213.
 Judæ'a : part of Syria, 255; revolt, 256, 328.
 Jugur'tha : King of Numidia; war, 167-168.
 Julia, daughter of Julius Cæsar, 202.
 Julia, daughter of Augustus : 189; married Agrippa, 233.
 Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus : 283.

 Julia Lœ'mias, mother of Elagabalus : 278, 283.
 Julia Mæsa, her sister : 283.
 Julia Mammæ, mother of Alexander Severus : 278, 283.
 Julian, the Apostate : 311-314; death, 314.
 Julius Cæsar, L. : commander in Social War, 174.
 Julius Cæsar, C. : statesmanship, 185; divorce, 189; writings, 191, 204; associated with Catiline, 199; forms triumvirate, 200; conquers Gaul, 205-209; visits Britain, 207; breach with Pompey, 207; Civil War, 213; dictator, 214; war in Greece, 215; in the East, 216; suppresses mutiny, 217; war in Africa, 217; legislation, 218; battle of Munda, 219; ambition, 220; conspiracy for his death, 221-223; character, 224.
 Julius Agric'ola, Cn. : conquest of Britain, 251.
 Julius Ne'pos : Emperor, 337.
 Junius Brutus, D. : conspirator, 221; governor of Cisalpine Gaul, 224; besieged, 227.
 Junius Brutus, L. : 221.
 Junius Brutus, M. : conspirator, 221; governor of Macedonia, 224; death, 228.
 Junius Damasip'pus, L. : massacre, 180.
 Juno : 23; temple in Veii, 68; Mone'ta, temple : 102.
 Juno'nia (Carthage) : 145, 164.
 Jupiter : 23.
 Justin Martyr : 272.
 Juvena'lis : satirist, 265.

 Labi'cum : conquered by Rome, 67.
 Lanu'vium : annexed by Rome, 80.
 Latin Way : 4, 53.
 La'tium : 4, 10; Tarquinian empire; 29, 34; alliance with Rome, 44; war, 80; confederacy dissolved, 80; name extended, 81.
 Lauren'tum : Latin town, 18; independent, 80.
 Leo I. : Emperor, 337.

- Leo the Great: embassy to Attila, 335; intercedes with Vandals, 338.
 Lep'idus: see Æmilius.
 Li'ber: 96.
 Lib'era: 96.
 Lib'yans: subjects of Carthage, 104.
 Li-cin'i-us: Emperor, 302; bloodshed, 304.
 Licinius Crassus, L.: orator, 173.
 Licinius Crassus, M.: joins Sulla, 180; buys confiscated property, 181; commands against Spartacus, 194; consul, 194; forms triumvirate, 200; war in the East, 202-203.
 Licinius, Lucul'lus, L.: commands against Mithradates, 195.
 Licinius, Mure'na, L.: Second Mithradatic War, 178.
 Licinius Stolo, C.: laws, 74-76; punishment, 76.
 Ligu'rians: 5; conquered, 136.
 Lil-y-bæ'um: besieged, 108.
 Li'ris, R.: 4.
 Li-ter'num: death of Scipio, 140.
 Liv'ia: marries Augustus, 233.
 Livia, wife of Drusus: 248.
 Livius Androni'cus: poet, 113.
 Livius Drusus, M.: opposes C. Gracchus, 165.
 Livius Drusus, M.: reforms, 173.
 Livius, M.: pontiff, 92.
 Livius, M.: gains victory at the Metaurus, 125; quarrels with Nero, 128.
 Livius Patavi'nus, T.: historian, 241.
 Loire, R.: northern boundary of Euric's empire, 339.
 Longi'nus: see Cassius.
 Longinus: philosopher, 294.
 Longus: see Sempronius.
 Loren'zo de Med'ici: 292.
 Lorraine: 312.
 Luca: conference, 201.
 Luca'nia: 9; allied with Rome, 92.
 Luca'nus: poet, 252, 254.
 Lu'ceres (tribe): 17.
 Lucius Cæsar, son of Julia: 233.
 Lucre'tius Ca'rus, T.: poet, 191, 203.
 Lugdunen'sis: 209.
 Lugdu'num (*Lyons*): 209; persecu-
 tion, 272; capital of Burgundians, 339, 340.
 Luper'ci: 26.
 Lusita'nia: occupied by Vandals, 325.
 Luta'tius Cat'ulus, C.: victory at Ægates, 109.
 Lutatius Catulus, Q.: victory at Raudian Fields, 169.
 Lutatius Catulus, Q., his son: civil war, 185.
 Lutit'ia Parisio'rum (*Paris*): 312.
 Lyb'ius Seve'rus: Emperor, 337.
 Lycia: independent, 229.
 Lyons: see Lugdunum.
 Ly-sim'achus: king of Thrace, 97.
 Mac'cabees: independence of Jews, 136.
 Macedo'nia: first war with Rome, 123; second, 132; third, 136; divided, 137; province, 142; part of Constantine's dominion, 302.
 Macri'nus: Emperor, 277, 287.
 Ma'cro: prætorian præfect, 248.
 Mæan'der, R.: 135.
 Mæce'nas: see Cilnius.
 Mæcia (tribe): 129.
 Mæ'lius, Sp.: treason, 74.
 Mæ'nus, C.: adornment of Forum, 83.
 Magna Græcia: 9.
 Magne'sia: battle, B.C. 190, 134, 136.
 Ma'go: work on agriculture, 141.
 Magyars (*Mod'jors*): 334.
 Majo'rian: Emperor, 337; holds Vandals in check, 338; death, 338.
 Mam-er-ti'ni: Campanian mercenaries, 106.
 Man'lius, M.: saves capitol, 71; treason, 74.
 Manlius, M.: accomplice of Catiline, 199.
 Manlius Torqua'tus, T.: fight with Gaul, 78.
 Man'tua: Etruscan town, 6.
 Marcel'lus: see Claudius.
 Mar'cian: Emperor, 337.
 Marcoma'ni: German nation, 235; war, 273; confederacy, 285.

- receive the Aventine, 57; clans, 60; intermarriage, 61; organization, 62; equality of rights, 75. See also magistrates and assemblies.
- plebiscita*: 63.
- pomarium*: 210.
- pontifex maximus*: head of Roman religion, 218; residence, 224; imperial title, 306; papal title, 306; relinquished by Gratian, 315.
- pontifices*: 26; plebeian, 76.
- poor-relief: 263.
- populares*: 166.
- possessio*: 47.
- præfects: 232.
- præfectures: under republic, 99; under Constantine, 308.
- prætor: Latin, 45; administration of law, 48; office established, 76; additional, 110; courts, 141; by Sulla's laws, 183; *peregrinus*, 184; *urbanus*, 223.
- Prætorian Cohorts: 232; sell throne, 276; dissolved by Septimius Severus, 280.
- Prætorian Præfect: 232, 279; becomes chief minister of Emperor, 281; under Constantine, 308.
- princeps*: 231.
- princeps senatus*: 231.
- principes* (soldiers): 70, 127, 170; centurions, 171.
- proconsul: 232.
- procurator: 255.
- proletarius*: 152.
- proprætor: 110.
- proscription: of Sulla, 181; of the triumvirs, 227, 228.
- provinces: Sicily, 109; Sardinia and Corsica, 110; Spain, 127; Illyricum, 136; Macedonia, 142; Africa, 145; Asia, 146; Transalpine Gaul, 164; Cilicia and Cyprus, 196; Bithynia, 196; Syria, 196; Cisalpine Gaul, 215; Mæsia, 234; Rætia, Noricum, Pannonia, 235; Germany, 236; Britain, 251; Dacia, 261, 284; Arabia, Petraea, 262; surrendered by Hadrian, 268; assimilation of Italy and the
- provincial system: 110; its evils, 147; governors, 183; under empire, 232; edict of Caracalla, 280; reorganization under Diocletian, 298; under Constantine, 309.
- publicani*: 153, 164.
- Publilian law: see law.
- quaestiones perpetuae*: 184.
- quæstor: assistant of consul, 44; magistrate, 61; duties, 65.
- quincunx*: 70, 126.
- quindecimviri sacris faciundis*: 36; plebeian, 75.
- quintquereme: 106.
- racæ in Italy: 4.
- regia*: 224.
- regimen morum*: 64.
- religion: Etruscan, 6; Roman, 22-27; of Fabian gens, 71; innovations, 90; Carthaginian, 105; in last century of republic, 189; of Emperor, 237; Christian, 267; sun-worship, 278; under Severi, 282-284; of Zoroaster, 289; of Sassanidæ, 290; under Julian, 313; under Gratian, 314; under Theodosius, 315.
- repetundæ*: court, 148, 184; judges, 163.
- roads: Appian, 90; Flaminian, 112; Latin, 4, 53.
- rogation: 54.
- Roma quadrata*: 16.
- rostra*: 83; removed by Cæsar, 239.
- routes of commerce: 2.
- Salii*: 23.
- satire: 113.
- scutum*: 70.
- secession: first, B.C. 494, 43; second, B.C. 449, 59; third, B.C. 286, 94.
- Sempronian law: see law.
- Senate: 19, 62; governing body, 95; "assembly of kings," 98; government, 162, 182; appointment, 19, 183; census, 195; under empire, 232; under Severus, 280; municipal, 310.
- senatus consultum*: 62.

serfdom : predial, 264.

sester'tius : 102.

Sib'ylline books, 36.

silver currency : 102.

slave labor : 76, 101, 150; its fatal character, 187; regulated, 218; consequences, 264.

slaves : character, 89; revolt, 151.

socii : see allies.

soldus : 303.

spolia optima : 111.

standard : 171.

succession : rules, 243, 248, 261, 273, 301, 304, 311.

suffragium : 63.

syncretism : 283-284.

tabula : 59.

taxation : by Servius Tullius, 33; incident illustrating, 41; upon possessors of public land, 47-48; relations of censor to, 64; provinces relieved from revenues, 148; farming of, 153; effect of edict of Caracalla, 281; land tax made uniform, 299; in fourth century, 310.

temple : of Jupiter Capitolinus, 30; of Diana, 34; of Castor, 36; of Juno, 68; of Juno, on capitol, 71; of Concord, 75, 165; of Aesculapius, 96; of Juno Moneta, 102; of Cæsar, 224; of Janus, 229; built by Augustus, 238; Pantheon, 239.

Terentilian law : see law.

Theatre of Pompey : 239.

Thirty Tyrants : 291, 292.

timocracy : 31.

tithe lands : 260.

torques : 78.

trades : centuries, 33.

tradition : 13, 57.

treason : law, 246.

treasury : 65.

treaty : with Latins, 34; with Gabii, 34; of Spurius Cassius, 44; with Carthage, 35, 79; with Gauls, 72; with Samnites, 79; with Tarentum, 97.

triar'ii : 69, 127, 170; centurions, 171.

tribes : patrician, 17; of Servius Tullius, 33; composed of landowners, 88; reorganized, 89; made basis of centuriate assembly, 113; German, 285.

tribunes : military, 20; with consular power, 63.

tribunes : of plebs, 43; usurpation of power, 50; number increased, 53; power to impose fines, 57; powers, 62; mischievous powers, 155; restricted by Sulla, 183; restored, 184.

tributum : 33, 48.

triumvirate : 200, 227.

twelve tables : 59.

usury : 74; laws, 78; trials, 188.

Vestal Virgins : 25.

vicar : 299.

Villian law : see law.

walls : of Rome, 16; of Servius Tullius, 31; Cyclopean, 45; Hadrian's, 269; Aurelian's, 293.

worship : of Cybele, 129; of Bacchus, 140.

yoke : sending under, 87.



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